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265 TO 330

JOHANNES CHARDIN MILES.

Natus $\frac{6}{16}$ *novembris*, 1643.

THE TRAVELS OF Sir John Chardin INTO Persia and the East-Indies,

301 I

The First Volume, 3157

Containing the Author's Voyage from *Paris* to *Ispahan*.

15788

To which is added,

The Coronation of this Present KING of Persia, SOLYMAN the Third.

THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LONDON:

Printed for *Moses Pitt* in *Duke-Street Westminster.* 1686.

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At the Court at Whitehal, March 23. 168$\frac{5}{6}$.

Let this BOOK be Printed.

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SUNDERLAND P.

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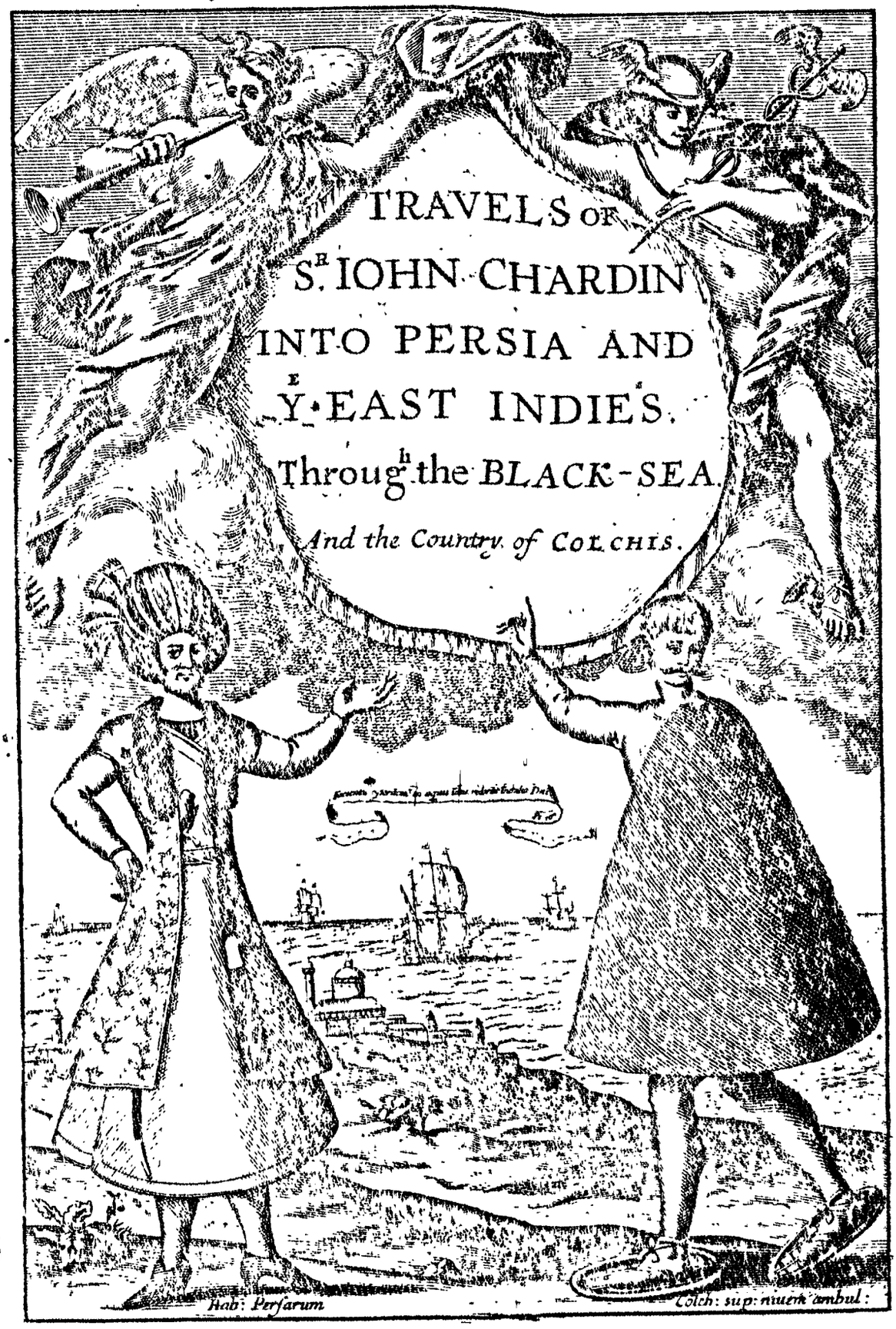

LONDON
Printed for Moses Pitt in Duke street Westminster. 1686.

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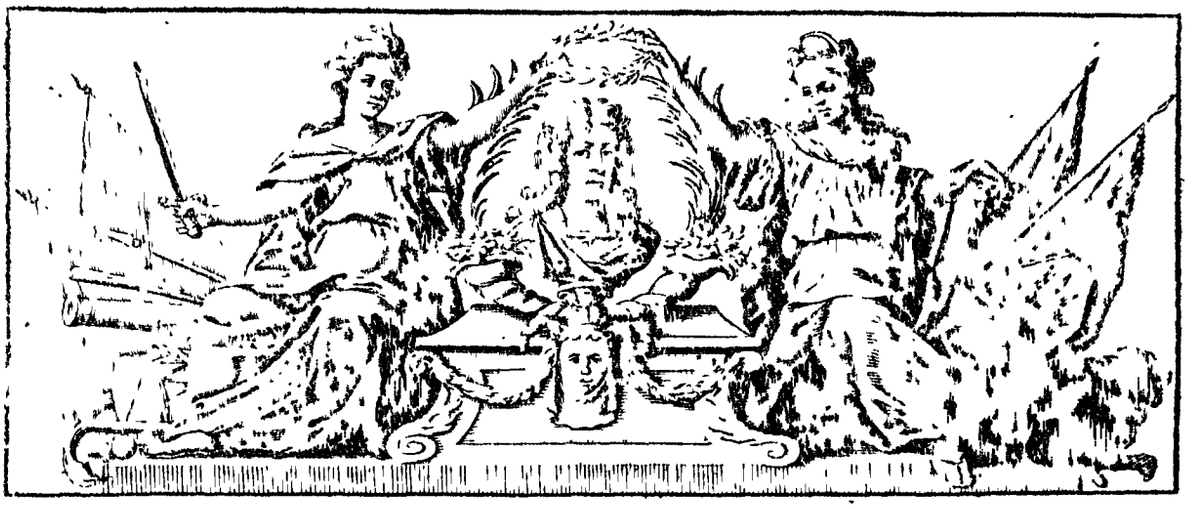

To the KING.

SIR,

I Preſume to Preſent to Your Royal View the Firſt Volume of my Second Voyage into *Aſia*; not ſo much to give it Credit by ſo Ambitious a Dedication, as to acquit my Self of an Indiſpenſable Obligation upon me to Offer to Your Majeſty the Firſt-Fruits of a Work, whereof the Publication is a Debt ſolely due to Your Majeſty from me.

I can ſincerely affirm to Your Majeſty, That it is the Product of Your Royal Grace and Goodneſs to me; and that the chief Motive I had to undertake it, was, Becauſe I perceived it to be a Subject well-pleaſing to Your Majeſty, being Compoſed under the Shadow of that Auguſt Throne which Your Majeſty does ſo Glorioufly repleniſh: Nor had I taken ſo much time from the Neceſſary Occupations of my Life, to propoſe it for the Preſs, but out of an earneſt deſire to publiſh to the World the Reſentments of my Heart, for the many Favours I have received from Your Majeſty, and my Admiration of Your Majeſties Heroick and Tranſcendent Virtue.

From the time that the Bounty of Heaven had bleſſed me in the happy Choice I made of eſtabliſhing my ſelf in this *Land of Promiſe*, quietly to enjoy in it the deſirable Fruits of my long Travels, I was alway Graciouſly received by the late King of ever bleſſed Memory, who as a Mark of His Eſteem was pleaſed to Honour me with a Character of Dignity. And the Nobility, who of themſelves are ſo Affable and Generous, were not wanting in their Civilities to me, to imitate ſo admirable a Pattern of all Illuſtrious Virtues.

The moſt Celebrated Societies in Your Majeſties Kingdom, have done me the Honour to admit me into their Bodies; and I was by Soveraign Authority imploy'd in a moſt Important Negotiation with the Neighbor-State: But though I received ſo many great Effects of His Majeſties Bounty to me, I am in Duty bound for many Reaſons to apply the Acknowledgment thereof to Your Sacred Majeſty, which may be comprehended in that perfect Union which Your Majeſty had with that Great and Good

 King,

King, in participating with him not only in the moſt Important Affairs of his happy Reign, but even in the leaſt and meaneſt of his Cares, whereby Your Majeſty hath a juſt Title to ſhare in all the Gracious Acts of his Royal Beneficence.

The particular and immediate Teſtimonies of Favour which Your Majeſty (of Your own Perſonal Goodneſs) hath extended to me, are too numerous to be related; and I am defective in words to deſcribe the Gratitude wherewith my Heart is poſſeſſed in the ſenſe of them: Wherefore in this my Incapacity to expreſs my Reſentments of Your Majeſties Benefits to me, I am leſs able to Delineate thoſe Heroick Qualities which all *Europe* admire in Your Majeſties Sacred Perſon, and which enable Your Majeſty with ſo much Renown to ſuſtain that Glorious Crown which is deriv'd to Your Majeſty from Your Mighty Anceſtors.

I have had the *Honour* to approach Kings, which paſs abroad for the Mightieſt Monarchs in the World; but none of thoſe Magnificent Images of Divinity, are equal to Your Majeſty in the Divine Reſemblances of Affability, Courteſie, Vigilance, Knowledge and Conſtancy. None of them ever brought ſuch Conſummate Experience to the Government of a great and mighty Empire, or was ever poſſeſs'd with ſo much Juſtice and Fortitude to uphold or augment it: None of them have ever joyn'd to the Science of Commanding on Land, ſuch vaſt and exquiſite Knowledge in Maritime Affairs as well for War, as the Art and Improvement of Navigation.

I might advance farther in this Parallel, where Your Majeſty has ſo much the advantage, if I did not find my Eyes dazled, when I attempt to fix them upon Your Majeſty.

I have indeed taken the Liberty in the Volumes which are to ſucceed this, (and perhaps not been altogether unhappy therein) to give the Characters of the moſt famous Monarchs of the *Eaſt*: But though my Zeal for Your Majeſties Glory is very great, I find my Force at preſent too weak to expreſs that of Your Majeſties, in ſo illuſtrious a manner as the Merit of the Subject requires. However, I may endeavour hereafter to attempt it; and in the mean time I ſhall continue my Prayers to Almighty God, *That Your Majeſties Reign may be Long and Proſperous; and that Your Throne may be always an Inviolable Refuge and Sanctuary to the Oppreſſed, and Your Scepter as Immoveable in the Hearts of Your Subjects, as in Your Triumphant Hands; and that in the End for an Accumulation of Glory, Your Majeſty may ſecure and preſerve an Accumulation of Felicity to Your People.*

Theſe are the Addreſſes which ſhall be Aſſiduouſly made at the Throne of Grace for Your Sacred Majeſty, by,

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Humble,

moſt Obedient, and moſt Faithful

Subject and Servant,

JOHN CHARDIN.

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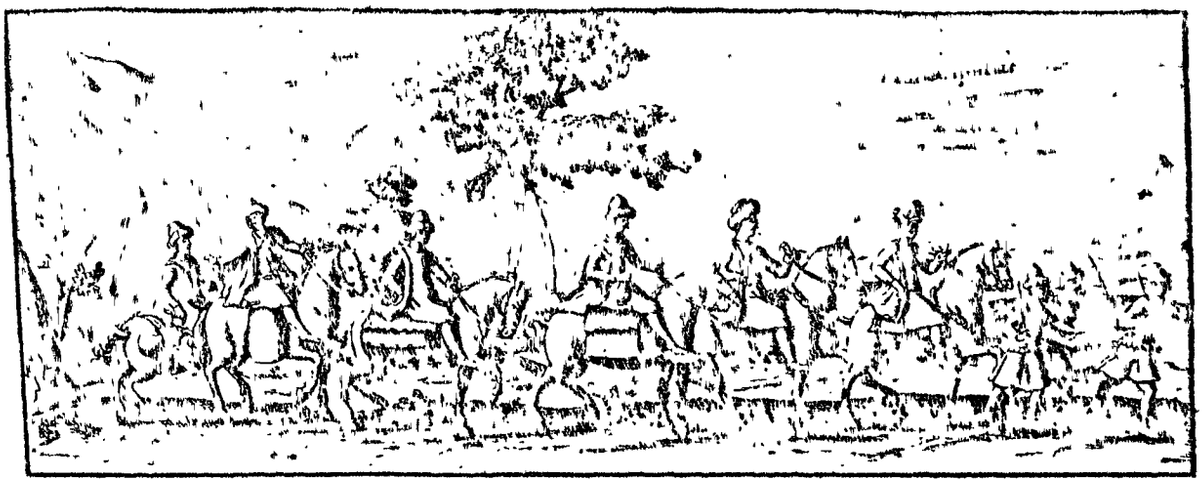


THE PREFACE.

THis is the First Part of my Relations of Persia, which I have divided into Four Volumes, whereof the First (which is this I now Publish) contains that part of the Journal of my Voyage from Paris to Ispahan, which ends in the Month of June in the Year 1673. I think it Needless in this place to Anticipate the Readers Expectation with Reciting any of the Particulars of it, because the whole is Delivered at large in the ensuing Treatise.

The Second Part (which is the reſt of my Journal of the Year 1673) *contains a General Deſcription of the Empire of* Perſia *and its Force, together with the Laws, Governments, Manners and Cuſtomes of the* Perſians, *of their Arts and Sciences, and their Civil and Mechanical Induſtry, with a particular Deſcription of* Iſpahan, *(which is at this time the Capital City of that vaſt Empire) and Five and Thirty or Forty Cuts Engraven in Copper, of the faireſt and moſt Remarkable Buildings therein, or other Eminent Particularities thereof.*

The Third Part (which is my Journal of the Year 1674) *contains (amongſt other things) the Ruines of* Perſepolis, *repreſented in Twenty Two Copper-Plates, as alſo an Exact, and Ample Deſcription of them, with Obſervations Interwoven of the leſs Intelligible Parts of thoſe Ruines, (which are the moſt Glorious Monuments and Nobleſt Remains of Antiquity Extant) together with a Relation of the Religion of the* Perſians, *collected as well from their Publick Worſhip, as their Writings, whereof there are many Copious Traductions.*

The Fourth and laſt Part (which conſiſts of my Journal of the Year 1675. *and the two ſucceeding Years) concludes with a Piece wholly new and unknown to Us in* Europe, *which is an Abridgement of the Hiſtory of* Perſia, *Extracted from their own Writings.*

And thus having informed the Reader of the Subject of my Memorials, I ſhall mention ſomething of the time, and means which I imployed to collect them.

I Travel'd by Land to the East-Indies; *in the Year* 1665, *and arrived in* Perſia *at the beginning of the Year* 1666, *where I ſtayed all that Year, and a good part of the next.*

I came back to Perſia *from* India *in the Year* 1669. *where I remain'd Six Months before my return to* Europe. *This was my firſt Voyage. And though I then provided my ſelf of Obſervations, and all ſorts of Materials for a Relation of it, in as great a Degree or perhaps greater than thoſe that have viſited thoſe Countries before me (having Learn'd many things from the* Turkiſh *and* Perſian *Languages, which have not been obſerv'd by any that have hitherto Writ of* Perſia,) *yet I did not then think my ſelf ſufficiently inſtructed for the Publication of ſo compleat a Work, as I intended. But in the mean time I entertain'd the World with a little Treatiſe of the Coronation of* Soliman, *which conſiſted of ſome few Curious matters of Fact, whereof I was an Eye-Witneſs. And the earneſt deſire I had to improve my knowledge in that vaſt Empire of* Perſia, *to be enabled to produce to the World uſeful and Ample Relations of it, induced me to undertake a Second Voyage thither, which I did in the Year* 1671. *(as the ſame will appear in this Journal,) I ſtay'd there until the Year* 1677, *chiefly following the Court in its Removals, but likewiſe I made ſome particular Journeys, as well of Curioſity as Buſineſs, to proſecute my intentions, ſtudying the Language, and aſſiduouſly frequenting the moſt eminent and moſt knowing Men of the Nation, the better to inform my ſelf in all things that were Curious and New to us in* Europe, *concerning a Country that may well be called,* Another World, *both in reſpect of the Diſtance of place it has from us; and the different Manners and Maximes of it. In a Word I was ſo ſolicitous to know* Perſia, *that I knew* Iſpahan *better than* Paris *(though I was Bred and Born there.)*

The Perſian *Language was as eaſie to me as* French, *and I could currently Read and Write it, I had often*

Travell'd

Travell'd, through the whole Country in the Length and Breadth thereof, and ſeen its Seas (both the Caſpian *and the* Ocean*) from one end to the other; I have viſited its Frontiers in* Armenia, Iberia *and* Media, *and* Arabia *alſo, as far as the River* Indus, *and have been ſo exactly inform'd of thoſe few Places where I have not been, that I am confident I could know them (if I may ſo ſay) upon any ſudden Tranſportation thither; which I ſay only to let the Reader ſee what Ground he may have to rely upon the Truth of the following Relations.*

As for this Tranſlation, I ſhall not ſay much of the Expreſſions and Phraſe uſed in it, being no competent Judge thereof, but I can aver that it was done under my Inſpection, and I have review'd it with Attention, and Knowledge enough to affirm, that it is exactly my Senſe, but I muſt not omit to mention, that in my Reviſion of it, there was ſcarce a Leaf where I did not diſcover ſome conſiderable Fault, as a Parentheſis, Line or Word omitted, and ſometimes my Thoughts imperfectly rendered, (though the ſubſtituted Senſe was neither Incongruous nor Perplexed.) In brief, I have Corrected many Miſtakes of this ſort, which could not be Perceptible to any but an Author, who carries the Senſe of his Work, Word by Word in his Head.

As for Example, in deſcribing the Cultivation of the Vineyards of Colchide, *I ſaid,* * That they cut their Vines there, once in every four Years; *and my Tranſlator had expreſſed it,* † That they cut their Vines four times every Year. *One cannot ſay that this proceeded from a defect of Senſe, or want of Underſtanding the* French *Tongue, for he knows it*

* On taille la vigne tous les quatre Anns une fois.

† *As if I had ſaid,* On taille la vigne quatre fois en un an.

well,

well, and is otherways a Man of Letters, and has quickneſs of Thought, and is very able for ſuch Works; but Miſtakes are inevitable in long Tranſlations: And as I believe that this of my Book is nearer the Original than any Verſion that I have ſeen of other Voyages, ſo I am convinc'd that there are no Tranſlations wherein many Errours may not be found againſt the Senſe of the Authors.

The Copper Plates *are done by different* Gravers, *which will not happen in the others of my Volumes, where all of them will be Engraven by that Hand which has done the Draught of* Tauris, *and Nine or Ten other* Figures.

I have Written nothing of the Indies, *becauſe I lived but five Years there, and underſtood only the* Vulgar Languages, *which are the* Indian *and* Perſian; *without the Knowledge of that of the* Brachmans, *which is the proper and neceſſary Organ to arrive at the Knowledge of the Wiſdom and Antiquity of the* Indians: *but nevertheleſs I did not altogether waſte my Time there in Idleneſs: On the contrary, as the* Winters *in that Country will not permit One to Travel, I imploy'd that time in a Work which I had long in my Thoughts, and which I may call,* My Favourite Deſign, *by the Pleaſure wherewith I laboured in it, and the Profit which I hope the Publique will receive thereby; which is certain Notes upon very many Paſſages of the Holy Scriptures, whereof the Explication depends on the Knowledge of the Cuſtoms of the* Eaſtern Countries, *for the* Eaſt *is the Scene of all the Hiſtorical Facts mentioned in the* Bible. *The Language of that* Divine Book, *(eſpecially of the* Old Teſtament) *being* Oriental, *and very often Figurative, and Hyperbolical, thoſe Parts of the* Scripture *which*

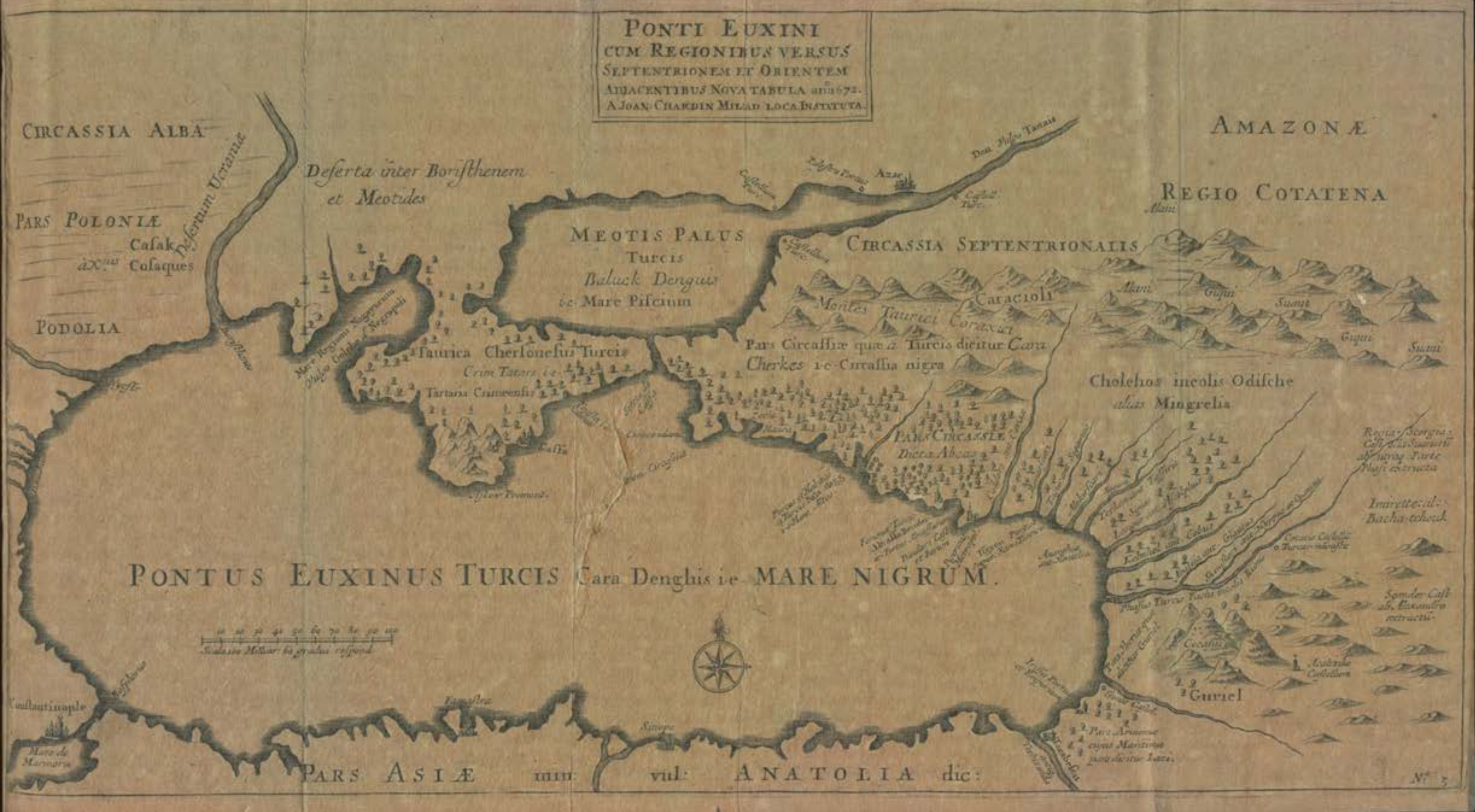
are Written in Verſe, and in the Prophecies, are full of Figures and Hyperboles, which, as it is manifeſt, cannot be well underſtood without a Knowledge of the Things from whence ſuch Figures are taken, which are Natural Proprieties, and Particular Manners of the Countries to which they refer; I diſcern'd this in my firſt Voyage to the Indies: *For I gradually found a greater Senſe and Beauty in divers Paſſages of the Scriptures than I had before, by having in my view the Things either Natural or Moral, which explain'd them to me, and in peruſing the different Tranſlations, which the greateſt part of the Tranſlators of the* Bible *had made, I obſerv'd that every one of them (to render their Expoſitions (as they thought) more intelligible) uſed ſuch Expreſſions as would accommodate the Phraſe to the Places where they Writ; which did not only many times pervert the Text, but often render'd the Senſe obſcure, and ſometimes abſurd alſo. In fine, conſulting the Commentators upon ſuch kind of Paſſages, I found very ſtrange Miſtakes in them, and that they all along gueſs'd at the Senſe, and did but grope (as in the Dark) in the ſearch of it. And from theſe Reflections, I took a Reſolution to make my Remarks upon many Paſſages of the Scripture; perſwading my ſelf that they would be equally Agreeable and Profitable for uſe. And the* Learned, *to whom I Communicated my Deſign, Incouraged me very much (by their Commendations) to proceed in it: And more eſpecially when I inform'd them, That it is not in* Aſia *as in our* Europe, *where there are frequent Changes more or leſs, in the Forms of Things, as the Habits, Buildings, Gardenings, and the like. In the* Eaſt *they are conſtant in all Things; The Habits are at this Day in the ſame Manner, as in the Precedent Ages; So that one may reaſonably believe, That in that part of the World, the*

Exteriour

Exteriour Forms of Things (as their Manners and Cuſtoms) are the ſame now, as they were Two Thouſand Years ſince, except in ſuch Changes as may have been Introduced by Religion, which are nevertheleſs very Inconſiderable.

Theſe Notes *upon the* Bible *will be the laſt Things which I ſhall expoſe to the* Publick, *unleſs I ſhall underſtand that they are deſired ſooner: In which caſe I may Publiſh by Advance, thoſe I have made upon the Book of* Geneſis *for a Taſte of the reſt. And the ſame deſire which I have to Gratifie the World, and particularly the* Engliſh *Nation, to which I have ſo many Obligations, will induce me to Publiſh the Third or Fourth Part of my* Relations *before the Second, if I ſhall find that they are deſired and expected before it.*

The Bookſeller *was deſirous to add to this* Volume *the Piece which is to be ſeen at the End of it, which contains,* A Relation of the Solemn Coronation of the Preſent King of *Perſia; whereof I was an Eye-Witneſs my ſelf about Twenty Years ago, and which I cauſed to be Printed at* Paris *Five Years after, at my Firſt Return from my* Travels. *And though I cannot but ſay that the* Narrative *is Faithful and Exact, yet I muſt confeſs that it is too Diffuſe, and often Interwoven with ſuch ſmall Incidents, as I would have omitted, could the* Bookſeller *have been prevailed with to wait the Publiſhing of it till after That of my Second Journey.*


PONTI EUXINI
CUM REGIONIBUS VERSUS
SEPTENTRIONEM ET ORIENTEM
ADJACENTIBUS NOVA TABULA an° 1672.
A JOAN: CHARDIN MILAD LOCA INSTITUTA.
CIRCASSIA ALBA
AMAZONÆ
Desertum Ucraniæ
Deserta inter Boristhenem et Meotides
PARS POLONIÆ
Casak àx.nis Cosaques
PODOLIA
REGIO COTATENA
MEOTIS PALUS
Turcis
Baluck Denguis
i.e. Mare Piscium
CIRCASSIA SEPTENTRIONALIS
Azac
Don Fluv. Tanais
Caracioli
Montes Taurici Coraxici
Pars Circassiæ quæ à Turcis dicitur Cara Cherkes i.e. Circassia nigra
Taurica Chersonesus Turcis
Crim Tatars i.e.
Tartaria Crimeensis
Caffa
Cholchos incolis Odische
alias Mingrelia
PARS CIRCASSIÆ
Dicta Abcas
Imirette: al: Bacha tchouk
Guriel
PONTUS EUXINUS TURCIS Cara Denghis i.e. MARE NIGRUM.
Constantinople
Mare de Marmora
Sinope
PARS ASIÆ min: vul: ANATOLIA dic:
N° 3

THE TRAVELS OF Sir John Chardin INTO PERSIA,

Through the Black-Sea, *and the Country of* Colchis.

I Departed from *Paris*, with an Intention to return to the *East-Indies*, the Seventeenth of *August* 1671, juſt Fifteen Months after I came from thence. I undertook this tedious Journey a ſecond time, as well to perfect my ſelf in the Knowledge of the Languages, the Cuſtoms, the Religions, the Trades and Sciences, the Commerce and Hiſtory of the Oriental People, as to endeavour the Advancement of my Fortunes and Eſtate.

I found at my Return into *France*, that the Religion wherein I had been Educated made me incapable of all ſorts of Imployment; and that it was requiſite for me either to change it, or altogether to renounce whatever is call'd Honour and Preferment. Both the one and the other ſeem'd to me to be ſomewhat ſevere: for we are not at liberty to believe what we pleaſe. Thereupon I preſently bethought my ſelf of returning to the *Indies*, where, without altering my Religion, or abandoning the Condition of a Merchant, I could not fail to gratifie a moderate Ambition: for Trade is there an Imployment ſo conſiderable, that even Soveraign Princes publickly follow it.

The deceaſed King of *Perſia* made me his own Merchant, by his Letters Patents in the year 1666. and gave me in charge to order the making of ſeveral Jewels of a great value, of which his Majeſty deſign'd the Models with his own Hands. Madam *Leſcot*, a Lady much more famous for her Wit, and her adventurous Boldneſs in Undertaking, then for her Wealthy Gettings, joyn'd with my deceaſed Father to encourage me to go on with my Commiſſion, and both promis'd to go Halves with me. Monſieur *Raiſin* of *Lyons*, a Perſon of very good Repute, and my Companion in my former Travels, embarkt himſelf once more in this ſort of Trade; and though we differ'd in our Religion, yet for all that we liv'd Peaceably and in Unity together. For Chriſtians learn in the *Eaſt*, to be at Peace, and keep a good Correſpondence one with another, notwithſtanding their diſagreement in Opinions. There are a thouſand Sects, but there are only theſe two Beliefs, the *Chriſtian*, and the *Mahumetan*. For Fourteen Months together we made it our Buſineſs to ſearch in the Richeſt Countries of *Europe* for the biggeſt colour'd Stones, the largeſt Pearls, and the faireſt wrought Coral that could be found We order'd the making of ſeveral Rich Pieces of Goldſmiths Work, Watches and Clocks extraordinary for Curioſity of Workmanſhip; and becauſe our Stock was not as yet all ſpent, we return'd into *Italy* Twelve Thouſand Ducats of Gold. My Companion arriv'd at *Legorn* in leſs then a Month, by the way of *Genoa*; and I my ſelf got thither toward the end of *October*, by the way of *Milan*, *Venice* and *Florence*.

The 10th of *November* we Embark'd in a Veſſel under a *Holland* Convoy, bound for *Smyrna*. This Fleet was compos'd of ſix Merchant Men, and two Men of War. The whole Cargo amounted to three Millions of *Livers*, beſides

what the Paſſengers, Mariners, and Captains themſelves kept cloſe and undiſcover'd, to prevent the Payment of Freight, Cuſtom, and the Conſuls Dues. We touch'd at *Meſſina*, *Zant*, and ſeveral other Iſlands of the *Archipelago*. Near the Iſland of *Micona* we had a conſiderable Diſpute with a *Corſair* of *Legorn*, about one of his Men who had made his eſcape aboard us, by ſwimming a Mile. Upon demand of him, the *Corſair* ſent us word, He would Fight us, if we did not reſtore him his Seaman; and for our parts we did not think it worth our while to protect him.

There are uſually about Forty Chriſtian *Corſairs* Cruiſing up and down in the *Archipelago*, belonging ſome to *Majorca*, ſome to *Villa Franca*, others to *Legorn* and *Malta*. Theſe Veſſels are for the moſt part but of ſmall Burthen, and very ill Victuall'd; but Mann'd with People whom Miſery and a long habit of doing Miſchief have renderd reſolute and cruel. There are not any Villanies or Violences imaginable which they do not commit upon the Iſlanders of theſe Seas, where-ever they can but ſet foot a-ſhoar; though the Inhabitants are all Chriſtians, and moſt part acknowledge the Popes Juriſdiction.

I cannot forget the Anſwer which a *Corſair*, call'd the *Chevalier de Temericourt*, gave upon a time to the Marquiſs of *Pruilly*, who commanded one of the French Kings Ships, call'd the *Diamond*. Theſe two meeting together in the Iſland of *Millo*, the Marquiſs gave the other an Invitation a-board, at what time among other things falling into diſcourſe about Piracy, *Sir*, ſaid the Marquiſs to the Knight, as I was inform'd not long after, by ſome Gentlemen that were preſent, *The Robberies, the Murders, the Sacriledges, which you dayly commit, your Blaſphemies, and in a word, ſo many impious and barbarous Crimes, do they not ſtrike a Terrour to your Soul? Can you ever hope for Paradiſe? Or do you believe there is any Hell? Who I!* reply'd the Knight, *Not at all. I am a Lutheran, I believe not a tittle of any ſuch thing.* Thus you may ſee the Natural Diſpoſition of Pyrates. Concerning whom I will add this one Particular more.

While we ſtaid for a Wind in the Port of *Micona*, there arriv'd in that Haven two Firſt-Rate *Venetian* Men of War. They enter'd in the Night-time. The Admiral coming to an Anchor, fir'd ſeveral Squibs from his Main-Top-Maſt. This is call'd *Giving the Rocquet*, from the Italian word *Rocquetta*, which ſignifies a Squib: And this is done to give Notice to the Chriſtian Corſairs or Rovers, if any ſhould happ'n to be in Port,

Port, to weigh and be gone before Day. Two were there at that preſent time. They ſet Sail early the next Morning, and came to an Anchor behind a Promontory, not above a League from the Port. The Admiral was a Nobleman of *Venice*, to whom I gave a Viſit, and deſiring to know the reaſon of his firing the Rocquets; he told me he had Orders ſo to do; for that the Republick being engag'd to the *Grand Signior* by the Treaty at *Candy*, to clear the *Archipelago* of all the Chriſtian Rovers, and to take as many of 'em, as they could, yet in regard of the ſeveral good Services which the Rovers had done the Republick in the laſt War, he took that courſe to ſatisfie the Port, without acting to the prejudice of the Rovers. And this was the reaſon that the Ships of the Republick were oblig'd always to make themſelves known in the *Archipelago*, to the end the Chriſtian Pyrates might keep at a diſtance from 'em, and not approach within ken; that ſo they might be ſaid not to have had any ſight of 'em. In the Day-time, added he, we are known by our Colours; but in the Night, when we enter any Port, we let off theſe Rocquets; and ſometimes alſo we ſend certain Officers aſhore, to diſcover whether there be any Chriſtian Rovers in Port, and ſo give 'em Notice to be gone.

I arriv'd at *Smyrna* the ſeventh of *March* 1672, after being four Months at Sea. In which tedious Voyage we endur'd much Cold, and many a boyſtrous Storm. We were in want of Victuals; nor could we have made this Voyage with more Danger or more Hardſhip.

I ſhall not trouble my ſelf to make any Deſcription of *Smyrna*, where I found nothing worthy Remark, or in any other part of the *Archipelago*, more than what is to be found in the Relations of *Spon*, and other Travellers, Men of Learning and Exactneſs, who have been there ſince my time. I ſhall therefore content my ſelf with recounting ſome Particulars relating to Commerce and Hiſtory, of which they have not ſpoken.

The Engliſh drive a great Trade at *Smyrna*, and over all the *Levant*. This Trade is driv'n by a Royal Company ſetled at *London*; which is Govern'd after a moſt prudent manner, and therefore cannot fail of ſucceſs. It has ſtood almoſt theſe hundred Years, being firſt Confirm'd towards the middle of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Raign. A Raign famous for having, among other Things, giv'n Life to ſeveral Trading Companies, particularly thoſe of *Hamborough*, *Ruſſia*, *Greenland*, the

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East-Indies and *Turkie*, all which remain to this Day. Trade was then in its Infancy; and there is no greater Mark of the Ignorance of those Times, in reference to Countries, though but a little remote, then the Association which those Merchants made: for they joyn'd several together in one Body, for mutual Conduct and Assistance. That Company which relates to the Turkish Trade, is of a particular sort: For it is not a Society, where every one puts in a Sum for one General and United Stock: It is a Body which has nothing in Common, but a peculiar Grant and Priviledge to Trade into the *Levant*. It assumes to it self the Name of *The Regulated Company*. None are admitted into it, but Sons of Merchants, or such as have serv'd an Apprenticeship to the Trade, which in *England* is for Seven Years. They give to be admitted into the Society about an Hundred and Twenty Crowns, if under the Age of Twenty Five Years; and double if above that Age. The Company never commits to any one single Person their Power, nor the sole Management of their Affairs, but manage their Business among themselves by the Plurality of Voices. So that who has sufficient to drive a Trade that will bear an Imposition of Eight Crowns, has as good a Vote as he that Trades for an Hundred Thousand. This Assembly, thus *Democratical*, sends out Ships, Levies Taxes upon all their Commodities, presents the Ambassador whom the King sends to the *Port*, Elects two Consuls, the one for *Smyrna*, the other for *Aleppo*, and prevents the sending of Goods which are not thought proper for the *Levant*. It consists at present of about Three Hundred Merchants, besides that they bring up in *Turkie* a great number of young Persons well descended, who learn the Trade upon the Place it self. This Trade amounts to about Five or Six Hundred Thousand Pounds yearly, and consists in Cloaths made in *England*, and Silver which they carry as well out of *England*, as out of *Spain*, *France* and *Italy*: In exchange of which they bring back Wool, Cotton-Yarn, Galls, Raw Silk and Wov'n, together with some other Commodities of less value. Now the *Company*, finding that Malice which Interest begets among Persons of the same Profession, would in time be the Ruine of their Society, by Enhancing or Loring the price of Goods on purpose to under-sell one another; and that the same Malice causes the Merchants to be at variance with the Consuls, the Consuls with the Ambassador; (which is the reason that many times where Expences are requisite, an unseasonable Stinginess in the Ambassador causes great Impositions

tions and Fines, and other ſevere Vexations to the Nation) The Company, I ſay, foreſeeing theſe Miſchiefs, have prudently provided a Remedy to prevent 'em. For the Engliſh Cloth, of which they ſend into *Turkie* about Twenty Thouſand Pieces yearly, and the chiefeſt part of the reſt of their Merchandize is ſent to the Factors with a Bill or *Invoice* of the Price at what they are bound to ſell; together with another Bill of the Price certain for thoſe Goods which they give order to be bought; and by that means it never happens that the Merchants receive any Damage in the Proſpect or Deſign of their Profit.

For the prevention of theſe and other diſorders, the Company gives a Penſion to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, who reſides at the *Port*; to the *Conſuls*, and all their Principal Officers, as the Miniſter, the Chancellor, the Secretary, the Interpreters, the Janiſaries and others. Which Officers have no Power to Levy any Taxes or Sums of Money upon the Merchandize, whether under the pretence of Duties, or Preſents, or any other extraordinary Expences. But when any thing of that Nature is to be done, they give Notice to the Deputies of the Nation, who are Two Perſons appointed to Act in the Name of the reſt. Theſe Deputies examine and debate with the Ambaſſador, or the Conſul, What is fit to be given, What Journeys are neceſſary to be made to the *Port*, and what is there to be tranſacted: Not but that the Ambaſſador or Conſul may not Act of themſelves, but they obſerve that method to acquit and juſtifie themſelves; and ſometimes upon Emergent and Extraordinary Affairs they aſſemble the whole Body of the Nation. So ſoon as they are come to a Reſult, the Deputies give Notice to the Treaſurer to provide what is neceſſary, whether it be Money, Toys or Curioſities. This Treaſurer alſo is ſetl'd by the Company, and provides Money for every thing, diſcharges punctually all manner of Charges and Expences, and pays exactly the Wages of every Officer. Thus the Ambaſſador and Conſuls have no more to do but only to mind the Security of the Engliſh Nation, and the good of Trade, without being incumber'd and diverted by their own Intereſts. There are alſo many other excellent Regulations and Orders for the ſupport of their Trade in the *Levant*; by which means they carry it on with Honour and Profit beyond any of their Neighbors.

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The Hollanders alſo drive a great Trade at *Smyrna*, and more then any other Nation of *Europe*, but they have little to do elſewhere; all their Dealing in all the reſt of the Cities in the *Levant* amounting to little or nothing. Their principal Profit conſiſts in carrying the *Armenians* and their Goods into *Europe*, and carrying 'em back again. They alſo make great Advantage of their Money, of which *Turkie* is very full. This Money of theirs is made of baſe Mettle, and notoriouſly intermix'd with Counterfeit pieces. It chiefly conſiſts of Crowns, Half-Crowns, *Teſtons*, or Eighteen-penny pieces, and pieces of Fifteen *Sous*. The Crowns and Half-Crowns for the moſt part carry the Dutch Stamp. Which the Turks therefore call *Aſlani*, that is to ſay *Lyons*; in regard of their being mark'd on both ſides with the Figure of a Lyon. The Arabians, either out of Ignorance or otherwiſe, miſtaking the Lyon for a Dog, give 'em the Name of *Abou-Kelb*, or *Dogs*. The Quarter-Pieces are almoſt all Counterfeit; or at Beſt, but Half Silver. However the Turks are ſo void of Judgment and Underſtanding, that they eſteem this Mony beyond that of *Spain*, which they call *Marſillies*, by reaſon that the Merchants of *Marſeilles* firſt brought it in great Quantities into *Turkie*.

The *States* maintain a *Reſident* at the Port, with an Allowance of Four Thouſand Crowns a Year. Which *Reſident* has beſides the one Moyety of the Revenue of the Dutch Conſulſhips in the *Levant*, which ſometimes amounts to a conſiderable Sum; there being one Dutch Conſul at *Smyrna*, who got Fifty Thouſand Crowns by Duties. When I arriv'd there, it happen'd that there was a great Quarrel between the Conſul and the Merchants: For he accus'd them for Cheats; Appealing to their own Books for the truth of his Affirmation; and deſir'd they might be view'd; to which the Merchants would by no means give their conſent. The *Reſident* not daring to determine this Difference, both Parties referr'd themſelves to the *States*. But at laſt, for fear the coming of the Convoy, ſhould occaſion farther diſturbances, the Merchants and the Conſul agreed the Duties of the Conſulſhip, at Ten Thouſand Five Hundred Crowns, for all that the Convoy brought in, and Shipt off.

The French are very numerous in *Smyrna*, and over all the *Levant*, there not being a Port of *Turkie* upon the *Mediterranean* Sea, wherein there are not ſeveral. They are for the moſt part all *Provençalls*. But the Trade which they drive is

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ſo inconſiderable, that one Merchant in each Place might diſpatch all the Buſineſs. At *Smyrna*, for example, there are above a Hundred Merchants; and yet the Truth is, that in ſome Years the Effects that came out of *France* conſign'd to all thoſe Merchants did not amount to above Four Hundred Thouſand *Livres*; and there are many that have not above Five Hundred Crowns Stock: Beſides that they agree but very badly together, as being a ſort of people that Love to harbour Diviſion and Contention one among another. So that it is no wonder if their Trade decreaſe, and turn to loſs rather then profit. For they who better underſtand the Nature and Maxims of Trade, affirm, That that ſame Diſ-union is the Thing which ruins 'em in the *Levant*; ſo that if we ſhould compare the preſent with the former Trade which they drove, we ſhould find it more miſerable and pitiful then ever. They add moreover that the *Provençalls* have formerly had in *Turkie* thoſe fortunate Chances and Luckie Opportunities, that it is highly to be wonder'd, that they did not fill their Country with Wealth in that happy Conjuncture. One of thoſe Lucky Seaſons began about the Year 1656, and laſted Thirteen Years, during which time they drove a Trade, by which they gain'd Fourſcore and Ninety *per. Cent.*

This Trade which was really and truly a great piece of Knavery conſiſted in theſe *Five-Sous-Pieces* that have made ſuch a Noiſe. For the Turks took the firſt that were brought at Ten Sous apiece: At which rate they held up for ſome time; tho afterwards they fell to Seven *Sous* and a half. There was no other Mony Stirring: All *Turkie* was full of it; neither was there any other Mony to be had; for that the French carri'd all the other Money away. This good Fortune ſo intoxicated their Senſes, that not content with ſuch great Gains, they ſtill thirſted after more; and to that purpoſe they ſet themſelves to alter their own pieces of *Five Sous*, and made others of the ſame ſort, but of baſe Mettle, which they Coin'd firſt at *Dombes*, then at *Orange*, and afterwards at *Avignon*. More then this, they Stampt far worſe at *Monaco* and *Florence*: And laſtly they made more of the ſame Stamp in the remote Caſtles belonging to the *State* of *Genoa*, and other private places, which were only Copper plated over. The Merchants of *Marſeilles*, to utter this Money, brought down the price themſelves, and put off their Pieces in payment, and to the Mony-Changers at a lower Rate then the Current Value. The Turks were a long time before they perceiv'd the

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Cheat that was put upon 'em, though ſo palpable and of ſo great a Conſequence; but ſo ſoon as they found it out, they were ſo incens'd, that they laid moſt heavy Impoſitions upon the *French*, uſing 'em no better then Counterfeiters of Money, though the *Dutch* and *Genoeſes* had a hand in it as well as they. Thereupon they forbid 'em to utter any of thoſe Pieces which they call'd *Timmins*, but ſuch as were ſtamp'd with the real Arms of *France*, which they alſo brought down and put at Five *Sous* apiece. So that all the *European* Merchants, except the *Engliſh*, were loaded at that time with great Quantities of thoſe *Timmins*. Their Warehouſes were full, whole Ships Loadings of 'em arriv'd daily, and they began to Coin 'em in all parts. But ſoon after, this Money being cry'd down, ſeveral of thoſe Money-Merchants loſt all their Gains, and many much more then ever they got.

The *Engliſh* were the Procurers of this Decry. For had that Money continu'd Currant, their Trade had been ruin'd, which conſiſted chiefly in the purchaſe of Silks. And the reaſon was, becauſe the *Timmin*-Merchants caus'd an advance to be made upon the price of Silks, not caring what they gave, provided the Sellers would take their Pieces of Five *Sous* in payment. I have ſeen above Fifty ſeveral ſorts of Coins of this ſort of Money. But the moſt common ſort carri'd on the one ſide a Womans Head with this *Motto*, *Vera Virtutis Imago*: On the other, the Arms of *France*, with this Impreſe, *Currens per totam Aſiam.*

There are no People in the World that have been more frequently cheated, or that are more eaſily gull'd then the *Turks*; as being naturally very dull, and thick-skull'd, and apt to believe any fair Story: Which is the reaſon that the Chriſtians have impos'd a Thouſand Cony-catching-Tricks, and Cheats upon 'em. But though you may deceive 'em once or twice, yet when their Eyes are op'n, they ſtrike home, and pay ye once for all. And thoſe ſort of Impoſitions which they lay upon Offenders in that Nature, are call'd *Avanies*; which are not always unjuſt Impoſitions neither; they being like the Confiſcations ſo frequent in Cuſtom-Houſes: Where for the moſt part the Chief Miniſters and their Officers devour the People, while the *Port* winks at all the firſt time, and only exhorts to Amendment. If the Complaints ceaſe, the Offence is ſtifl'd; but if the Clamour grow too loud, the *Port* ſends to take off the Head of the Party accus'd, and Confiſcates his Eſtate. By which means the People are ſatisfi'd, the Trea-

ſury is fill'd, Juſtice is done, and the Example remains to terrifie others.

The Merchants of *Marſeilles* affirm, That the Impoſition of theſe Fines was the main thing that ſpoil'd the Trade of the *French* in the *Levant*, as having coſt 'em ſuch prodigious Sums. But of all the Impoſitions that ever I heard of, there is one which I ſhall never forget, that was laid upon the *French* Merchants, at the time that *M. de Séſy* was the Ambaſſador of *France* at the *Port*, which happen'd thus.

His Excellency had a great deſire to turn one of the *Grand Signior*'s Farmers, and to Farm the Cuſtoms of *Conſtantinople* and *Smyrna*. But at the end of Six Months, *M. de Séſy* finding himſelf a Hundred Thouſand *Franks* in Arrear, requeſted to be diſcharg'd: which was a favour granted him on condition he would pay what he ow'd. But in regard he wanted Money, the *Turks* oblig'd the *French* Nation to pay for him. Thereupon he told the Merchants, That he had not tak'n upon him to Farm the Cuſtoms, but in hopes to advance the Trade of the *French*, and to prevent the Squabbles and Differences which daily aroſe between the *Turks* and Them about the payment of their Duties. To which the Merchants fail'd not to make a fair Apology, and to juſtifie themſelves by ſolid Reaſon: but all to no purpoſe: there was no more to be done, but they muſt pay down the Hunderd Thouſand *Franks*; ſo that for want of Money of their own, they were reduc'd to that Exigency, as to borrow the Sum of the *Jews* at Five and Twenty *per Cent.* for Six Months. And I am certainly aſſur'd by perſons that were well acquainted with all the paſſages, that it was ſo long before the Hunderd Thouſand *Franks* were paid, that the Intereſt amounted to three times as much as the Principal; ſo that this *Avanie*, or Impoſition coſt the *French* Nation near an Hunderd and Fifty Thouſand Crowns.

Two other Impoſitions they paid, during the Embaſſie of *M. de la Haye*, the Son, which amounted to Two Hundred Thouſand *Franks*. I have alſo heard that one of his Predeceſſors for Fifteen Years together took of every *French* Merchant-Man that came to *Conſtantinople* Five Hunderd Crowns, to re-imburſe himſelf of a pretended Expence of Six Hundred Crowns for the Advancement of the Trade of the Nation; and when they made it out, that he had repaid himſelf that Sum a hunderd times over, he made anſwer, *I will ſhew ye my Accompts, I take no more then is my due.*

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The *Venetians* maintain a *Conſul* at *Smyrna*, as alſo the *Genoeſes*; yet there are few Merchants, Natives in either of thoſe two Republicks, that live there; eſpecially of the *Genoeſes*, who have little or nothing to do in the *Levant*. They were only ſetl'd there at firſt by reaſon of the great Trade which they drove in *Five-Sous-Pieces*, in regard of the great profit which they gain'd. So that as ſoon as that Trade was prohibited, their principal Merchants retir'd: Only two or three remain'd at *Smyrna*, and one at *Conſtantinople*. Thereupon, their *Levant* Company began to diſſolve it ſelf, and there is no queſtion but the whole Eſtabliſhment of the *Genoeſes* had utterly gone to ruine, by the recalling their *Reſident* from the *Port*, and their *Conſul* from *Smyrna*, had they not been better adviſ'd then to make that Revocation, upon two Conſiderations. Firſt, Becauſe the *Turks* never ſuffer Nations that are ſetl'd among 'em to retire for good and all. Secondly, becauſe ſuch an entire abandoning the Country, would have too manifeſtly diſcover'd the beggerly Reaſon that ſway'd the Republick in an Enterpriſe that had coſt 'em ſo dear, and which had given *France* an Occaſion to ſhew how highly ſhe was diſpleas'd at their Conduct. For the better underſtanding of which Tranſaction, the Reader perhaps may not think his time ill ſpent in viewing three or four Pages.

In the firſt place therefore give me leave to obſerve, That the *Genoeſes* were formerly very powerful in the *Levant*, as being the Lords and Maſters of ſeveral Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, of ſeveral Places upon the Coaſt of the *Grecian*, and ſeveral Cities upon the *Black-Sea*. *Pera* alſo, now the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*, was under their Juriſdiction. Upon which there is no need for me to dilate, in regard the Stories of paſt Ages have giv'n a ſufficient Account, how and at what time they loſt all this fair Extent of Dominion. But the War in *Candy*, which happen'd in the Year 1645. encourag'd 'em to revive their Commerce in the Territories of the *Grand Signior*; imagining they ſhould make themſelves Maſters of that Trade which the *Venetians* drove there before the War. And to the end they might bring about this Deſign with more ſpeed and ſecurity, they apply'd themſelves to the King of *France* for his Recommendation, as being the moſt Antient, and moſt Conſiderable Allie of the *Ottoman* Empire. Which was eaſily condeſcended to by the King's Council, who had Affairs in their Heads of greater Importance then Trade.

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In ſo much that they did not foreſee the great Dammages which it would bring upon the French Nation; of which the moſt conſiderable was the prejudice done to the Articles of the Treaty between the Crown of *France* and the *Port*, being a kind of Annihilation of one of the Principal Capitulations, wherein it was concluded, *That all European Nations, that ſhould deſire to ſettle in the* Levant, *ſhould not be permitted to Trade, but under the Banners and Protection of* France. However the *Genoeſes* being thus recommended by the King, *M. de la Haye*, the Father, then the French Embaſſador in *Turkie*, us'd the utmoſt of his endeavours to aſſiſt 'em. Nevertheleſs it came to nothing, becauſe, as they ſay, it was not proſecuted with that vigor as it ought to have been.

In the Year 1664. they were very fierce upon it again, encourag'd by the great Profit which was got by Pieces of *Five-Sous*. But they could not then expect that the French ſhould ſollicite in their behalf as they had done before, becauſe the Face of Affairs was alter'd, as well in reſpect of Traffick in General, as of the *Levant* Trade in particular; rather they ſaw that their Enterprize would be diſpleaſing to *France*: However they believ'd, that the King of *France* had ſo embroil'd himſelf with the *Turk*, by the Aſſiſtance which he had giv'n the *Venetians* and the *Emperor*, that they did not think his Oppoſition or his Recommendation would ſtand 'em in any ſtead. Thereupon they ſought the Aſſiſtance of *England* and the Empire, and as for *France*, they ſatisfi'd themſelves with giving the King a bare Information of their deſign. Their Reſident inform'd the King that there was a *Levant Company* ſetting up at *Genoa*, and that the *Republick* had a deſign to ſend an Ambaſſador to the *Port*, in hopes that his Majeſty would favour their Negotiation. But the King ſaid no more, then only that he wiſh'd the *Republick* all good ſucceſs.

Which Anſwer increaſing the Suſpicions that the *Genoeſes* had already conceiv'd, and putting 'em into a deep doubt what Reception they ſhould meet with at *Conſtantinople*, they ſent *Incognito* the *Marquiſs* of *Durazzo*, as a Perſon that had the chiefeſt Intereſt in the Company, to ſift out the Truth, and to treat privately with the *Vizier*; to which purpoſe he went with Count *Leſley*, the Emperors Extraordinary Ambaſſador, as one of his Train. In ſhort, he ſaw the *Vizier*, and treated with him, and by the Mediation of the ſaid Ambaſſador, and the Ambaſſador of *England*, who were very active in forwarding the Negotiation, obtain'd that the *Genoeſes* ſhould have the

ſame Articles with the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders*. Upon which, the Envoy, having the *Grand Vizier*'s word in the Name of his Highneſs, return'd to *Genoa*, and gave an Account of his Negotiation with the *Divan*. Preſently thereupon the *Genoeſes* fitted out two Ships, and ſent the ſame *Marquiſs* of *Durazzo* again in Quality of an Ambaſſador.

However the firſt Conferences which the *Marquiſs* had with the *Vizier* were not ſo ſecretly carried, but that the *French* in the *Levant* had private Intelligence of the *Marquiſs*'s Proceedings. Immediately they were much troubl'd at this Deſign of the *Genoeſes*, fearing it would be a great prejudice to their Trade; which was the reaſon that they wrote into *France*, that their Trade would be much impair'd, if the *Genoeſes* came to be ſetl'd in *Turkie*; and therefore that all means were to be us'd to prevent 'em. Which Addreſs procur'd a Reſolution to hinder 'em, and Inſtructions to that purpoſe were ſent to the *French* Ambaſſador at the *Port*, who was then *M. de la Haye*, the Son.

No ſooner therefore was he come back from *Adrianople*, where he had been about other Affairs, but he receiv'd Orders to oppoſe the Eſtabliſhment of the *Genoeſes*. Which made him ſend back immediately for leave to return. For in *Turkie* no Ambaſſador muſt appear at Court without Permiſſion. But it happen'd that the *Grand Vizier* was not then in Town, being gone toward *Theſſaly*, to haſten the Siege of *Candy*. And as for the *Caimacan*, who is as it were his *Deputy*, He, having private Intelligence of the new Inſtructions which the Ambaſſador had receiv'd from *France*, made anſwer, That he could not grant the Ambaſſador leave, without the *Grand Vizier*'s conſent.

This the Ambaſſador look'd upon as a flat Refuſal; and therefore ſent a Gentleman to *Adrianople* with Inſtructions, to repreſent to the *Chief Miniſters*, That by the Capitulations between the *Emperor* of *France* and the *Grand Signior*, the *Port* was oblig'd not to entertain any *European* Nation, new Comers, but under the Colours of *France*; and ſo it was contrary to the Capitulations to Treat with the *Genoeſes*; for which reaſon if they did proceed to a Concluſion of the Treaty, He would be gone. Which Meſſage, together with ſo much of his Inſtructions as he thought requiſite, were ſent to the *Grand Vizier*, and debated in the place where he lay. But the Anſwer which the *Vizier* return'd, was very harſh and uncivil. Which was not to be wonder'd at in regard the *Vizier*

was at that time highly incens'd for the Affront which he had receiv'd in *Hungary*, by means of the *French*. His Reply therefore was, 'That the *Port* was open for him as well to 'go, as to come: That the Emperor of *France* had nothing to 'do to hinder the *Grand Signior* from making a Peace with his 'Antient Enemies, or to grant 'em their Capitulations when 'they came to demand 'em: and that it might ſuffice his Ma-'jeſty to be acknowledg'd at the *Port* under the Titles of Em-'peror and Chief Monarch of *Chriſt'ndom*, without taking up-'on him to preſcribe to others what they were to do.

The Ambaſſador of *Genoa* arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* at the ſame time that theſe Endeavours were us'd to prevent his Reception. Which was to him however no ſurprize, in regard he had already had Intelligence while he was at Sea, that ſome ſuch thing was in Agitation. Beſides, he had Advice, that the *Reſident* of *Genoa* in *France*, having made known to the King, that his Maſters had ſent the Marquiſs of *Durazzo* in the Quality of an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople*, the King ſhould return this Anſwer; *I wiſh the Ambaſſador of the Republick a good Voyage, but I know not what our Own has done at the Port upon this Occaſion.* I have ſeen ſeveral People who were of Opinion, that if the *Grand Vizier* had not had a particular Peek againſt the *French*, and ſome kind of averſion to the Ambaſſador's Perſon, that the *Genoeſes* had not been receiv'd into the *Levant*. For that the *Port* had no ſuch high value for an Intereſt of Trade, to grant a favour to the prejudice of *France*, from which their Hands were ſo ſpeciouſly ty'd with a fair pretence.

After I had ſtaid twelve days at *Smyrna*, I embark'd for *Conſtantinople*, where I arriv'd the Ninth of *March*, and Landed without any trouble, any danger, or any expence a very great Quantity of Rich Goods, which I brought along with me, being more then two Horſes could carry. For *M. de Nointel* did me that favour as to give me leave to put his Name and the *Flowre de Lices* upon my Cheſts, and then ſent for 'em as belonging to himſelf. Which was done with the greateſt eaſe in the World. For he preſently ſent his Interpreter to the Officer of the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, to let him know that he had two Cheſts aboard a *Flemiſh* Veſſel that arriv'd the day before, which belong'd to him; and therefore deſir'd they might be deliver'd Cuſtom-free. Accordingly the Officer gave ſuch Order, that the Interpreter went aboard the Dutch Veſſel, unladed the two Cheſts, and ſent 'em to the Ambaſſador's Houſe,

who

who did me Kindneſſes to ſend 'em to my Lodging the next day.

For all Ambaſſadors, Reſidents, and Envoys that reſide at the *Port*, have the Priviledge to Import and Export whatever they pleaſe; provided they undertake to own the Goods as belonging to themſelves; nor does the Officer of the Cuſtoms dare to take any Cogniſance of it. Which is a Civility and Generoſity of the *Turks* not to be parallell'd in *Europe*.

When I arriv'd at *Conſtantinople*, *M. de Nointel* was preparing to attend the *Grand Signior* at *Adrianople*, in order to the Renovation of the Articles. It was an Affair of great Importance, and which had made a great Noiſe in the World, as having hung in ſuſpence for Seven Years together, and for that the *Turks* ſtill ſtood upon their Terms and haughtily ſlighted the Ambaſſador notwithſtanding that they were then entring into a doubtfull War againſt *Poland*. And now I ſhall give ye an accompt of the Original of the Differences that were at that time grown to a great Height between *France* and *Turkie*.

At the beginning of the Raign of *Mahomet* the IV. the preſent Emperor of the *Turks*, who aſcended the Imperial Throne at Seven Years of Age, in the Year 1648. the Government was ſolely in the Hands of Women and Eunuchs, who fill'd all the Chief Places of Honour and Truſt with ſuch Perſons as they pleas'd themſelves. And the *Turks* acknowledge, that the *Ottoman Court* was never ſo corrupt, nor in ſuch a ſtrange Confuſion as at that Time. You ſhould ſee almoſt every Month a new *Grand Vizier*, who after he had been ſome few days in his Office, was not only diſcharg'd from his High Imployment, but many times depriv'd of his Life. Now it is the Cuſtom in *Turkie*, that upon the Advancement of any *Grand Vizier*, all Perſons of Quality go to kiſs his Hands, and carry him ſome conſiderable Preſent. More particularly all Ambaſſadors are oblig'd to that Ceremony. But *M. de la Haye* the Father, then Ambaſſador of *France* at the *Port*, obſerving the frequent Changes of *Grand Viziers* at that time, concluded that there would be no Reformation of this evil Management during the Emperor's Minority, and that all his Viſits and Preſents to the *New Vizier*, were but ſo many Viſits and Preſents loſt. So that he reſolv'd to ſit ſtill Quietly, and to ſpare his Compliments and the charge of his Preſents.

It happen'd in a ſhort while after, that *Cuperly Mahomet Pacha*, receiv'd the Seals of the Empire, that is to ſay, was advanc'd

advanc'd to the High Dignity of *Prime Vizier*. But the Ambaſſador ſtill believ'd that his Fortune would be no better then that of his Predeceſſors, and that he had but a very ſhort Raign; but he was deciev'd; for it ſo fell out, that this *Grand Vizier* upheld himſelf in his Office, till his Death, which happen'd in the Year 1662.

So ſoon as he was advanc'd, every one pay'd him their Viſits, and made him their accuſtom'd Preſents, and among the Reſt all the Forraign Miniſters, except the French Ambaſſador. To which as they ſay, he was adviz'd and ſeveral times moſt earneſtly preſs'd; but his good Husbandry for the Nation was ſuch, that he would not be over-rul'd. However at length percieving that *Cuperly* fix'd himſelf at Court, upon the Ruine of ſeveral of the Grandees, and that according to all outward Appearances he was like to continue *Grand Vizier*, at length he made him both his Viſit and his Preſents.

But then the *Vizier*, hainouſly offended at his Remiſſneſs, and the little value he had teſtifi'd for his Perſon before, had laid a deſign to be reveng'd not only upon him, but upon all the *French* Nation. And this in truth was the Source and Original of that Miſunderſtanding between *France* and *Turkie*, as well during that whole time the *Grand Vizier* liv'd, which was Twelve Years, as alſo during the Prime Miniſtry of his Son that ſucceeded him. So that the ſeverity of the *Port* toward the Three laſt Ambaſſadors of *France*, *M. de la Haye*, the Father, *M. de la Haye*, the Son, and *Monſieur Nointel*, and the ſeveral Impoſitions that were laid upon the *French*, for Twenty Years together, are to be Originally attributed to a particular and Perſonal Enmity, notwithſtanding all the Reaſons afterwards pretended, of which the Principal and juſteſt were the Enterprize of *Gigery*, and the Succors giv'n to the *Emperor* and the *Venetians*.

Nor was the *Vizier* long before he found an Opportunity to Thunder forth his Reſentments. Such a one, as he could not have wiſh'd for a better to advance his miſchievous Deſign. For then was the War very hot in *Candy*, and *France* had ſecretly aſſiſted the *Venetians* at the beginning of the War. Nay more, it is ſaid, that *M. de la Haye* had Inſtructions to hold a private Correſpondence with the *Venetians*, and to give 'em Intelligence of the Turkiſh Deſigns. Now it happen'd in the Year 1659. that a French-Man, who went by the Name of *Vertamont*, and who had a very conſiderable Imployment in the *Venetian* Army, deſir'd leave of the *Captain General*, to go and

ſee *Conſtantinople*. Preſently the *General* gave him a Paſs, and charg'd him with a great Packet of Letters for the *French* Ambaſſador. But the *French* Man, who had no other deſign then to turn *Turk*, apply'd himſelf to the *Caimacan* of *Conſtantinople*, and told him, That he had quitted the Camp of the Chriſtians, as being reſolv'd to abjure their Religion, and embrace *Mahumatiſm*; and more, that he had a Packet of great Importance to deliver into the Hands of the *Grand Vizier*. Upon which the *Caimacan* order'd him forthwith to be convey'd to *Adrianople*, where the Court then lay. Nor was this perfidious *Renegade*, contented only to renounce his Faith, but diſcover'd to the *Grand Vizier* the ſecret Correſpondence between the Ambaſſador of *France* and the *Venetians*; and farther told him, That the Packet of Letters which he had deliver'd into his Hands would convince him clearly of the Truth of what he ſaid.

The *Grand Vizier* had a jealouſie of this ſecret Correſpondence before, but being now in a manner aſſur'd in his ſuſpitions through the Diſcoveries of the *Renegade*, it may be readily conjectur'd to what a degree his paſſion tranſported him againſt the Ambaſſador of *France*, incens'd as he was already, and boyling with revenge, eſpecially being naturally inhuman and bloody. However at this time he put a curb upon himſelf, and ſhew'd more reſerv'dneſs and moderation then could be expected from him.

M. de la Haye, who well underſtood *Vertamont*'s Deſign, and what his Errand was to the Court, and beſides was well acquainted with the *Grand Vizier*'s Diſpoſition, his Implacability, and the Importance of the Affair, made no queſtion but the Intercepted Packet would put him to a great deal of trouble; and therefore he conſulted with his Interpreters and his Secretaries. Immediately the Secretary for his Ciphers took ſuch a fright at the Unfortunate Accident, that he reſolv'd to march off, well knowing that the *Grand Vizier*, upon the like occaſion of a Letter in Ciphers Intercepted, had caus'd an Interpreter to the *Venetians* to be Drubb'd to Death. Thereupon, addreſſing himſelf to *M. de la Haye*, *Sir*, ſaid he, *I am naturally ſo very timorous, that ſo ſoon as I feel the Drubbing-Stick, there is no ſecret which I ſhall not reveal; and therefore ſecure me, or let me make my eſcape.* Upon which the Ambaſſador order'd him to be conveigh'd into a private Concealment, and prepar'd to abide the Shock, whatever happen'd. He then kept his Bed, very ill of the Stone, ſo that he could

not go to *Adrianople*, though he had receiv'd Orders to appear there. However he ſent a Meſſage to the *Caimacan* who ſent him the Order, to tell him, That he was ſick a Bed, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to Travel; nevertheleſs he would ſend his Son in his ſtead.

But ſo it happen'd, that all the Letters which the *Grand Vizier* met with in the *Venetian* General's Packet, were writ in Ciphers; ſo that all the Renegado's and Interpreters in the *Ottoman* Court were ſent for in vain; for there was not one that had a Key to the Lock: which enrag'd the *Vizier* ſo much the more. And as for *M. de la Haye* the Son, he found him in ſuch an ill Humour, at his coming to *Adrianople*, that upon his returning him an Anſwer, ſomewhat more boldly perhaps then the Circumſtance would bear, *Cuperly* tranſported with paſſion, not only caus'd him to be abus'd in his Perſon, but ſent him Priſoner to a Tower adjoyning to the Wall of the City; ſaying withal, *That he was not to endure that from an Ambaſſador's Deputy, though his Son, which he might bear with in the Ambaſſador himſelf.* However, the *Vizier* did no harm either to the Merchants or the Interpreters, that went along with *M. de la Haye:* nor to the Secretary or Chancellor; being all diſcharg'd at the expence of that fear, into which he had put 'em at firſt, by Threats and cruel Menaces of Torment and Death if they did not Decipher the General's Letters. Only one of the Interpreters fell into ſuch a Diſtemper upon it, that he has continu'd ſick every ſince, and 'tis thought he will never recover.

The *Ottoman* Court was then at *Adrianople*, as I have ſaid, making great Preparations for the *Tranſylvanian* War. So that *M. de la Haye* the Father, underſtanding the *Grand Vizier* was ready to march, and fearing his departure before he had enlarg'd his Son, as it really fell out, ſtrove with his Diſtemper, and took a Journey to *Adrianople*; to which his Daughter-in-Law perſwaded him, urging him continually, That if he did not ſpeedily labour the Diſcharge of his Son, he might be in danger of his Life; and that the *Vizier* was cruel and incens'd; and therefore he ought to uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to pacifie his Fury.

A Month after the *Vizier*'s departure, the Ambaſſador ventur'd upon a bold Exploit, that deſerves to be remember'd.

A little before *Vertamont*'s coming to *Conſtantinople*, there arriv'd in the ſame place a certain *French* Man, whoſe Name was *Quiclet*, together with his Wife, and another *French* Man

whoſe Name was *Poulet*, ſo enamour'd of *Quiclet*'s Wife, that he never forſook her in all her Rambles. This *Quiclet* was a great Interpreter of Ciphers, a Man of Learning, but of little Judgment. He had alſo been employ'd to Decipher Characters by ſeveral Miniſters of State, and divers Ambaſſadors. But he was ſo much a Beggar, that he could not well be poorer then he was; nor do I know what unlucky Star brought him to *Conſtantinople*. It is reported however, that he having heard of the great Rewards which the *Grand Vizier* promis'd to any one that could Uncipher the *Captain General*'s Letters; the Wife of this wretched Fellow addreſſing her ſelf to ſome Gentlemen that belong'd to *Monſieur de la Haye*, gave it out, *That though his Excellency refus'd to lend her Husband Money, yet if he would himſelf, he could have what he pleas'd of the Grand Vizier.* I am not certain whether it were really ſo, as the Thing was related to me: but however it were, *Monſieur de la Haye*, who well knew the great deſire which *Cuperly* had to underſtand what was contain'd in the Intercepted Letters, and fearing leſt they ſhould reveal ſome Things as well to his own, as to the Ruine of all the *French* in the *Levant*, he ſent for the Fellow, carry'd him up to the Terrace of his Palace that lookt into the Garden; and after he had walk'd two or three Turns, holding him in a diſcourſe, which what it was, no body knows, he gave a ſign to ſome perſons plac'd there for the purpoſe, who threw him headlong over the Battlements, at what time another Gang, poſted near the place where he fell, perceiving he was not dead with the Fall, finiſh'd the Work, and buri'd him privately.

After this, the *French* Ambaſſador having Audience of the *Grand Vizier*, he ſent for the Intercepted Letters, and deſir'd the Ambaſſador to explain 'em. To which *Monſieur le Haye* made Anſwer, That it was well known to all the World, that the Ambaſſadors and Miniſters of the *Chriſtian Princes*, never wrote one to another unleſs it were in Characters, whatever the Subject were; nevertheleſs they did not underſtand the Characters themſelves; as having their Secretaries who compos'd and writ the Ciphers, and then explain'd them when they had done: That as for the Perſon by him employ'd for that purpoſe, he had ſent him back into *France*, about ſix Months ago. Yet if the *Grand Vizier* would permit him to carry the Letters home, he would try to Uncipher 'em, and if it could be done, he would be ſure to let him know the Contents. But the *Grand Vizier* having heard this Anſwer, only ſmil'd

upon

upon the Ambaſſador, and ſo preſently roſe from his Seat, without ſpeaking ſo much as one word. Some few days after the Chief Miniſter departed for *Tranſylvania*, leaving *Monſieur de la Haye*, the Son, in Priſon, but not ſo cloſely reſtrain'd as before, and *Monſieur de la Haye*, the Father, without any manner of Anſwer.

The *Grand Signior* did not go in Perſon to the *Tranſylvanian* War, but remain'd at *Adrianople*, where the Ambaſſador alſo tarry'd, in hopes to obtain of his Highneſs his Son's Enlargement; but no body durſt open their Mouths to the Emperor without the *Grand Vizier*'s order. Who having put a quick end to the *Tranſylvanian* Diſorder return'd Victorious to *Conſtantinople*. Where ſo ſoon as he arriv'd, he was put in mind of both the *Monſieurs de la Haye*. At which the *Vizier*, faigning a kind of ſurpriſe, *And what*, ſaid he, *Are thoſe Gentlemen ſtill here?* Which was as much as to ſay, *They might go where they Pleas'd*; as it appear'd by the diſcharge of the Son, which was order'd forthwith: And ſo both the one and the other return'd to *Conſtantinople* without ſo much as ſeeing the *Vizier*'s Face.

When it was known in *France* how unkindly the *Grand Vizier* had us'd *Monſieur de la Haye*, the Cardinal diſpatch'd a Gentleman to the Prime Miniſter, to prevent the ill Conſequences of ſuch Proceedings. *Cuperly*, whoſe Malice augmented through deſire of revenge, as one that mortally hated the two *Monſieurs de la Haye*, would fain have ſent them back, and oblig'd the Gentleman to have tak'n upon him the Title of Ambaſſador in their Room, engaging to interpoſe ſo effectually, that the Alteration ſhould be approv'd in *France*. But the Gentleman would not hear of that Propoſition by any means, excuſing himſelf fairly and genteelly. And it is moreover reported that he highly pleas'd the *Grand Vizier*'s Humor in all their Tranſacting together. I am ſorry I know not his Name, which would have been an Honour to this Relation.

The Accompt which the Gentleman gave of his Negotiation, caus'd *Monſieur de la Haye* to be recall'd. However there was not any one ſent to ſucceed him; only he had orders to leave in his Place, as Reſident, a French Merchant, that had liv'd for ſeveral Years in *Conſtantinople*, whoſe Name was *Monſieur Rokely*. Nor had *France* any other Miniſter in thoſe parts till the end of the Year 1665.

The King, who had then tak'n the Government into his own Hands, and Rul'd with no leſs Renown then Succeſs,

had

had already ſufficiently reveng'd himſelf for the Affronts offer'd to the Family of his Ambaſſador, and for the heavy Fines and Impoſitions laid upon his Subjects in *Turkie*, by lending powerful Succours to the Enemies of the *Ottoman* Empire. All which did but heighten the bad Underſtanding which was between the Two Empires, and Things were arriv'd to that Point, that there muſt either be an abſolute Breach, or a New Alliance. The Importance of the *Levant* Trade advis'd the latter; ſo that the King reſolv'd to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Conſtantinople* to renew the Articles of Peace. *Monſieur de la Haye* was then at *Paris*, ſolliciting for Imployment, and ſeveral Arrears due to him as Heir to his Father, who had been dead in that City ſome years before. Now in regard he underſtood better then any other Perſon, the Gains and Advantages of a *Conſtantinopolitan* Embaſſie, together with the Splendor and Authority that belongs to it, he made great Friends for the Place; and to remove all Oppoſition and Obſtructions in his way, he offer'd to quit all his Arrears to the Chief Miniſter.

Thereupon, his Friends at Court alledg'd His great Experience in the Affairs of *Turkie*; and that his Courage and Reſolution was ſuch as was requiſite for an Embaſſie to the *Ottoman Port*. On the other ſide, that it was for the King's Honour to ſend him thither, were it only to humble the *Grand Vizier*, who muſt now be conſtrain'd to honour that very Perſon, whom his Father had abus'd and hated; Meaning *Cuperly Mahamed Pacha*, who dy'd in the Year 1662. after he had ſetl'd his Son in his Room. Nor can I tell how this Counſel, as bad as it was, came to be embrac'd, unleſs it were in proſecution of that Deſign which the Court always had to bring the *Turks* to a Compliance by force. The Event of Affairs will ſhew that there was ſomething of that Nature in the Management of this Buſineſs.

Monſieur de la Haye arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* in the Month of *November* 1665. He alſo made a Magnificent Entry, and behav'd himſelf for five Years together that he continu'd Ambaſſador, with as much State as could be expected from a Reſolute Miniſter, and one that bore the Character of an Ambaſſador from a Potent and Formidable Prince. He diſcours'd of nothing in the Viſits that he made to the Miniſters of the *Divan* but of the Grandeur of the King his Maſter, and the Invincible Strength of his Armies. This offended the *Vizier* extreamly, who lookt upon it as an Affront done to him, and

the *Grand Signior*, even in his own Court; and this Foreſtallment of his Honour, caus'd him to treat the Ambaſſador with diſdain and contempt. So that when he gave him Audience, he receiv'd him with that pride and ſcorn which was unſufferable, not vouchſafing ſo much as to look upon him, or to riſe from his Seat according to the ancient Cuſtom, and the uſual practice at the Reception of Ambaſſadors either from the Emperor or any other Crowned Heads. And not content with that, he upbraided him in bitter Language, with the Succours which *France* had ſent into *Hungary* and *Candy*, and the Enterpriſe of *Gigery*. *Monſieur de la Haye* diſſembl'd his Reſentment, believing that when he took his leave, the *Vizier* would ſhew him more Civility: but he was deceiv'd; for the *Vizier* diſmiſs'd him with the ſame Indifferency, wherewith he had receiv'd him.

The Ambaſſador reflecting upon the Affront, which the *Vizier* had done him at that Audience, ſent to him to demand another, upon Condition that he ſhould receive him ſtanding, and forbear any farther Reproaches. The *Raiſquitab*, who is the High-Chancellor of the Empire, and the *Vizier*'s *Kiaia*, or Chief Controller of his Houſhold, anſwer'd the Interpreter, That he might aſſure his Maſter, the *Vizier* would receive him, as became him. Thereupon, the Ambaſſador relying upon a promiſe, that indeed carry'd with it a manifeſt Equivocation, went to his Audience, but his Reception was nothing different from what it was before. Which diſguſted *Monſieur de la Haye* to that degree, that he told the *Vizier*, That the Emperor of *France* having ſent him to the *Port*, to Confirm the League of Amity between the two Princes, he would not take the Audience which he had giv'n him for an Audience, becauſe he had not paid him thoſe Honours which were due to the Ambaſſador of the Greateſt and moſt Potent Monarch in *Chriſtendom*. Moreover he declar'd, That he had Order to give him up the Articles of Peace, and return into *France* in the ſame Veſſel that had brought him, if he did not treat him anſwerably to the Grandeur of his Maſter. Which ſo incens'd the *Vizier*, that he fell into a paſſion, and vented his Choler in reviling and reproachful terms. On the other ſide, the Ambaſſador was ſo highly provok'd, that ſnatching the Articles of Peace out of the Interpreters Hands, he threw 'em at the Knees of the Haughty Miniſter, and riſing from his Seat, flung out of the Room without ſpeaking a word, or vouchſafing to tarry for an Anſwer. But he was ſtopp'd at the Door

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of the Anti-Chamber; at what time the *Vizier* ſent for the *Mufti*, *Vani Effendi* the *Grand Signior*'s Tutor, and the Captain *Baſha*, to deliberate what was to be done in an Accident of ſuch Importance as this. The Reſult was, That they ſhould inform the *Grand Signior*, who was then gone a Hunting Twenty Leagues from *Conſtantinople*; which was the Reaſon that the Anſwer was delay'd for three days, during all which time, *Monſieur de la Haye* lay under Confinement in an Apartment of the *Grand Signior*'s Palace.

In the mean while the Captain *Baſha* brought a Meſſage in the *Vizier*'s Name, That if the Ambaſſador would Kiſs his Garment, he would receive him as he had receiv'd Count *Leſley*, Ambaſſador from his Imperial Majeſty; that he would alſo receive him ſtanding, and pay him all thoſe Honours which he had paid to that Count. To which the Ambaſſador anſwer'd, That he was not to be govern'd by Preſidents of any Perſon, when they were prejudicial to the Honour of the Emperor of *France*. The Captain *Baſha* demanded what he could object againſt the Example of Count *Leſley*, *whoſe Maſter was the Emperor of Seven Kings?* a Title which the Emperor aſſumes among the *Turks*, as being Elected by Seven Electors. At length, after many Diſputes on both ſides, and that the *Grand Signior* had given his Anſwer, it was concluded between the *Vizier* and the Ambaſſador, That he might return to his Lodging when he pleas'd, that the two Audiences which he had receiv'd ſhould ſtand for nothing, and that he would grant him another with all the Cuſtomary Civilities and Ceremonies.

This Audience was giv'n him in the Month of *January* 1666. At what time, the *Grand Vizier*, becauſe he would not be oblig'd to riſe when the Ambaſſador was introduc'd, order'd him to be brought into a particular Room of State, whither he came to meet him. At his firſt Entrance he demean'd himſelf with an extraordinary Civility, approaching the Ambaſſador with a ſmiling Countenance, and reaching forth his Hand. On the other ſide, *Monſieur de la Haye*, who was glad to ſee ſuch a Compliance, anſwer'd his Civilities and Compliments with all ſuitable Decency, as if he had never ſeen him before; and the Audience ended with all the Courteſie and *Decorum* that could be expected on both ſides: The Ambaſſador and his Retinue being Treated with Perfumes, Coffee, Sorbet, and Four and Twenty Turkiſh Veſts. The next Month he had Audience of his Highneſs, where every thing was ma-

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nag'd according to the uſual Cuſtom, with all Civility; it not being proper to diſcourſe of Buſineſs to the *Grand Signior*.

Monſieur de la Haye had Orders to demand the renewing the former Articles of Peace, and Liberty of Trading to the *Eaſt-Indies* through the *Red-Sea*. But the *Grand Vizier* would not conſent either to the one or the other, upon the Conditions that were propounded: and in *March* he left *Conſtantinople*, and attended the *Grand Signior* to *Adrianople*, from whence he departed for *Candy*. At the ſame time alſo *Monſieur de la Haye* follow'd the Court to *Adrianople*, where he had ſeveral Conferences with the *Caimacan* in reference to his Negotiation; but in regard that Miniſter durſt not conclude any thing without conſulting the *Vizier*, *Monſieur de la Haye* return'd to *Conſtantinople*, having made no farther progreſs in his Buſineſs.

Soon after happen'd the Treaty of *Genoa*, already ſpok'n of, which put the whole Affair into an abſolute Confuſion, and exaſperated both Parties. For on the one ſide, the *Genoeſes* were entertain'd notwithſtanding the Proteſtations and Threats of the Ambaſſador, and on the other ſide, the Ambaſſador, in his Complaints and Proteſts, made uſe of Expreſſions that offended the Turkiſh Miniſters. They had written to him, as I have already related, *That it was not for the King his Maſter to oppoſe the Reception of any whoever they were, whom the* Grand Signior *was pleas'd to favour with his Friendſhip; and that it was ſufficient for his Maſter to be acknowledg'd at the* Ottoman *Court, for the firſt Prince in* Chriſtendom. To which *Monſieur de la Haye* made Anſwer, *That as for what concern'd his High Titles, the Emperor of* France *was only beholding to God and his Victorious Arms.* Which was tak'n very ill, as being the ſame Titles which the *Grand Signior* aſſumes to himſelf, and which the *Turks* believe to be only due to his Highneſs. And therefore the Miniſters ſignifi'd to *Monſieur de la Haye, That never any Ambaſſador had made uſe of thoſe Titles before; neither was it a Thing which had been ever allow'd by the* Divan, *to any other Perſon whatſoever.* In the mean time the *French* ſent very conſiderable Succours to *Candy*, which much retarded the Conqueſt of the Iſland, while the *Turks* on the other ſide oppreſs'd the French Merchants with new Impoſitions and Extortions. In ſo much that their Complaints, which grew louder and louder every day, oblig'd the King to ſend expreſs Order to *Monſieur de la Haye*, to re-

turn to *France*, and lay aſide all thoughts of renewing the League, at leaſt if it were not a Thing firſt ſought and deſir'd by the Miniſters of the *Port*. Which Orders were deliver'd to him toward the end of the Year 1668. not a little to his diſſatisfaction. However he did not forbear to Viſit the *Caimacan* at *Conſtantinople*, telling him that he had receiv'd Orders from the King his Maſter to return home; to which purpoſe he expected the Arrival of the Veſſels which his Majeſty had ſent, and his leave of the *Port*, in order to his Departure; requeſting him withal to write to the Court, that he might be ſent for withal Expedition.

The Court was then at *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, whither his Highneſs was gone, to the end that being ſomewhat the nearer to *Candy*, he might be a means to haſten the Conqueſt. And therefore, before the *Caimacan*, who is as it were the *Grand Vizier*'s Lieutenant, would write, he demanded of *Monſieur de la Haye*, Whether any other Ambaſſador came in his Room? To which he anſwer'd, *Not any*; but that the Emperor his Maſter had commanded him to leave a *Secretary* or a *French* Merchant for his Reſident, like the Repreſentatives of the *Hollanders* and *Genoeſes*. The *Caimacan* ask'd him, Wherefore no Ambaſſador was ſent? To which the other reply'd, *That it was not a Thing which he could declare in publick.* By which Anſwer the *Caimacan* apprehending that he had ſomething of ſecreſie to impart to him, gave him a private Audience. And then it was that the Ambaſſador diſcover'd to him, the reaſons which oblig'd the Emperor of *France* to recal him, with a Reſolution never to ſend any more Ambaſſadors to the *Ottoman Port*. Firſt, for that the Dignity of the Ambaſſador of *France* had not been regarded nor reſpected as it ought to be. That no heed had been given neither to the Complaints nor Requeſts which his Majeſty had made for three Years together. That they refus'd to renew the Capitulations of Peace, which was an unſufferable Damage to the *French* Merchants, who were conſtrain'd to pay Five i'the Hundred Cuſtoms, whereas the *Engliſh*, *Hollanders* and *Genoeſes* paid not above Three *per Cent.* That they had entertain'd the latter in *Turkie*, contrary to all his Remonſtrances and Proteſts; and had forc'd the *French* to pay within leſs then three Years, above Two Hundred Thouſand *Livres*, for unjuſt and oppreſſive Impoſitions. To which *Monſieur de la Haye* farther added, That if theſe Grievances might be taken into Conſideration, ſo that the Emperor his Maſter might be aſſur'd of Redreſs, he did not

queſtion but that his Majeſty would reſt ſatisfi'd and not recal him. Upon this the *Caimacan* made anſwer, That he would write to the *Caimacan* of the *Port*, who is alſo another of the *Vizier*'s Lieutenants, and one who never ſtirs from the Perſon of the *Grand Signior*; and alſo that his *Excellency* would do well to write himſelf, which would add the greater weight, and give the quicker diſpatch to the Affair. Nevertheleſs all the Anſwer which the *Caimacan* of the *Port* ſent to *Monſieur de la Haye*, was only this, That he would give an Accompt to the *Grand Vizier* of what he had writ, and that he ſhould know his Anſwer with the firſt Opportunity.

While the Ambaſſador tarry'd for this Anſwer, Four of the Kings Men of War arriv'd in the Haven of *Conſtantinople*, being ſent to bring back the Ambaſſador. And this Squadron ſtruck no ſmall fear into the *Turks* at firſt; but finding that *Monſieur d'Almeras*, who was the Commander, had ſent to the City, ſo ſoon as he came to an Anchor, for Fifteen Hundred Weight of Bisket, and that with no ſmall Importunity too, they began to ſlight him under the want of Proviſion, and reduc'd to ſuch a Condition that he could not ſubſiſt, if they ſhould refuſe to ſupply him.

In *March* 1669. *Monſieur de la Haye* receiv'd the *Grand Vizier*'s Anſwer, containing a Permiſſion to come to the Court; where he arriv'd in the Month of *April*. And here I ſhall paſs over the Motives and Deſign of this Journey, not but that I ſufficiently know what was diſcours'd at *Conſtantinople*; but becauſe thoſe Diſcourſes were different from what *Monſieur de la Haye* ſets down in the Relation which he gave the King at his Return to *Paris*; from whence I took the chiefeſt part of this Recital: and where he declares that he had no other end but to take his leave. Nor ſhall I ſay any thing for the ſame Reaſon, of what he did at the *Ottoman Court*, from whence he wrote to Admiral *d'Almeras*, who then lay at *Conſtantinople* with his Four Men of War to come and take aboard him at *Vola*, in the Golph of *Salonica*, a Turkiſh Ambaſſador, which the *Grand Signior* was ſending into *France*.

This *Turk* was nam'd *Soliman*, being then *Muttifar Aga*, or the *Grand Signior*'s Porter. And when he was ſent to the *French* King, he was a Fellow that ſerv'd for Fifteen *Aſpers*, or about Six-pence a day. He arriv'd in *France* toward the end of the Year 1669. and departed thence the next Year in the Month of *Auguſt*. All *Paris* had a ſight of him, and they that were acquainted with him, knew him to be as haughty,

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as brutiſh, and as crafty a *Turk* as ever was in the World. The *Provençalls* that were in the *Levant* call'd him *Monſieur de la Haye*'s Ambaſſador, and took the liberty to affirm that *Monſieur de la Haye* furniſh'd him with Money for his Equipage. And they grounded their Aſſertion upon this, That *Soliman*'s Equipage was far ſhort of the Magnificence of the Turkiſh Ambaſſadors. And *Monſieur de la Haye*, when he was jeer'd for *Soliman*'s Rigging, had no other way to juſtifie himſelf, but by ſaying, That *Soliman* had not time to make better Proviſion for himſelf. Others would put it cloſer upon him, That the Title of *AMBASSADOR* was not to be found in *Soliman*'s Credentials. But for that he had another ſhift, That while *Soliman* lay at *Cale Saint Nicolas* near *Cerigo*, expecting the Admiral's arrival to take him aboard, the *Grand Vizier*, ſecure of taking *Candy*, and finding no farther neceſſity to keep fair with *France*, or dread their Aſſiſtance, alter'd all *Soliman*'s Titles, Inſtructions and Diſpatches; recalling the firſt, and ſending him others: But that it was moſt certain, that the Name and Title of *Soliman Aga* were beſtow'd upon him in the Quality of an Ambaſſador; of which there needed no farther proof then this, That the Great Turk gave him the Scimitar and Veſtment which he gives to his Ambaſſadors, and that the Fortreſs of *Napoli* in *Romania* ſaluted him with ſeveral Guns at his entrance into the Haven.

However it were, *Monſieur de la Haye* return'd to *Conſtantinople* in *July*, and three Months after he receiv'd Order to embark, if he could, aboard the Fleet under the Command of *Monſieur d'Almeras*; but if the *Caimacan* prevented him, that at the ſame Inſtant he ſhould lay down the Title of *Ambaſſador*, to the end the *Turks* might not have the Opportunity to Glory that they had in their Power an Ambaſſador of *France* to abuſe at their pleaſure. But as I ſaid before, the Men of War were gone before this Order arriv'd: ſo that *Monſieur de la Haye* could not obey the firſt part of the Order; and as to the ſecond, he excus'd himſelf, by writing into *France*, That the *Turks* had a great Veneration and Reſpect for him.

But this excuſe not being ſo throughly acceptable at Court, was the Occaſion that *Monſieur de la Haye* was peremptorily recall'd. Beſides the *Provençals*, were ſo incens'd againſt him, that they ſent continually into *France*, clamouring that ſo long as he ſhould be continu'd Ambaſſador at the *Port*, the

League

League would never be renew'd; neither would the Paſſage to the *Indies* through the *Red-Sea* be obtain'd; in regard the *Vizier* had an old Grudge againſt his Perſon. Which Complaints being believ'd, it was reſolv'd that *Monſieur de la Haye* ſhould be recall'd, and that *M. de Nointel* ſhould be ſent in his ſtead. Who was a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, a Perſon of great Integrity, and ſo curious that his Curioſity had carry'd him to *Conſtantinople* before that Time; but he was of too mild a Diſpoſition to negociate in *Turkie*. Neither were they reſolv'd at firſt to have giv'n him any higher Title then that of *Reſident*; till the Importunity of his Friends and of the *Levant* Company, procur'd him that of Ambaſſador. For the Company judging of what begat Eſteem and Reverence among the *Turks*, by the Humours of the *Europeans*, repreſented to the Chief Miniſters of State, that in the tranſacting matters of ſuch High-Importance, as the renewing of an Advantageous Peace and the obtaining a Free Trade to the *Indies* through the *Red-Sea*, the *Grand Signior* would ſooner condeſcend to the Dignity of an Ambaſſador, then the more obſcure Quality of a Reſident.

Monſieur Nointel therefore departed out of *France* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1670. together with the Turkiſh Ambaſſador, *Soliman Aga*, and arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* in *October* following; the King allowing him four Men of War for the ſecurity of his Paſſage under the Conduct of *M. D'Aplemont*. By the way I have heard ſeveral Perſons of great Sagacity and Judgment affirm, that *M. de la Haye* had wrong done him, and that they were deceiv'd who vainly imagin'd that it was either out of diſreſpect to his Perſon, or for want of Good Management, that the *Turks* refus'd to renew the League at his Sollicitations. Which the Sequel of Affairs has juſtifi'd for Truth, plainly demonſtrating that the Blame was to be laid upon the Ill timing the Embaſſy, and the Potent Succors which the King of *France* ſent to *Candy* at the very Inſtant when he had ſent his Ambaſſador to deſire conſiderable Favours and particular Advantages of the *Grand Signior*.

Mr. Nointel made a Magnificent Entry into *Conſtantinople*; but the *Turks* were nothing pleas'd with ſo much Pomp; altogether unſeaſonable, and no way agreeable to the Circumſtances of Time and Buſineſs. The *Ottoman* Court was then at *Adrianople*, where *Monſieur de la Haye* with little difficulty obtain'd leave to depart, and to that purpoſe embark'd himſelf in the Admiral of the Squadron, Commanded by *M. d'Aplemont*.

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But ſoon after both the Admiral and the reſt of the Squadron were Imbargo'd before the *Caſtles*, by reaſon of two Slaves that had made their eſcapes, as was ſuppos'd, into the French Ships. There were it ſeems about an Hunderd in all, who had broke their Chains, of all ſorts of Nations; of which Number was the *Chevalier de Beaujeu*, who had been a Priſoner in the *Seven Towers*. The *Caimacan* ſent to demand the Slaves of *M. Nointel*, and *M. Nointel* went to demand 'em of the Captains of the Men of War, who anſwer'd, That there were none ſuch in any of their Veſſels: and *M. de la Haye* was forc'd to write from the *Dardanels* to the *Vizier* to atteſt the ſame under his own Hand; who ſeeming to be ſatisfi'd with his anſwer, ſent an Order to let the Veſſels go.

Sometime after the departure of *M. de la Haye*, *M. Nointel* went to *Adrianople*. Where he had all the uſual Honours duly paid him; but demanded Audience before he had made known the Subject of his Negotiation at the *Ottoman Port*, which he ſhould have declar'd before-hand. For it is the Law in *Turkie*, That all Ambaſſadors before they ſee the Face of the Prime Miniſter, or of the *Grand Signior*, ſhould ſignifie the Occaſion of their Coming, what their Demands are, and what it is that they have in Commiſſion to Treat about. And the ſame Law is obſerv'd over all the *Eaſt*. Of which *M. Nointel* was not ignorant. But he found it in his Inſtructions, That he ſhould Negotiate his Affairs in Perſon with the *Grand Vizier*, and that he ſhould not diſcloſe the Kings Orders but in a full *Divan*, when he might alſo ſpeak to the *Grand Signior* himſelf. Which was therefore ſo reſolv'd upon in the Kings Council, becauſe it was ſaid in *France*, That his Highneſs knew nothing of the Severities of the *Grand Vizier* toward the *French* Nation; no more then did the *Divan*. That the Haughty Miniſter refus'd to renew the Treaty of Alliance upon the Kings Conditions, out of a particular hatred which he bore the *French*, and therefore it behov'd him to get himſelf out of his Clutches, and free himſelf from any Dependance upon his Abſolute Authority. But it is a Failing predominant in all the Courts of *Europe*, that they take falſe Meaſures as to the Affairs of *Turkey*: a certain ſign that the *Genius* and Politicks of the *Turks* are not as yet rightly underſtood. However moſt aſſuredly theſe Counſels were ill given, and worſe follow'd. For *M. Nointel* did all he could to obſerve his Orders, ſometimes he would diſcloſe nothing at all; then again he was for diſcovering part of his Commiſſion: but finding

he could not obtain Audience, he was forc'd to unboſom himſelf, and to ſend a Memorial of all the Demands which he had to make at the *Ottoman Port.*

This Memorial he gave to the *Vizier*'s Interpreter, whoſe Name was *Panaioti*; a Grecian, and a Man of a piercing Wit, who underſtood ſeveral of the *European* Languages; and among the reſt *Latin* and *Italian*, which he writ as well as ſpoke with great Judgment and Dexterity. He was a Perſon untaintedly faithful to the *Grand Vizier*, and it appear'd that he was intirely devoted to the Intereſts of the *Port*, to the prejudice of the Chriſtians. Which firmneſs of his, whether it proceeded from a dread of the Turkiſh Severity in the puniſhment of Treaſon and Treachery, or the Obligations of his Birth, or the Influences of Turkiſh Slavery, I will not here diſpute; however it be, he bears the Title of *Chief Interpreter*, and *Secretary* of the *Ottoman Empire.* The Commonwealth of *Genoa* alſo made him a Noble-Man of that City for the good Offices he did their Ambaſſador the Marquiſs of *Durazzo.* He was Interpreter to the Emperor of *Germany*, before he ſerv'd the *Vizier*; who allow'd him a Penſion of a Thouſand Crowns, which as ſome ſay is ſtill privately paid him. And moreover he had the chief Management of the Treaty of Peace between the two Empires, which was not ſo honourable for *Germany.* He alſo carry'd on the Treaty of *Candy*, wherein he acted ſo much to the Satisfaction of the *Grand Vizier*, that at the time of the Ratification he gave him the Revenue of the Iſland of *Micone* in the *Archipelago*, worth Four Thouſand Crowns a Year. I have been the longer in giving an Accompt of this *Panaioti*, becauſe he is a Perſon ſo well known to all that have Buſineſs at the *Port:* as being the only Man that Treats in the *Vizier*'s behalf with all Chriſtians that make their Addreſſes to him, of what Quality ſoever, and whatſoever their Buſineſs may be.

The Ambaſſadors Demands were comprehended under Thirty Articles, of which theſe were the chief.

Firſt, *That the* Grand Signior *ſhould not entertain within his Dominions any* European *Nation, except what were already ſetl'd there, but under the* French *Banners; and that particularly the* Italians, *except the* Venetians *and* Genoeſes, *that ſhould come into* Turkey, *ſhould be oblig'd to put themſelves under the Banner of* France, *and the Protection of that King's Ambaſſador.*

This Priviledge was granted by the *Turks* to the *French* in the Capitulations made in the Reign of *Francis* the Firſt, and the *French* enjoy'd 'em till the beginning of this Age; at what time by reaſon of certain Pyrates that Cruis'd upon the Coaſt of *Egypt* under *French* Colours, the *Port* ſtruck out that Article in a new Agreement then concluded. Afterwards the Article was reſtor'd, and the ſame Priviledge granted a ſecond time in theſe words.

All Nations of Europe, *that do not maintain Publick Agents at the* Port, *nor are in Alliance and Confederacy with the* Grand Signior, *which ſhall come into the* Levant *under French Colours, ſhall be there receiv'd and entertain'd, and enjoy the ſame Advantages which the* French *do.* But the *Turks* refuſe to acknowledge theſe latter Capitulations; and therefore making uſe of the former, they alledge moreover, That the words [*ſhall come*] are not excluſive; and therefore though the *Port* be oblig'd to receive all Strangers that *ſhall come* under *French* Colours, yet they do not debar the *Grand Signior* to entertain Strangers, if it be his Pleaſure, that come under other Colours.

Secondly, *That the* French *ſhall not pay above Three in the Hunderd Cuſtoms, which is no more then the* Engliſh, Hollanders, *and* Genoeſes *do.*

Thirdly, *That the* Grand Signior *ſhall grant Free Liberty to the* French *to Traffick to the* Indies, *through his Dominions and Territories, more eſpecially through the Channel of the* Red-Sea; *without paying any other Duties then thoſe of Entrage.*

Fourthly, *That the* Grand Signior *ſhall reſtore to the Religious Orders of the Roman Catholicks the* Holy Land, *and the Holy Places from whence they were expell'd by the* Greeks *in the Year* 1638.

Fifthly, *That the King of* France *ſhall be acknowledg'd at the* Port, *the Sole Protector of the Chriſtians.*

Sixthly, *That all the Roman Catholick Chriſtians that live within the Dominions of the* Ottoman *Empire, ſhall be look upon and conſider'd as under the Protection of his Majeſty.*

Seventhly,

Seventhly, *That the* French *Capuchins, that live at* Conſtantinople, *may have Liberty to Rebuild their Church at* Galata, *which was burnt down about Fifteen Years ago.*

Eighthly, *That all the Churches of the Roman Chriſtians within the* Ottoman *Empire, may for the future be Repair'd or Rebuilt, as often as need ſhall require, without being put to the Trouble of asking Leave.*

Ninthly, *That all the* French *Slaves ſhall be ſet at Liberty.*

The other Propoſals were of leſs Importance in particular, only their Number render'd 'em conſiderable. But the *Port* look'd upon theſe Demands to be ſo extravagant, nay ſo ridiculous, that the Prime Miniſters believ'd, or elſe pretended to believe, that the King ſought only an Occaſion to break with his Highneſs. Thereupon the *Vizier* ſent to know of the Ambaſſador, Whether he had any Letter from the Emperor of *France* directed to the *Grand Signior* or Him, which contain'd thoſe Propoſals, ſet down in the Memorial which he had deliver'd in his Majeſties Name. For that he could never think the Emperor of *France* would ever give Order to make ſuch Propoſals to the *Port*, ſo exorbitant, and ſo remote from Reaſon and Juſtice in his own Name, unleſs he ſaw 'em expreſly written in any Letter under his Majeſties Hand. *M. de Nointel* taking no farther notice of the *Vizier*'s Demand, return'd only for anſwer, That he had Letters of Credence from his Maſter for the *Grand Signior*, and the *Grand Vizier*, which was ſufficient, for that his Majeſty did not uſe to write about Buſineſs himſelf. And therefore that the *Port* was under a miſtake to queſtion the Mind and Intentions of the Emperor of *France*, becauſe it was not ſhown in Writing under his Majeſties Hand. True it is, that the Ambaſſador ſpoke Reaſon, and the Impediment pretended by the *Vizier* was only a Litigious Nicety. However, notwithſtanding all that *M. de Nointel* could ſay or alledge to the contrary, he would not grant him Audience, till he promis'd and engag'd to ſend for a Letter from the King that ſhould contain preciſely the ſame things that were ſet down in his Memorial, and that the Letter ſhould come in ſix Months.

It was toward the end of *February* 1671. that *M. de Nointel* made this promiſe: and the next day the *Grand Vizier* ſent to him,

him, to let him know that on the Morrow he ſhould have Audience of himſelf, and that two days after he ſhould have Audience of the *Grand Signior* likewiſe, upon condition that he would not diſcourſe of any Buſineſs True it is, the *Vizier* gave him but a cold Reception. For the Ambaſſador entring into diſcourſe upon ſeveral Subjects, which were all too long and tedious for the Turkiſh Humour, they went in at one Ear and out at the t'other: The *Vizier* for the moſt part giving him no other Anſwer but only a ſhort *Yes*, or as brief a *No*. Particularly *Monſieur Nointel* enlarg'd upon the Grandeur of the King, and his vaſt Forces: which the *Vizier* taking to be a kind of ſecret Threatning, *Yes*, ſaid he, *the Emperor of* France *is a Great Monarch, but his Sword is but a new Weapon yet.* Intimating that the King had done no Exploits that deſerv'd ſuch loud Elogies; but therein he was not well inform'd of what had paſs'd among the Chriſtian Princes. Neither did *Monſieur Nointel* eſcape ſome other Quips of the ſame Nature. For the Ambaſſador talking of the Antiquity of the Alliance between *France* and *Turkey*, was ſaying, *That the* French *were the* Turks *true Friends.* To which the *Vizier* ſmiling, *Ay*, ſaid he, *the* French *are our Friends indeed, but we always find 'em among our Enemies.* But the next was more home and ſharp.

The Ambaſſador being ready to take his leave, order'd the Interpreter to tell the *Vizier*, *That he had Orders from the Emperor his Maſter, earneſtly to recommend to him the Buſineſs of the* Red-Sea. *That it was a Thing which his Majeſty had ſet his Heart upon, and deſir'd the* Port *would give him Satisfaction in that Particular with all Expedition* To whom the *Vizier* drily, *Can it be*, ſaid He, *That your Emperor, ſo great a Monarch as you ſay he is, ſhould ſet his Heart ſo affectionately upon the profit of his Merchants?*

Nor was the Ambaſſador better ſatisfy'd with the Audience which he had of the *Grand Signior.* For after he had made his Reverence, they led him up to the end of the Room of State, Face to Face to his Highneſs, to whom he made his Harangue, which laſted about a quarter of an Hour. But it ſignify'd little. For the Interpreter explain'd no more then the Senſe of it to the *Vizier*, which the *Vizier* abbreviated in two words to the *Grand Signior.* Which done, *M. de Nointel* began to diſcourſe of Buſineſs to his Highneſs; contrary to Cuſtom, to the *Vizier's* Requeſt, and his own Promiſe. The *Grand Signior* liſten'd attentively to what the Interpreter ſaid, and for anſwer, looking upon the *Vizier*, who

upon ſuch Occaſions is always near the *Grand Signior*'s Perſon, *This Ambaſſador*, ſaid he, *addreſſes himſelf to our* Lalá. Which word *Lala* ſignifies both a *Tutor*, and a *Father*. The *Turks* made uſe of the word, to denote a Perſon who has a particular Care and paternal affection for another.

Then again, it is the Cuſtom, after the Ambaſſador has had his Audience of the *Grand Signior*, for him to Dine in the *Divan*, where the Ambaſſador ſits with the *Grand Vizier*; and the Gentlemen of his Retinue Eat with the *Viziers of the Bench*; who are the Greateſt Lords of the Empire. There would *M. de Nointel* be talking alſo of buſineſs. Which put the *Vizier* ſo out of Patience, that, being forc'd to be ſomewhat rude with him, after he had deſir'd him to be ſilent, *Good Mr. Ambaſſador*, ſaid He, *Keep to your promiſe, in Six Months we ſhall underſtand whither you are Friends or Enemies.*

This was the firſt Diſappointment of *M. de Nointel*, and the ſucceſs of his Journy to *Adrianople*. He return'd to *Conſtantinople* in *March* 1671. from whence he wrote to *France*, what he had done at the *Port*, and upon what Terms he ſtood with the *Vizier*. By which it was apparent to the Court, that the *Vizier* did but make ſport with the Ambaſſador and the *French*. Upon which it was debated whether they ſhould break with the *Port*, or whether they ſhould diſſemble ſuch an Affrontive Entertainment. And therefore that they might not proceed with too much Precipitancy in an Affair of that Importance, the Chief Preſident of *Aix*, *M. d'Oppede*, was order'd to aſſemble at *Marſeilles* all the *Levant* Merchants, and others that were verſt in the Affairs of *Turkey*, and to take their Opinions upon what ſeveral People had offer'd to the Council. *That* France *might refrain from Trading into the* Levant, *at leaſt for ſeveral Years, and that it was eaſie to do ſo much Dammage to the* Turks *by Sea, that the* Grand Signior *ſhould be conſtrain'd to grant his Majeſty his own Demands.* Upon which the Reſult of the Aſſembly, by the Plurality of Voices was, *That the Propoſalls were certainly true*; *that* Provence *was ſo ſufficiently ſtock'd with* Turkey *Commodities*, *that there was enough to furniſh* France *for Ten Years: And that if the King would ſend but Ten Veſſels into the* Grecian Seas, *and particularly to the* Dardanels, *there would ſoon be ſuch a Famine in* Conſtantinople, *that the People would certainly make an Inſurrection to the Advantage of the* French.

Upon

Upon this the *Provençalls* made no queſtion but that there would ſuddainly be a War with the *Grand Signior*. They wrote over all the *Levant*, what had paſs'd at *Marſeilles*, and aſſur'd their Friends that the King was ſetting forth a Fleet of Fifty Ships to ſend againſt the *Turks*. And *M. de Nointel* reciev'd Letters from *Marſeilles*, which aſcertain'd him the ſame thing. In ſo much that the News was ſpread in an Inſtant through *Conſtantinople*, *Adrianople*, and over all the Ports of the *Levant*. Beſides, I have been credibly inform'd, that the *Grand Vizier*, and all the Prime Miniſters of the *Port*, were very much ſtartl'd at it. Inſomuch that he ſent to the other Ambaſſadors and Reſidents of Chriſtendom, to know whither the King of *France* intended a War, and were making preparations for it. To which they all ſent him anſwer, that it was true that the *French* were ſetting forth a very great Fleet. But whither it were deſign'd againſt *Turkey* or no, they could not tell: but the general Report, and that which they believ'd to be the trueſt was, that they were intended againſt the *Hollanders*. Which Anſwers abated the Fears of the *Turks*; and ſoon after a French Bark arriving in two Months at *Conſtantinople* rid 'em of all their Jealouſies. For tho they thought at firſt, that it had been a Boat which had brought freſh Orders to the Ambaſſador and for all the *French* Nation; yet were they no leſs glad, when the Maſter being ask'd, where the *French* Fleet lay, that was deſign'd againſt the *Turks*, made anſwer, that he did not underſtand what they meant; that he had heard no talk of a Fleet, and that he was ſure there was no ſuch thing, as any Preparations at *Toulon*.

The firſt of *September*, the *Grand Vizier* wrote to *M. de Nointel*, *That the Six Months were expir'd, which was the time he had tak'n to ſend for a Letter from his Maſter; deſiring farther to know whether it were come, what it contain'd, and what Inſtructions he had receiv'd from his Majeſty.* To which the Ambaſſador reply'd by word of Mouth to the Meſſenger who brought the Letter, *That the Emperor of* France's *Anſwer was not yet come, which was all he could ſay to the* Grand Vizier, *being reſolv'd not to give any other Anſwer to a Letter, that did not give his Maſter all the Titles that belong'd to his Imperial Majeſty.* Which *M. de Nointel* did on purpoſe, for that the *Vizier* had not given the King either in his Letter, or in the Superſcription, any other Title then that of *Craul*, which among the *Turks* is not ſo high as that of *Padcha*, though they both ſignifie a Soveraign Prince. But *Padcha* is the Title which they always

give

give the *Grand Signior*, and which they were always wont to allow the King of *France*. *Padcha* being a *Perſian* word; *Craul* a *Sclavonian*, and the very Title which the *Polonians* give their King: and in *France* the word *Padcha* is tak'n for Emperor.

All this while the Reſolutions and Reſults of the Council of *France* in reference to the Affairs of the *Levant*, after the Aſſembly held at *Marſeilles*, did not anſwer publick Expectation in the Proſecution of that Aſſemblies Advice. For the King deſigning a War with *Holland*, would not engage in another with *Turkey* at the ſame time, which requir'd the beſt part of his Navy to maintain. Therefore he reſolv'd to ſpin out time, and to endeavour an Accommodation; that ſo he might not be oblig'd to break with the *Turks*. To which purpoſe *Monſieur de Lyone* wrote to the *Vizier*, *That the Emperor of* France *admir'd he ſhould refuſe to give Credit to his Ambaſſador, ſince the* Port *had never till then queſtion'd the Truth and Reality of the Propoſals of the* French *Ambaſſadors. That his Imperial Majeſty would not trouble himſelf to explain his meaning any otherwiſe then by his Ambaſſador* M. de Nointel: *ſo that if the* Grand Signior *or his Miniſters refus'd to give him Credence, they would do well to let him return in the Veſſel that brought the Letter.*

With this Letter *M. d'Hervieu*, Interpreter to the *Dolphin*, and at preſent Conſul at *Aleppo*, was ſent, having Orders to deliver it himſelf to the *Grand Vizier*, and withal to carry the King's laſt Inſtructions to the Ambaſſador. He ſet Sail from *Marſeilles* in *September*, in one of the King's Men of War call'd the *Diamond*, commanded by the *Marquiſs de Prully*, but did not arrive at *Conſtantinople* till *February* following, bad Weather having detain'd him Four Months between *Malta* and *Conſtantinople*.

So ſoon as the Veſſel arriv'd, and that *M. de Nointel* had ſeen the King's Inſtructions, he wrote to the *Vizier*, *That his Majeſties Anſwer was at length come, after it had been Five Months upon the Seas, and that he only tarry'd for Leave to appear at Court, that he might impart it to him.* To which the *Vizier* return'd anſwer, *That he might come when he pleas'd, and be Welcom.* More then that, he had ſuperſcrib'd his Letter according to the Ancient Cuſtom, *To the Ambaſſador of the Emperor of* France; whereas he had only writ upon his former, *To the Ambaſſador of the King of* France. The ſame day alſo that the Ambaſſador receiv'd this Letter, the *Caimacan* ſent a

Meſſenger to him, to let him know, *That he had Order from the* Vizier *to furniſh his Excellency with Thirty Wagons, Twelve Horſes, and a Thouſand Crowns toward the Expence of his Journey; which ſhould be ſent him with all ſpeed.* In ſhort, the Money was brought the next day, and the Wagons and Horſes were punctually ready according to the time which the Ambaſſador had prefix'd.

And this was the State of Affairs and Condition of the Alliance between *France* and *Turkey* when I arriv'd at *Conſtantinople* in *March* 1672.

The Ambaſſador departed from *Conſtantinople* the 29th of *March*, carrying along with him the Abbot of *Nointel* his Brother, a Gentleman, a Confeſſor, a Steward, a Secretary, three Interpreters, two Janiſaries, and of meaner Officers a competent Retinue. Beſides all theſe, he had alſo in his Train, M. *d'Hervieu*, who brought the Letter from M. *de Lyonne* to the *Vizier*; one of the Directors of the *Levant Company*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to Treat about the Conditions of the *Red-Sea*-Trade; Two Spaniſh Fryers, *Commiſſaries* of the *Holy Land*, who were to ſollicite the Reſtitution of the Sacred *Places*, from whence they had been expell'd by the *Greeks* by Authority from the *Port*, about Thirty Years before; a Merchant of *Marſeilles*, who had Buſineſs at the *Port*, together with Four *French* and *Italian* Gentlemen, who, as I my ſelf, made that Journey meerly out of Curioſity. The *Caimacan* alſo ſent a *Chiaus* to attend the Ambaſſador, to provide him Convenient Lodging, and to preſerve that Reſpect to his Perſon, and his Retinue, which the *Turks* are ſubject to violate upon the ſlighteſt Occaſions, if not overaw'd by the dread of Puniſhment. We were Six Days upon the Road; it being reck'nd Fifty Leagues between *Conſtantinople* and *Adrianople*. A Road no way to be found fault with, as being very broad and level, over Plains, and a lovely Champain Country: beſides that we paſs'd through a great many very neat Villages, accommodated with fair and handſom Inns.

We lodg'd half a League from *Adrianople*, in a moſt pleaſant Situation, upon the River *Hebrus*, call'd *Boſna-Koy*, that is, the Village of the *Boſneans*. Ten days after our Arrival, *Panaioti*, the *Vizier*'s Interpreter, of whom we have already ſpok'n, came to viſit the Ambaſſador in his Maſters Name, and to know the King's Reſolutions touching the renewing of the Alliance. After which Preamble to M. *de Nointel*, he told him, That it was the *Grand Vizier*'s Opinion, that it was not

convenient for him and the Ambaſſador to have any Perſonal Interviews and Diſcourſe together, till all Affairs were concluded and fully agreed, for fear leſt any Exceptions or Differences ſhould happ'n between 'em, which though but upon ſlight and impertinent *Punctilio's*, might break or put a ſtop to the Negotiation, and hinder its good ſucceſs. To which *Panaioti* added, as it were in Confirmation of the *Vizier*'s Judgment, That Affairs in *Turkey* were never well manag'd, unleſs it were by a Third Perſon, in regard the *Vizier* and the Ambaſſador being equally concern'd to preſerve the Honour and Intereſts of two great Empires, neither of the two would be the firſt that ſhould forego the ſmalleſt Tittle of their Pretenſions; but that a Treaty carry'd on by their Interpreters could not eaſily produce thoſe unlucky Accidents either in the One or the Other. In ſhort therefore, the *Vizier* deſir'd that favour of him, that he might not give him Audience, but only to deliver into his Hands the new Articles of Peace and Agreement. M. *de Nointel* could have wiſh'd with all his Heart, it might have been otherwiſe: but there was a Neceſſity of condeſcending to the *Grand Vizier*'s Pleaſure, which was to Treat by the Intercourſe of Interpreters. Thereupon *Panaioti* took the Letter which M. *de Lyonne* had written to the *Vizier*, and the Memorial of the Conditions upon which his Majeſty was reſolv'd to renew the *Alliance*, and no otherwiſe, as the Ambaſſador alledg'd; and ſo took his Leave, after he had made a Thouſand Vows and Proteſtations to the Ambaſſador of the Services he would do in that Negotiation. Particularly he told him, That he took it for ſo great an Honour to have the Management of this New League between the *Grand Signior* and the Emperor of *France*, that there was no way or means which he would leave unſtudy'd that he might bring it to a Concluſion, to the Satisfaction of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. But Time diſcover'd, that his Proteſtations were altogether deceitful and fallacious, and that *Panaioti* had not the ſame Inclinations for the Intereſts of *France* as for thoſe of the *Grand Vizier*.

Firſt then, the *Vizier* read over the Ambaſſador's Memorial, and then gave it to be examin'd in the *Divan*. It was not ſo long by half as that which he had preſented the time before, as not containing above Eleven Heads. Nevertheleſs he found it to be very Extravagant. So that when the moſt Conſiderable Articles were read, he would ſtill cry, The *Port* will never grant 'em. Upon others he would paſs Sentence,

 ſaying,

ſaying, This may be granted; and we ſhall endeavour to paſs over ſuch an Obſtacle and to remove ſuch and ſuch Difficulties. So that he abſolutely refus'd one part of the Demands, and gave his Opinion of the reſt but very doubtfully. Which was a piece of Policy in the *Grand Vizier*, to diſcover by the Ambaſſador's Anſwers, whether it were true that his Inſtructions were not to recede in the leaſt from his Memoires. And it fell out according to his deſire, for by that means he found that the Ambaſſador had private Orders.

At the end of *April*, the two Fryers, Commiſſaries for the *Holy Land*, were very much troubl'd at a Report that ran among our ſelves, That they needed not to tarry, as they did, in expectation of being reſtor'd to the Sacred Places, from which the Greeks had expell'd 'em, for that the *Vizier* having declar'd, That he would agree to the Abatement of the Cuſtoms, and the *Red-Sea-Trade*, on Condition the Ambaſſador would not inſiſt upon the *Holy-Land*, he had anſwer'd, *That that was a Point to be reſerv'd till the laſt.* Which becauſe it is an Affair of much Curioſity, I ſhall here ſet down the principal Paſſages relating to it; withal in ſome meaſure to divert the Reader, weary'd perhaps with a long Story of the French Negotiations at the *Ottoman Port*, for the Renewing of an Alliance.

The Kingdom of *Jeruſalem* was Conquer'd by the Chriſtians in the Year 1099. and loſt in the Year 1177. At what time a certain King of *Syria* whoſe Name was *Nezer-Salah-el-din-Joſeph* reconquer'd it, and expell'd all the Weſtern Chriſtians, eſpecially the *Knights*; leaving only behind the Oriental Chriſtians, *Syrians*, *Armenians*, *Georgians* and *Greeks*. In a ſhort time after one of the Kings of *Naples*, of the Houſe of *Anjou*, purchas'd of the King of *Syria* the Sacred Places of *Paleſtine*. However the Bargain was kept ſecret, the King of *Syria* being afraid leſt the *Mahumetan* Princes his Neighbours, ſhould reproach him for what he had done, and quarrel with him about the Sale. Thereupon the *Franciſcan* Monks were ſent to take poſſeſſion of the Sacred Places according to the Compact, who continu'd there, and were confirm'd by the *Soldans* of *Egypt*, and the Turkiſh Emperors who afterwards Conquer'd *Paleſtine*.

All this while the Fryers had the Keys and Poſſeſſion of whatever Chriſtian Devotion had Conſecrated at *Jeruſalem*, *Bethlehem*, *Nazareth*, and in all other Sacred Places of the *Holy Land*. Moreover, the Eaſtern Chriſtians, who were very

numerous,

numerous, had alſo their Chappels in ſeveral of thoſe Holy Places, as well in the Church built upon the Sepulchre of Chriſt, as in thoſe that were rear'd in the Places where he was Born and Crucifi'd. The Popes likewiſe who make it their Buſineſs to bring over to their Communion all the *Greeks*, commanded the *Franciſcans* that they ſhould have all manner of Liberty in the *Holy Places*, and withal to permit 'em to build Chappels, to keep Lamps and Tapers burning, and to erect Images and Altars.

This Allurement of ſo much Freedom, which the *Greeks* enjoy'd in their Churches, ſay the *Franciſcans*, was that which entic'd 'em into a deſign to make themſelves the ſole Maſters of thoſe Places; though the *Greeks* moſt ſtiffly deny any ſuch thing. However it were, in the Year 1634. the *Greeks* repair'd to the *Port*, and there produc'd ſeveral Ancient Records, ſetting forth their Title to the poſſeſſion of Mount *Calvary*, the *Grotto* of *Bethlehem*, and other Places. Thereupon the *Franciſcans* were cited to the *Divan*; who appear'd with the Ambaſſadors of the Chriſtian Princes that were then reſident at the *Port*: and the Cauſe was ſeveral times argu'd before the *Prime Vizier*. All the Chriſtians alſo who were in Alliance with the *Port*, as well Proteſtants as Roman Catholicks, intereſted themſelves in the Suit; and both ſides were at extraordinary Expences. But at length the *Greeks* gain'd the Cauſe, and were put into poſſeſſion of the Holy Places, according to their own deſires.

The *Grand Vizier*, who gave Judgment in favour of the *Greeks*, being dead at the end of two Years, the *Europeans* demanded a Rehearing of the Cauſe. Which was granted, and it went clearly for the *Franciſcans*, who were thereupon reſtor'd to the poſſeſſion of what the *Greeks* got from 'em, but they did not keep it above two Years more. For after that, another *Grand Vizier*, more favourable to the *Greeks*, reſtl'd 'em again in all the Places which had been recover'd by the *Franciſcans* four Years before. After that, the *Latins* us'd great Endeavours to regain the Poſſeſſion, but all to no purpoſe, the *Divan* being ſtill deaf to all their Sollicitations, Promiſes and Offers; and conſtantly alledging, That it was not juſt, that the *Greeks*, who were the *Grand Signior*'s Subjects, and who paid him the yearly Tribute of Eight Hunderd Thouſand Crowns, ſhould be depriv'd their ſhare of the Cuſtody of the Sacred Places in *Paleſtine*, which was part of the Demeaſns of the *Ottoman* Empire. Yet for all that, the *Franciſcans* have

not forborn to renew their Importunities, their Petitions, and their Offers of Money, as often as they found any ſeaſonable Opportunities to do it. In the Year 1665. *Count Leſley* in the Name of the Emperor took all the care and pains imaginable for the Reſtoration of the *Franciſcans* to their Rights, pray'd, pay'd and promis'd Mountains, but all was labour loſt. Four Years after, the *Procurator Molino* in the Name of the *Republic* of *Venice* undertook their Cauſe with the ſame Vigour; ſo that the *Franciſcans* had now no other hopes but in the King of *France*. To which purpoſe they deputed two of their Order to his Majeſty, who preſented him with Letters of Recommendation from *Rome*, *Spain*, and the moſt part of the Roman Catholick Princes, to make uſe of his Credit and Reputation in the *Ottoman* Court, for the Reſtoration of the *Latins* into the Sacred Places, from whence they had been expell'd by the *Greeks*. But there was no need of a Recommendation to excite the King in the proſecution of ſuch a Pious Act, to which his own Zeal was a ſufficient Incentive. Immediately therefore he wrote to *M. de la Haye* to inſert the Demands of thoſe Religious-Perſons among the Conditions for the renewing the Alliance. And after that, both *M. de la Haye*, and *M. de Nointel* proteſted to 'em ſeveral times, That they had expreſs Orders not to Treat with the *Port*, nor to renew the Articles of *Alliance*, unleſs they would reſtore the *Franciſcans* to the Places they had loſt. Nevertheleſs it appear'd at the end of *April*, that an Affair of that Nature might be diſpenc'd withal, rather then to put a ſtop to ſuch an Important Treaty for the Cuſtody of three or four ſilly Chappels.

Theſe two Fryers told me, how that upon their Arrival at *Conſtantinople*, *M. de la Haye* bid 'em reſt ſatisfi'd; for that he underſtood ſo well the Reſolutions of the Prime Miniſters of the *Port*, that they would never renew the Treaty, upon the Conditions which the King demanded, in regard the Reſtoration of the *Sacred Places*, upon which the King ſo firmly inſiſted, was an Article the *Port* would never grant. To which, as they inform'd me, they return'd this Anſwer, which included good Advice indeed for the ſucceſs of their own Intereſt. *If your Excellency*, ſaid they, *have poſitive Inſtructions in Reference to the Reſtoration, and that you know the* Port *will never conſent to it, make no other Demand to the* Grand Vizier *till that be concerted; and declare withal to the Prime Miniſter, That you will not Treat, till he has promis'd to reſtore us what the* Greeks *have tak'n from us. If your Excellency obſerve this Method, either*

the Vizier *will grant or deny. If he grant, the greateſt Impediment to the renewing of the Treaty will be remov'd: If he refuſe, the Rupture will redound to the King of* France's *Honour. He will appear not to have ſought his own Intereſt: All* Europe *will admire his Majeſties Piety and Zeal; and there is no Perſon but muſt be forc'd to acknowledge that his High Reſpect to Religion was the only cauſe that incited him to break with the* Turks.

The well-meaning Fathers told me this Story with an extraordinary Vehemence, which is uſual among *Spaniſh* Monks. For they believ'd it to be one of the moſt Noble Actions in the World to enter into a War with the *Ottoman* Empire, to force the *Great Turk* to take from the Chriſtians of *Jeruſalem*, his own proper Subjects, the Cuſtody of five or ſix petty Churches, and beſtow it upon Foreign Monks, who not content to make uſe of 'em when they pleas'd, would have the Keys hung at their Girdles.

About Mid-*May M. de Nointel* finding that the *Grand Signior* and *Vizier* were ready to depart for *Poland*, and that there was but little Progreſs made in his Negotiation, went to viſit the *Reiſquitab*, or Lord Chancellor: With whom he had three Conferences, before they could conclude the Treaty. But at the third Conference, which was upon the 26th of *May*, all things were agreed and ſetl'd, and the Alliance was renew'd upon the following Conditions.

That the French *for the future ſhould pay no more then Three* per Cent. *Cuſtoms.*

That they ſhould have the Red-Sea *open for a Trade into the* Indies, *paying Five* per Cent. *Cuſtoms, which ſhould be paid at their Entrance into the* Grand Signior's *Dominions, without any farther Payments either for their Paſſage, or at their Departure.*

That the French *Capuchins ſhould rebuild their Church of St.* George *at* Galata, *burnt down by Fire: And that the ſame Church, together with the Jeſuits in the ſame Place, and all other Appurtenances belonging to the* French *within the* Ottoman *Empire, ſhould be under the Protection of the King.*

That the Ambaſſador ſhould be acknowledg'd Protector of the Hoſpital of the European *Chriſtians in* Galata, *and that they ſhould have Liberty to ſay Maſs in the ſaid Hoſpital.*

That

That all the French *Captives that were in* Turkey, *or ſhould happen to be taken for the future, ſhould be ſet at Liberty, provided they were not taken in any Fleets or Armies, or before any Places in Hoſtility with the* Port.

And this was all that was to be chang'd or added in the New Capitulations; for the Article concerning Foreign Nations was to continue as it was before in the former Treaty.

When all things were accepted and mutually agreed, the Ambaſſador of *France*'s eldeſt Interpreter ſpoke to *Monſieur de Nointel*, that he ſhould not ſtir till the Chancellor had made out a Draught of the New Capitulations. Which advice was well giv'n, but the Ambaſſador gave more Credit to *Panaioti* the *Grand Vizier*'s Interpreter, who told him, it would be an Affront to the Chancellor, to diſtruſt what he deliver'd by word of Mouth, by asking him for a Draught in Writing; and that he would engage his Word, and be Security for the performance of what the Chancellor had declar'd. Upon which the Ambaſſador ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-rul'd; and return'd to his Lodging extreamly joyful and well ſatisfi'd, and with all the Chearfulneſs and Gaiety in his Countenance which generally diſplays it ſelf upon the good ſucceſs of Buſineſs. Inſomuch that ſitting down at Table, *Come, Gentlemen*, ſaid he, *the Capitulations are renew'd; let us now be merry, and drink to this Renovation of the League.*

Now the Chancellor had promis'd to ſend a Copy of the Draught in the Evening, to the end it might be examin'd, and afterward writt'n out fair: but he fail'd in his promiſe, nor was the Ambaſſador troubl'd in the leaſt. The next Morning however he ſent for it: but he was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, to find that the Article about Foreign Nations did not oblige, as it ſhould have done, all thoſe that were under no ſettlement already at the *Port*, to put themſelves under the Banners and Colours of *France*. Then *Monſieur de Nointel* began to miſtruſt that he had been deluded. At laſt he fell into a Paſſion, and preſently call'd for his ſecond Interpreter, to go and tell the Chancellor, That if that Article were not put down as he underſtood it, he would not accept the New Capitulations. Which his chief Interpreter obſerving, ſtepp'd in, and adviz'd him to be wary how he enhanc'd the price as he was going to do; that it was not ſafe to put the Market into the *Turks* Hands,

as

as he did; and therefore deſir'd him to take care how he engag'd himſelf in a heat to break with the *Port*, for a ſingle Article of little Importance. But ſuch was *M. de Nointel's* Impatience, that he bid the Meſſenger go forthwith, and carry his Meſſage to the Chancellor; who anſwer'd, That he would report it to the *Vizier*.

The 29th the Ambaſſador went to the Chancellor's Houſe; who told him, 'That it became not *France* to demand of the 'Port a thing which was not in their Power to grant: For that 'the *Grand Signior* had engag'd to the *Engliſh*, the *Venetians*, 'the *Hollanders* and *Genoeſes*, That all Strangers that ſhould 'come into *Turkey*, under their Colours, ſhould be welcom, 'whoever they were; ſhould enjoy the ſame Priviledges, and 'in a word be entertain'd as their Friends were. That having 'alſo granted the ſame Priviledges to the Emperor, particularly 'for the Imperial *Hans-Towns*, for the Subjects of the Houſe of '*Auſtria* and the *Italians*, his Highneſs could not without vio-'lating his Faith, grant to the *French* what they demanded; 'that is to ſay, That he ſhould admit no Foreigners but what 'came under the *French* Colours, unleſs they were ſuch as had 'their Eſtabliſhments already confirm'd at the *Port*. To which 'the *Chancellor* added, That what he had repreſented to his 'Excellency was notoriouſly publick, and a moſt convincing 'Argument, and therefore beſought him not to inſiſt any fur-'ther upon that Article. To which *M. de Nointel* reply'd with a Proteſt not to renew, unleſs that Article were granted in the ſame form as he demanded. The *Chancellor* return'd, That he would report his Proteſt to the *Vizier*, and then he ſhould know his Anſwer. The Ambaſſador told him, He ſhould think himſelf highly oblig'd, ſo that his Conveniency would permit him, if he would be pleas'd but to go immediately and ſpeak to the *Vizier*, while he ſtaid for his coming back. The Chancellor conſented; went, ſpoke to the *Vizier*, and return'd with this Anſwer.

'The *Grand Vizier* has order'd me to tell your Excellency, 'That you made him promiſe ye about a Month ſince, That 'provided the *Port* ſhould grant the Emperor of *France* an 'Abatement of the Cuſtoms, and a Free Trade through the '*Red-Sea*, he would be contented, as to what remain'd, with 'what was reaſonable and juſt. That upon that word he had 'granted in the *Grand Signior's* Name thoſe two Articles, and 'other Favours which you know; but now ſeeing you have

'not

'not kept your word with him, he declares expreſly, That 'he recalls his own, and will grant you nothing at all.

This Anſwer was like a Thunderclap. *M. de Nointel* and thoſe that were with him ſtood like Men in a Trance. They begg'd to reſume, and ratifie the Treaty, but it was impoſſible, though they proffer'd upon the place to quit and renounce the Article conteſted. To which the Chancellor anſwer'd, That he had no other Orders from the *Vizier*, then to deliver his Meſſage, and that he had no Power to Treat any farther. The Ambaſſador reply'd, That he had a Letter from the *Prime Miniſter* of *France*, which he deſir'd only to deliver into his Hands, and ſo to take his leave. The Chancellor made Anſwer, That for his Audience it might be eaſily obtain'd, but as for the Letter from the *Prime Miniſter* of *France*, the *Grand Vizier* car'd not a Straw to look upon it.

Monſieur de Nointel returning to his Lodging with that vexation and perplexity of Mind which may be conceiv'd without any great difficulty, propounded to his Council, which were the Abbot his Brother, the Director of the *Levant Company*, and his two chief Interpreters, That ſince the *Engliſh* and *Hollanders* had lately given Ten Thouſand Pounds Sterling apiece, for renewing their laſt Capitulations, it would be convenient for the *French* to give the ſame Money for the renewing of Theirs. Upon which the two Interpreters had order to propoſe the Sum to the Chief Miniſters: but it nothing avail'd. For there are ſome Favours obtain'd at the *Port* by the Force of Money; others which no Money will procure. And ſuch for Example was the Buſineſs ſollicited by the two *Commiſſaries* of the *Holy Land*, who offer'd an Hunderd Thouſand Crowns to the *Grand Vizier* to put 'em in poſſeſſion of the *Sacred Places*, and to expend as much in Preſents to the *Grand Signior*, and Miniſters of the *Port*. But their Money was Droſs, the *Divan* not being to be brib'd in that caſe.

By the way, I ſhall ſay this farther, in reference to thoſe *Religious Fathers*, that their making ſuch large Offers was not a thing to be wonder'd at. For they have aſſur'd me, that the Devotion which *Spaniards* have toward thoſe *Sanctifi'd Places* is ſo great, that they themſelves would expend whole Treaſures for Liberty to enjoy 'em again. They affirm'd to me moreover, That the Money expended in the *Holy Land* amounts to Eight Thouſand Pounds Sterling a Year, of which a third part goes in Preſents to the *Turks*; and that the Guar-

dian who is Triennial, expends in Preſents at his Arrival no leſs then Two Thouſand Five Hunderd Pounds.

The Third of *June*, which was the Day appointed for the *Grand Signior*'s departure for *Poland*, the Ambaſſador went betimes in the Morning to the Camp, to the Quarters of the *Grand Vizier*, with a deſign to oblige the Haughty Miniſter to grant him that Audience which he had refus'd him ever ſince his Arrival, and to receive the Letter from *Monſieur de Lyonne*. He carry'd with him alſo M. *d'Hervieu*, to the end that as he was the Perſon that brought it, he ſhould deliver it into his Hands. But the *Vizier* was not then in the *Camp*, being gone to Convoy the *Sultaneſs*, Mother to the *Grand Signior*, to her firſt Lodging. Which conſtrain'd the Ambaſſador to go to the Chancellor's Quarters, where he waited ſeven compleat Hours, ſometimes in one Tent, ſometimes in another, becauſe the Camp was then juſt upon Diſlodging. At length a little after High Noon, the News came that the *Grand Vizier* was come to the City. Whither the Chancellor went to him, and told him, That the Ambaſſador of *France* ſtaid in the Camp to Kiſs his Hands, and to know his laſt Commands. The *Vizier* order'd him to tell his Excellency, That he needed not to give himſelf the trouble of waiting, for that he was then taking leave of his Wife, his Mother, and his Family, and ſhould not return to the Camp till Night: and therefore that it would be ſufficient for him to leave only one of his Interpreters, to whom he would give his Anſwer. Which was, *That he would impart the Ambaſſador's Demands to the* Grand Signior *and the* Divan; *but that he could not do it ſo ſoon as he might expect, by reaſon that the Army was upon its March. That in the mean time, his Excellency might return to* Conſtantinople, *and there await the* Grand Signior's *Reſolution. That he would in the mean time write to the* Caimacan *to grant a Paſs for the King's Ship in the Harbour*; *and for what remain'd, had it not been but that he confided in the Faith and Honour of the Ambaſſador, he would have ſtopp'd him at* Adrianople, *to have prevented his departure without leave.*

At the ſame time the Interpreter had alſo Orders to know the *Grand Vizier*'s Commands touching certain particular Affairs relating to Trade in ſeveral places of the *Levant*. Which he order'd to be diſpatch'd the next Morning in manner and form, as the Interpreter deſir'd.

And

And this was the Succeſs of *M de Nointel*'s ſecond Journey to the *Port*; upon which both Parties made different Reflections. For the *Turks* with great aſſurance lay the blame of this Rupture upon the *French*: Affirming that the Abatement of the Cuſtoms was not a thing to which the *French* could juſtly pretend. For that if other Nations paid not ſo much, as the *Engliſh*, *Hollanders*, and *Genoeſes*, yet there were ſome Nations that paid more, as the *Germans* and *Venetians*: Or if the firſt who paid but Three *per Cent.* had formerly paid Five, then the *French* had had ſome reaſon to have demanded an Abatement. Nevertheleſs, that the *Port*, who is Free to beſtow his Favours where he pleas'd, having Treated upon their Arrival with the laſt Comers upon Terms more advantageous then thoſe which he granted to his firſt Allies; he was not oblig'd to alter the Conditions of Commerce that had been for ſo long time concluded. Then for the reſt of the Kings Demands, they ſaid, That they were Favours which could not be in Conſcience demanded; as being ſuch which the *French* were ſo far from having deſerv'd from the *Port*, that they had always oppos'd him in all his Enterpriſes. To which they added, That the *French* had made their Demands, as if they had had the Market in their own Hands, threatning, and acting like Lords and Maſters, while the *French* that were in the *Levant*, did nothing but talk of Burning *Conſtantinople*, making War upon the *Grand Signior*, and *Sacking his Iſlands*, and his *Sea-Ports*. That the Men of War that brought *M. de Nointel* to *Conſtantinople*, openly protected the eſcape of a great number of Slaves of ſeveral ſorts of Nations, that put themſelves aboard. And that the *French* Ambaſſadors in all the Viſits which they made to the Great Perſonages, diſcours'd of nothing but his Majeſties Conqueſts, and the Puiſſance of his Arms. This Defence the *Turks* made for themſelves. With whom other Nations alſo ſided, alledging, That the *Turks* were not too blame, as having ſhew'd themſelves upon this Occaſion leſs Barbarous then they were ſaid to be: not having manifeſted any thing of violent Reſentment either againſt the *French* in the *Levant*, or his Majeſties Ambaſſador, of the numerous and powerful Succours which they had many times giv'n their Enemies; of the War which they carry'd on, even in Countries under the *Turks* Protection; or of their Affronts and Menaces not forborn ev'n in the Court it ſelf. Nor could theſe things be otherwiſe ſpok'n then out of an Ardent Deſire to ſee ſome Unlucky Accident happ'n, which might engage

France

France to imploy againſt the *Turks* thoſe mighty Preparations of War which the greateſt part of her Neighbors dreaded.

And now having thus giv'n an Accompt of the whole Progreſs of *M. Nointel's* Negotiation at the *Port*, I ſhall add ſomething in ſhort in reference to the Negotiations of *M. Witzosky*, the *Poliſh* Agent, and Signor *Quirini*, Procurator of *Venice*, of which two the one happen'd to depart as ſoon as I arriv'd there; but the other remain'd at the Court all the while I ſtaid.

The *Grand Vizier* order'd 1700 Crowns to be giv'n to the *Poliſh* Agent at his departure, for the diſcharge of his Debts, and his Expences upon the Way; allowing him beſides ſeven Wagons and a *Chiaus*. The *Baſha* of *Siliſtria* alſo had Orders to cauſe him to be Conducted through the Frontiers of *Tartary*; and to Command the *Tartars* to detain him, till they underſtood that the *Turkiſh Envoy* who was in *Poland*, had paſs'd the *Frontiers*, and was enter'd into *Turkey*. The *Diwan* did all they could to compoſe all Differences with this *Agent*, and to prevent a War with his Maſter. For the *Port* had ſome Deſigns upon *Perſia* and the *Red-Sea*; ſo that it was only by conſtraint if they turn'd their Arms againſt *Poland*. On the other ſide the *Polander* could not brook the Protection which the *Grand Signior* had given to the *Coſſacks*. For which reaſon the King demanded that his Highneſs would publickly renounce the Protection which he had publickly allow'd. To the end that the *Coſſacks*, being terrifi'd by ſuch a Deſertion, might be compell'd to ſubmit the ſooner to the Poliſh Prince without Fighting, and he by that means regain the Poſſeſſion of the *Ukraine*, which is his particular Demeaſns, and the Patrimony of his Anceſtors.

During the Raign of King *Caſimir*, *M. Ratzieuskie* was ſent to demand the Ratification of the Treaty of *Coctchin*, which was obſerv'd between *Poland* and *Turkey*; and ſome other Things. To which the *Port* made anſwer, That they would Ratifie the Treaty purely and barely without mentioning the *Coſſacks*. But *M. Ratzieuskie* dy'd at *Adrianople* before he could conclude his Negotiation. Whoſe Imployment of Agent his Secretary, *M. Witzosky* by the Order of the King that ſucceeded *Caſimir*, was appointed to ſupply, and receiv'd Inſtructions to repreſent to the *Port*, That ſeeing the *Ukraine* was the particular Eſtate of the Prince who then Raign'd, he had a double Reaſon to claim the Repoſſeſſion of it. To which the *Port* return'd for anſwer, That they would not hinder his Majeſty

Majeſty of *Poland* from regaining the Poſſeſſion, and that he might do what he pleas'd with the *Coſſacks*; but in regard the *Grand Signior*'s Honour was concern'd, he could not op'nly diſavow the Protection which he had openly granted. But *M. Wiszoski*, being a Perſon of a violent haſty Humour, would not accept of that Expedient, nor of any other which the *Turks* propos'd. But loudly proteſted in a full *Divan*, 'That 'though the King, the Senat and the Republick ſhould agree 'to accept a ſingle Ratification, he would prevent 'em from 'doing it, by the Power which he had, as a Gentleman of '*Poland*.

But when the King and the Senat underſtood that the *Grand Signior* was turning his Preparations againſt them; and that moſt aſſuredly the next Spring they ſhould have him at their Gates, they were both ſurpriz'd and confounded. Nor did the Agent himſelf know what to do, being deceiv'd by the Rumours that were ſpread abroad of the Revolt of the *Arabians*, and Sacking of *Mecca*; as alſo for that through the Aſſurances which *M. de Nointel* had giv'n him that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty would ſend a Fleet of Fifty Ships into the *Archipelago*, he had always writt'n to the Republick to hold faſt their own, and not to relinquiſh the leaſt Tittle of their Demands, in regard that infallibly the *Grand Signior* would ſuddainly have his Hands full on every ſide.

And indeed *Poland* was very deſirous at that time not to have diverted his Highneſs from his *Aſiatick* Deſigns. For which reaſon, they ſent an Interpreter to the *Port*. Who arriv'd the 23 of *May* with a Train of eight Men, ſix weeks after the departure of the Agent; and had a Lodging aſſign'd him, and Twenty Shillings a day for his Expences. The Letters which he brought were from the Great Chancellor, ſuperſcrib'd to the *Grand Vizier*, purporting, 'That *Poland* 'was very much ſurpriz'd to underſtand, that the *Grand Sig-* '*nior* was preparing for a War againſt them; that they 'knew not the Reaſon, nor had they giv'n him any Occaſion. 'That if the *Port* would Ratifie the Treaty of *Coctchin*, the 'King was ready to do it, and would ſend an Ambaſſador Ex- 'traordinary for that purpoſe. But that if the *Grand Signior* 'perſiſted in his Deſign of making War, his Majeſty was rea- 'dy to defend himſelf; proteſting withal that the *Polanders* 'were not the Violators of the Peace. The Interpreter was diſpatch'd and ſent back again in eight days, with Letters to this effect, That *Poland* might ſend an Ambaſſador Extraor-

dinary, and that he ſhould be welcom. But in the mean time the *Grand Signior*'s Army and the *Grand Vizier* at the Head of it, continu'd their March toward *Siliſtria*.

In the Negotiation of the Signor *Quirini* there was nothing particularly obſervable. Only he had peculiar Inſtructions to preſs the releaſe of ſuch Pris'ners as had been tak'n in the War of *Candy*: but after great Pains and vaſt Expences he could obtain no more then an Exchange of Eight and Twenty of the Principal for as many of the *Turks*. Which Exchange was made at *Caſtello Torneſe* in the *Morea*. As for the reſt of the Pris'ners to the Number of a Thouſand or thereabouts, the *Grand Vizier* told the *Procurator* of *Venice*, That the *Ottoman* Galleys were deſtitute of Slaves, and therefore to releaſe a Thouſand at one Clap, would weak'n 'em too much; eſpecially at a time when they had ſo much need of Rowers to carry Men and Ammunition through the *Black-Sea* for ſupply of their Army in *Poland*. However he promis'd that when the *Campaigne* was at an end, he would order Two Hunderd and Fifty to be releas'd; and ſo the like Number every year till they were all at Liberty.

The *Venetians* are at that vaſt Expence at the *Port*, that it may be truly ſaid they buy whatever they obtain, and that at a dear rate too. There is no Perſon of Credit either in the Court or the *Divan*, to whom they do not make conſiderable Preſents every year. For the *Republick*, that has no Neighbor to be afraid of, but the *Turk*, ſpares for no Coſt to be at peace with him. They pay him Tribute, out of ſeveral Iſlands in the *Archipelago*, as *Zant*, and *Cerigo*. They connive at his Humours, his Affronts, his Tyranny; and all to prevent Quarrels and Wars that ariſe every day between Potent Neighbors, as much as may be done by the Prudence of their Conduct: and the ſame *Republick* ſends for her Ambaſſadors to *Conſtantinople*, the Ancienteſt, and moſt Experienc'd of her Senators. The *Procurators* alſo of *Venice* are uſually ſuch as have been Ambaſſadors in all the Courts of *Chriſtendom*, and which have been employ'd in Treaties of Peace and War, and all other Negotiations. Perſons in a word that underſtand all the Politicks of all the Princes of the World, and the Slights of the moſt Crafty Miniſters of State, in the Art of concealing their own, and diſcovering the Thoughts of others. Theſe *Procurators* are fully Commiſſion'd to expend and give whatever they deem requiſite. Generally they reſide three years at *Conſtantinople*, during which time they pick

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up above an Hunderd Thouſand Crowns; or at leaſt it is in their power ſo to do; for the *Republick* never calls 'em to Accompt. And this they do for two Reaſons; the firſt is, to balance by their Gains the Trouble and Hardſhip of an Embaſſie to *Conſtantinople*, which ariſe from the Danger and Toil of Travailing; and from the ill Humour and Contempt of the *Turks*. And ſecondly, to recompence thoſe *Procurators*, who have waſted their Eſtates in *European* Ambaſſies.

I have heard *M. Quirini* affirm, at ſeveral times that I have had the Honour to viſit him, That the *Turkiſh* Policy did very much ſurpaſs that of the *Europeans*: That it was not confin'd within Maxims and Rules; but conſiſted altogether in Senſe and Judgment, as being grounded altogether upon Reaſon, and never acting but according to Reaſon. Which ſort of Policy, having neither Art nor Principles, was as it were unapproachable; inſomuch that he ſeriouſly acknowledg'd, That the Conduct of a *Vizier*, was to him an Abyſs, of which he could not Fadom the Judgment, the Foreſight, the Perſpicacy, the Secrecy, the Cunning, with all its Windings and Labyrinths. He aſſur'd me, That if had a Son, he would ſend him to no other School then to the *Ottoman* Court; where he could not too highly admire the *Vizier*, who without ſpeaking, writing, or ſo much as moving himſelf, Govern'd one of the moſt Potent Empires of the World, and had extended the Limits of it in ſeveral places.

During my ſtay at *Adrianople*, I had the Honour ſeveral times to converſe with this *Venetian* Ambaſſador; and becauſe that then our moſt general diſcourſe was concerning the War of *Candy*, I learnt from him and ſeveral other Eminent Perſonages of the Court, divers Particulars worthy Obſervation; of which I ſhall here ſet down the moſt Memorable.

One of the Principal Performances which the Law of *Mahomet* enjoyns, is the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* and *Medina*. There is nothing that can legally diſpence with it but an extream Poverty: and it further lays a ſtrict Injunction upon thoſe whom either Sickneſs, or Imployment, or other Occaſions will not permit to go in Perſon, to make their Pilgrimage by Proxy; that is, to ſend to thoſe Places of Devotion, a Perſon on purpoſe, to perform all thoſe Duties which he himſelf ought to have done, could he have gone thither himſelf.

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The *Ottoman* Emperors are very punctual in the Diſcharge of this Duty, as well for themſelves, as for their whole Families. They ſend every year Conſiderable Preſents to thoſe Cities, of which they eſteem it a High Honour to call themſelves the *Lords* and *Protectors*; and theſe Preſents are ſent ſometimes by Land, and ſometimes by Sea. In the year 1644. they were put aboard a great Gallion, which was to carry 'em to *Cairo*. Several Eunuchs and Women of the *Serraglio* were embark'd in the ſame Veſſel, together with the *Grand Signior*'s Delegates, and a great Number of Paſſengers and Souldiers. This Veſſel putting to Sea from *Conſtantinople*, with ſeveral other Veſſels under her *Convoy*, was ſet upon not far from *Rhodes* by the Galleys of *Malta*, and after a fierce Engagement taken. Nevertheleſs the Galleys could not carry her off to *Malta*, by reaſon that ſhe leak'd in ſeveral places, as having receiv'd ſeveral Shot in the Fight; ſo that they were forc'd to carry her into a Port of the Iſland of *Candy*. Where they ſtopp'd her Leaks the beſt they could, and took all the care imaginable to have carry'd her Home, but all to no purpoſe; for ſhe ſunk by the way. However the *Cargo* which they unladed into their Galleys was valu'd at a Million of Money.

The News of the taking this *Gallion* put the *Grand Signior* into a Rage: inſomuch that he threaten'd to exterminate all the Chriſtians that were in *Conſtantinople*, as well Ambaſſadors and Foreign Miniſters, as others. And he thus menac'd all ſorts of Nations, becauſe, ſaid he, the Galleys of *Malta* were Mann'd with *Chriſtians* and Souldiers from all parts of *Chriſtendom*.

M. Soranzo, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador at the *Ottoman* Court, preſently addreſs'd himſelf to the Miniſters of the *Divan*. For he was in great hopes to divert the Storm from falling upon his Head, and to appeaſe the *Grand Signior* by giving him to underſtand, that there was not any one Subject of the *Republick* who was a Knight of *Malta*. The Ambaſſadors of *England* and *Holland* made the ſame Remonſtrances. So that in all probability the Tempeſt was like to fall upon *M. de la Haye* the Father, then Ambaſſador of *France*. And queſtionleſs he had ſeverely felt the Barbarouſneſs of the *Turks*, and the Fury of the *Grand Signior*, if *Giwan Capigi Bachi* the *Grand Vizier* had not Warded off the Blow. Who being a Perſon of great Wit, of ſingular Worth, and Illuſtrious for his Deſcent in *Turkey*, as being deſcended from a Family famous for Six *Grand*

Viziers, took upon him to ſecure the Ambaſſador of *France*, the *French* and all the Chriſtians that were at *Conſtantinople*, except the *Venetians*. He gave his Highneſs to underſtand that the *Venetians* were the moſt guilty, for having permitted the Galleys of *Malta* to bring in the Gallion into their Harbours, and not ſecuring it. By which means he turn'd all the *Grand Signior*'s Wrath upon *Candy*, who thereupon determin'd to make that the Seat of his War. But this Reſolution of his was privately carry'd, and the better to conceal his Deſign, he diſplay'd his intended Revenge only againſt *Malta*. To which purpoſe he proclaim'd open War againſt that little Iſland, and order'd all his Forces to be in a readineſs by the end of *March* 1645.

The Ambaſſador of *Venice* ſpar'd neither Induſtry nor Preſents to penetrate the Truth of this Deſign, whether it were real, or only a Trick to cover ſome Enterprize againſt the *Republick*. On the other ſide, the Ambaſſador of *France* aſſur'd him, that it was only a diſſembl'd Pretence, and that the true Deſign was upon *Candy*. But he gave no heed to his Intelligence, ſuffering himſelf to be deluded by the Aſſurances which the *Grand Vizier* gave him from time to time to the contrary.

But toward the end of *April* the *Ottoman* Fleet conſiſting of Fourſcore Ships and as many Galleys, under the Command of *Iſſouf Captain Baſha*, putting to Sea from *Conſtantinople*, Landed in *Candy*, and in Ten Days took *Canea*. They who were acquainted with that ſame General, affirm'd him to be a great Commander, and that he would have Conquer'd the Iſland in a ſmall time, had he not been depriv'd of his Life and the Conduct of the War. For the *Grand Signior* being put i' th' Head that *Iſſouf* had Vaſt Treaſures, and that he could Conquer the reſt of *Candy* without his Aſſiſtance, caus'd him to be ſtrangl'd at *Conſtantinople* ſome few days after his return. However his Highneſs had not only a great loſs by his Death, but miſs'd of the Treaſures which he expected. In the following Years he ſent other Armies into *Candy* under different Generals: and for the Succeſs which they had, it is too well known, to ſpeak more of it in this place.

For it was neither to the Strength of the Iſland, nor the Weakneſs of the *Turks*, that we are to aſcribe the length of that War, which laſted Four and Twenty Years; but to the ſtrange Revolutions that happen'd in the *Ottoman* Court almoſt at the beginning of that Enterprize; and to the Wars of

Tranſylvania and *Hungary* that laſted till the Year 1665. But the Prince who undertook the Conqueſt of *Candy* was *Ibrahim*, then about Two and Thirty Years of Age, who was advanc'd to the Empire Four Years before, contrary to his own and the Expectation of all the World. For he had been kept in a cloſe Impriſonment during the Raign of *Oſman*, and *Murat* his Brothers: the latter of which, after he had caus'd his two younger Brothers to be ſtrangl'd, when he ſaw himſelf near his End, commanded alſo that *Ibrahim* ſhould be ſtrangl'd, who was the only Brother that remain'd. However this Rigorous Command was not put in Execution, for that *Amureth* not having any Children, *Ibrahim* that was the only Remainder of the *Ottoman* Family, was alſo Heir of the Empire. By the way we are to obſerve, that the reaſon which induc'd *Amurat* to let *Ibrahim* alone, and put his two other Brothers to death, though much younger, was his want of Wit, which rendring him unfit for Government, ſecur'd him from any fear of a Rebellion for his ſake. So ſoon as he came to the Throne, he plung'd himſelf into all manner of Vice and Wickedneſs. His Debaucheries, his Extortions, and his Cruelties renderd him Odious and inſupportable to all his Subjects. He ſeiz'd upon the Revenues of the Moſquees, and private Mens Eſtates, without any diſtinction of Sacred or Prophane, and frequently put to death ſuch as he thought to be Rich, to the end he might with more eaſe make himſelf Maſter of their Eſtates, and all this to ſupply the inordinate Expences of his Pleaſures, and the exceſſive Luxury of his Court. The Souldiers were ill paid; which caus'd 'em to mutiny, with a Reſolution to depoſe *Ibrahim* in the Month of *Auguſt* 1648. and to ſet upon the Throne *Mahamed* his Eldeſt Son, about ſeven Years of Age; ſo that twelve Days after they ſtrangl'd *Ibrahim*.

I have already related, how that in the Minority of *Mahamed*, the Empire was Govern'd by VVomen and Eunuchs, who fill'd all the chief Places of Truſt, as they thought good themſelves, and particularly that of the Prime Miniſter, till they gave it to *Cuperly Mahomet* who undertook the VVar of *Tranſylvania*. His Succeſſor, who was his Son, began that of *Hungary*, which being ended by the Peace in the Year 1665. as already has been ſaid, for the next two Years he cloſely purſu'd the War of *Candy*, where he found a longer and more vigorous Reſiſtance then he expected.

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Had *Candy* held out another Winter againſt the *Turks*, 'tis not to be queſtion'd, but that the *Grand Vizier* muſt have been forc'd to raiſe his Siege, and then ſtrange Commotions would have happen'd in the Empire. The Veterane Janizaries were all either ſlain or dead in the Siege: The reſt would not budge a foot. The *Turks* murmur'd at the War; and cry'd out that the *Ottoman* Forces were commanded to daſh out their Brains againſt a Rock: The People of *Conſtantinople* were for advancing the *Grand Signior*'s Brother to the Throne. His Highneſs was ſollicited to put the *Grand Vizier* to death, by means of ſuch a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Fury of the People and Souldiery. Both the one and the other of theſe Changes had been ſufficient to have rais'd the Siege.

The *Grand Vizier* knew all this. So that he deſpair'd of putting an end to the War: diſmally afraid at once to loſe both his Honour and his Life. It is reported that he tore his very Hair from his Chin. However it is moſt certain that it brought upon him a moſt Incurable Diſtemper, difficult to be nam'd. It was an odd kind of ſeizure of the Heart, or fainting of the Spirits, caus'd by Fear, Affliction and Pannick Terrour. For which the Phyſitians preſcrib'd him to drink pure Wine without any Mixture; which he did every day; nor could any thing but that do him any good.

When the News of the Surrender of *Candy* was brought to the *Grand Signior*, his Highneſs could not believe it; but when the Tydings were confirm'd, it tranſported him to ſuch an Exceſs of Joy, that rather ſeem'd to be a ſort of Frenzy for the time. And both He and the whole Court frequently repeated theſe words, *The* Franks *have had pity upon Us.*

The *Turks* boaſted upon the taking of *Candy*, That they had Conquer'd all *Chriſtendom.* Becauſe the Town had been defended by Soldiers and Volunteers from all parts of *Chriſtendom*; and they ſaid moreover, That the Siege had laſted three Years, for that all *Chriſtendom* had been there, and done the utmoſt of their Endeavours.

The moſt uſeful and provident Preparation which the *Grand Vizier* made for the Siege, was to make his *Kiaia*, or Steward of his Houſhold, High Treaſurer of the Empire. For he knew the Love and Friendſhip which that Lord had for him, and that for a need he would not ſpare his Life to do him Service. And this ſame Foreſight of his was the gaining of the Place, and the ſafeguard of his own Life. For the High Treaſurer would not ſuffer any want to be in the Camp. Sheep were there

there in great plenty at a Crown apiece. The Markets were ſtor'd with all Things neceſſary for Food and Raiment. And Men car'd not what they gave, or what Riſco's they ventur'd, to carry Ammunition to a Place where Money abounded.

By the Accompts which the Treaſurer brought into the *Divan* of the Extraordinary Expences at *Candy* the three laſt Years of the Siege, it appear'd that Seven Hunderd Thouſand Crowns had been ſpent in Gifts to *Renegado's* that turn'd *Turks*, or left the Iſland, to recompence ſuch Souldiers as had behav'd themſelves more bravely then others; and to pay the Prizes ſet upon the Chriſtians Heads; which was half a Guinea for every Head. By that Accompt it appear'd that the *Turks* had made an Hunderd Thouſand Shot with their great Guns againſt the Place; and that there had been ſlain before the Place Seven *Baſha's*, Fourſcore Captains and Colonels, 10400 Janiſaries, beſides other Souldiers and Troops of the Provinces, whoſe Pay is not charg'd to the State.

The Day that the *Grand Vizier* enter'd *Candy*, Signor *Molino*, who was ſent by the *Republick* to make a Peace with the *Port*, Riding a' one ſide of him, the *Grand Vizier* told him, That the *Grand Signior* had paid dear for the *Iſland of Candy*. To whom *Molino* reply'd, That it had coſt the *Republick* as much; no leſs then the Lives of a Hunderd Thouſand Men, without reck'ning the *French*. The *Grand Vizier* ask'd him, VVhy the Place was not ſurrender'd ſooner, in regard they had been but in a bad Condition a long time to hold it out. To whom the Ambaſſador made anſwer, That the King of *France* had hinder'd the Surrender, by his Promiſes of Powerful Aſſiſtance, and to declare a VVar againſt the *Turks*.

The Procurator *Molino* arriv'd in *Candy* in the Spring of the Year 1669. and lay at a place call'd *Gozi*, not far from the Iſland. From whence he ſent to offer the *Grabuſi*, *Spina Longa*, *Suda*, and *Tine* Iſlands of the *Archipelago*; *Cliſſa* and other Places upon the Continent, the whole Expences of the VVar, and an Annual Tribute of Fifty Thouſand Crowns a Year for the City of *Candy*, ſo that the *Republick* might keep the poſſeſſion of it. To which the *Grand Vizier* return'd for anſwer, That the *Grand Vizier* valu'd his Honour at a Higher Rate, then all the VVorld beſide; and therefore he would only have that Bit of a Rock, which his Highneſs had been labouring for above theſe Four and Twenty Years.

But it was *Captain General Morosini* who made the Truce with the *Vizier*; which he did without *Molino*'s knowledge, or imparting to him the least Tittle concerning it. Which Transaction of his had like to have cost *Morosini* his Life at *Venice*, but the large Sums of Money which he paid in one Night, deliver'd him from his Fears: For this General minded no other Interest in Treating but the Publick Welfare. He neither troubl'd himself about Religion or Trade: But wholly apply'd himself to what concern'd the Island of *Candy*, and the War, and agreed with the *Vizier*, that all other Things should remain in the same Condition as before the Rupture. Which was the reason that *Signor Molino* found it so difficult to rebuild at *Galata*, part of the Suburbs of *Constantinople*, the *Venetian Church*, that had been burnt down; and labour'd so sedulously to remove the Obstacles which he met with on every side, that he dy'd in the midst of all his Toyl: but by Good-Luck the Work was almost finish'd. He requir'd several other Things of the *Grand Signior*; as the Abatement of the Customs, which the *Venetians* paid; but could not obtain it. For, said the *Grand Vizier*, *Signor Molino*, 'The Alliance be-'tween the *Port* and the *Republick* is an Ancient Alliance, 'and the *Port* values it for its Antiquity. If you change some 'of the Articles, the Alliance will be a new one, for which 'the *Turks* will never have that high esteem. Besides, if you 'require Favours of the *Grand Signior*, he will demand some-'thing more of you. *Signor Molino* understood well enough what he meant, which was the Reason he spake not a word more of the Abatement of the Customs, nor of changing the Ancient Capitulations.

And thus I have given a fair Idea of the *Grand Vizier*'s Conduct, not to say any more in particular concerning his Person. But in regard it was to his Father, who was also *Grand Vizier*, that he was beholding to for his Fortune and his Honour, I shall in the first place, and in few words, give an Accompt of the most Remarkable Atchievements of that Renowned *Vizier*.

He was call'd *Cuperly Mahamed Bassha*, rais'd to that High Dignity by the Fantastick Humour of the Women and Eunuchs, who Govern'd during the Minority of *Mahamed* the Fourth. Before his Advancement, it was that which he least dreamt of; but when he was Invested in his Imployment,

he began to conſider the frequent Changes of the *Grand Viziers* his Predeceſſors, almoſt every three Months, and therefore for the Preſervation of his Life and Dignity, he thought it his beſt way to put to Death his Envyers and Competitors, and to ſet new Wars afoot, on purpoſe to remove the *Grand Signior* from *Conſtantinople*, and to keep himſelf ſtill at the Head of an Army.

He began with the *Serraglio*, where he caus'd ſeveral Eunuchs to be ſtrangl'd; and having in a little time made himſelf Maſter of the Credulity and Affections of the Young Prince, he perſwaded him, that to make himſelf Abſolute Soveraign of the Empire, to free himſelf from the Fears of Tumult and Sedition; and prevent the Souldiery from making the ſame Attempts upon him as they had done upon his Father, the beſt way would be for his Highneſs to remove from the Capital City, where the People were Mutinous, and the Janizaries were Maſters, and that he ſhould rid himſelf of all thoſe Perſons that had depos'd his Father, and dipp'd their Parricide Hands in his Blood. In purſuance of this Project, *Cuperly* caus'd *Dely Uſſein Paſha* to be ſtrangl'd, who had been General at *Candy*, and was accompted the moſt Famous and Valiant Captain of the Empire. Then he remov'd the Court to *Adrianople*, and began the *Tranſylvanian* War, in regard the War in *Candy* would have call'd him too far from the *Grand Signior*'s Perſon, not being as yet of Age to March at the Head of his own Armies.

This *Tranſylvanian* War was ſhort, and honourable for the *Grand Vizier* by the defeat of Prince *Ragotsky*, and by the taking of *Waradin*; though it coſt him the Blood of the choiceſt *Ottoman* Troops, and the braveſt of their Officers. He return'd Victorious to *Adrianople*, and though he had made a Peace with the Emperour, yet he ſet himſelf to make preparation for a new War againſt him in *Hungary*. But being ready to take the Field in the Year 1662. he dy'd; yet ſo prevalent at Court as to obtain his only Son *Achmet Paſha* to be admitted into his Place; though at that time he had ſcarcely attain'd to Thirty Years of Age, which was a Thing altogether extraordinary, and not to be parallell'd in the Hiſtory of the *Ottoman* Monarchy.

'Tis a queſtion whether ever there were a *Grand Vizier* more capable to Govern the *Ottoman* Empire, then *Achmet Pacha*. He was very tall, and ſomewhat full and plump of Body. His Eyes large and wide: His Face well ſhap'd; his Complexion Fair and Smooth: The Air of his Face Modeſt, Grave, Affable, and Obliging. He was no Tyrant, mortally hating Oppreſſion, Juſtice and Equity appear'd in all his Actions, nor did he ſuffer himſelf to be ſway'd by his own Intereſt. For whether it were that he did not give his Mind to thirſt after Riches, or whether it were that his own Eſtate which was very Great, ſatisfi'd his deſires, he was never known to be Covetous like the reſt of the *Turks*: And this is particularly ſaid of him, very much to his Honor, that of all the Perſons, that addreſs'd themſelves to him with Preſents, to accompliſh their Ends, not any obtain'd 'em by that means. His Wit was of a large extent, penetrating and reſerv'd: His Memory happy and prompt: His Judgment ſound, and always well apply'd: For he ſtill fell directly upon the Point. He ſpoke little and Modeſtly, but with that Solidity and Knowledge which it is not eaſie to deſcribe. The Firſt Years of his Miniſtry were very Honourable and Advantageous to the *Ottoman* Empire, and his following Atchievements much more.

This Great Perſonage therefore having obſerv'd the Happy ſucceſs of his Father in the Government of *Turkey*, labour'd to follow his example and tread his Steps as near as he could. He began the War againſt the *Emperor* which his Father had projected, and was about to have undertak'n. To which purpoſe he march'd to *Buda*, with an Army of Threeſcore Thouſand Men, and beſieg'd *Neuhauſel*, which he took in the Year 1663. He rais'd the Siege of *Caniſia*, and carry'd the Fort *Serini* toward the beginning of the next Year. And deſigning a farther Progreſs of the *Turkiſh* Armies even to the Walls of *Vienna*, he caus'd a Bridge to be lay'd over the River *Raab*: Over which Twelve Thouſands *Turks* had already paſs'd; and all the reſt of the Army was about to have follow'd, had they not been prevented by the *Emperor*'s Forces, who being reinforc'd with the Succors of the *Allies* of the Empire, and particularly the *French*, cut to pieces the greateſt part of the Twelve Thouſand *Turks*, put the reſt to flight, and gain'd that Famous Battel, call'd the Battel of *St. Godard*, from the Name of the Village where it was fought.

The *Grand Vizier* repair'd the loſs of that Battel by a Treaty of Peace as Honourable and as Advantageous as if he had gain'd

gain'd the Victory; and perceiving the *Grand Signior*'s earneſt deſire to return to *Conſtantinople*, carry'd him thither ſo well guarded, that there was no Commotion to be fear'd; where he ſtay'd till the beginning of the Year 1666. At what time he undertook the War of *Candy*, in which he ſpent Three Years, as has been already ſaid. Two Years after he began the War of *Poland*; obſerving always his Fathers Great Maxim, *That it behov'd a Prime Vizier ſtill to keep himſelf at the Head of an Army.*

We departed from *Andrianople* the 9th of *June*, and return'd to *Conſtantinople* the 15th. The 17th by Break of Day *M. de Nointel* went *incognito* to viſit the *Caimacan* and to demand a Paſſport for the Kings Ship. The *Caimacan* return'd for anſwer, that he had receiv'd no Orders from the *Grand Vizier* to give him one, and therefore could not do it. At which the Ambaſſador was very much ſurpriz'd, and as highly concern'd; and thereupon complain'd to the *Caimacan* of the *Grand Vizier*'s unkindneſs toward him. Upon which the *Caimacan* made a ſhew of taking his Part, and being concern'd for the Unjuſtice done the Ambaſſador; and then concluded with his Excellency, that they would ſend a particular Meſſenger and Letter's to the *Prime Vizier*. As for the *Caimacan*, he fail'd not to ſend, on his part, to the *Vizier* an accompt of all that the Ambaſſador had told him, and repreſented to him by way of Complaint. On the other ſide *M. de Nointel* in his Letters tax'd the *Vizier* of Breach of his Word. He conjur'd him not to injure his Patience, which he had now contain'd as long as he could; to let him know the Final Reſolution of the Port, and particularly to ſend him Order for a Paſs for the Kings Ship.

The Expreſſes that carry'd theſe Letters ſet forth at ſeveral times. The *Caimacan*'s Meſſenger departed the 18th of *June*, and the *M. de Nointel*'s the next Day. The *Caimacan*'s Meſſenger found the Court not far from *Siliſtria* from whence he return'd to *Conſtantinople* the Ninth of *July*. So ſoon as he arriv'd, his Maſter ſent for the Ambaſſadors Chief Interpreter and told him, that the *Vizier* had given no anſwer to his Expreſs; only had ſent him word that he would let him underſtand the *Grand Signior*'s Pleaſure by another way. The Ambaſſadors *Courrier* was not return'd the 20th of *July*, when I left the City; and therefore I know not what anſwer he brought.

At

At the end of *June* the Ambaſſador ſent for a Paſs for the Director of the *Levant Company*, and for my ſelf; a Licenſe to bring in a Parcel of Wine, and another to be admitted into the *Santa Sophia*. To which the *Caimacan* return'd for Anſwer, That he could not grant any one of the Ambaſſador's Demands, until he firſt knew the *Grand Vizier*'s Mind: That it very much troubl'd him to refuſe him ſuch Trifles; but conſidering how Things ſtood between the *Grand Vizier* and the Ambaſſador, he ſhould make himſelf a Publick Offender to grant Paſſes to his Excellency: but that ſo ſoon as he had leave, his Excellency ſhould find the great Affection which he had for the *French* Nation.

This Refuſal troubl'd me extreamly; for that it ſeem'd to confirm the Report, which ran about, That the *Grand Vizier* intended to Arreſt the Ambaſſador and all the *French* Nation. I found I had a large Stock of Goods; as much as two Horſes could carry, as I have ſaid before. My Comrades Baggage and my own was as much as would load four Horſes more, So that it was to no purpoſe to think of eſcaping by Flight, much leſs of concealing our ſelves. Beſides this, three other Conſiderations very much augmented my cares and my perplexity. The firſt was, That whatſoever way I took to get into *Perſia*, I could not get out of *Turkey* in three Months, during which time the *Port* would have time enough to ſend their Orders to the utmoſt Limits of the Empire to ſtop the *French*, if they deſign'd any ſuch violent proceedings againſt 'em. The ſecond was, That nothing of all that I carry'd of greateſt Value, had paid at the Cuſtom-Houſe, ſo that if I happen'd to be ſearch'd either at *Conſtantinople*, or any other Cities of *Turkey*, I could not expect any Aſſiſtance from the Ambaſſador. The third was, That becauſe of the Heat of the Weather, there was no Caravan that travell'd into *Perſia* till *October*.

In the midſt of this Intricate Perplexity, *GOD*, whoſe Infinite Favour I have always experienc'd in my moſt preſſing Neceſſities, ſhew'd me a ready way to make my eſcape from *Conſtantinople*. The *Grand Signior* has a Fortreſs about Twenty Miles from the River *Tanais*, over againſt that part where the great River diſcharges it ſelf into the Lake *Mæotis*; which Fort is call'd *Azac*. The *Port* ſends thither every Year a New Commandet with Souldiers and Money: and they ſend by Sea, becauſe it is not above 1300 Miles by Water; and to avoid the Hazards by Land for fear of the *Tartars*, *Coſſaques*

and *Muſcovites*. Moreover, the *Saique* which is a ſort of *Turkiſh* Veſſel that takes the Commander aboard, is not expos'd to the ſearch of the Cuſtomers, as are the reſt of the Ships that Sail into the *Black-Sea*. That which is aboard may be ſaid to be free, there being none but the *Turkiſh* Commander that has any Authority to take Cognizance of it. This *Saique* touches at *Caffa*, which is a City and famous Port in the *Crimæan Tartary*. Whence all the Veſſels that are bound for *Mingrelia* or *Colchis* put to Sea in the Months of *September* and *October*, from whence it is not above ſeven or eight days Journey before ye enter into the *Perſian* Dominions. There is no ſhorter way from *Conſtantinople* to *Perſia*, nor leſs troubleſom For the whole Voyage may be made in three Weeks, all by Sea till within about Sixty Leagues, yet is there no paſſage leſs us'd, nor more unknown, by reaſon of the Dangers of the Sea; nor could I find any one Perſon at *Conſtantinople* that ever had undertaken it. I met with a great many that confirm'd my Report, and that had been at the Havens of *Mingrelia*, where there are great Numbers of *Armenians* and *Georgians*, the Subjects of the *Perſian* King, who told me that it was not above ſix or ſeven Days Journey from thence into their Territories.

The Dangers of this Paſſage which diſcourage People from attempting it, are twofold: Firſt, For that the *Black Sea* is very Tempeſtuous, to the loſs of the moſt part of the Veſſels for want of skill and good Havens. Beſides that the People that inhabit between the Sea and the *Perſian* Territories are naturally barbarous and wicked, without any Religion, and under no Government: So that I ſhould never have ſo much as dreamt of the Way of *Colchis*, whatever might have been the Allurements of Curioſity, or Eaſineſs of Paſſage, had not the Road through *Turkey* preſented it ſelf much more Formidable, conſidering the Miſchievous Circumſtances already mention'd. But that which moſt inclin'd me to the Voyage by Sea, was the Conveniency of the *Saic* bound for *Azac*, which to me ſeem'd a moſt infallible way to get out of *Conſtantinople*, without much Trouble, and without any Danger, unleſs it were that of the *Black-Sea*. But that Sea ſo nam'd and ſo fam'd from terrible and frequent Shipwracks that happ'n in it for want of Skilful Pilots among the *Turks*, made me tremble to think of it. Nevertheleſs I ſaw the Hazards to which I expos'd my ſelf, and the Dangers of the Voyage; however they did not terrifie me ſo much as the Dangers and Perils

 which

which I have mention'd either in ſtaying any longer at *Conſtantinople*, or in travelling quite through *Turkey*.

The Danger indeed of the *Black-Sea* was the greateſt, becauſe it threaten'd the loſs of all; but it was more uncertain. The Hazards of *Turkey* were leſs; for there was no fear of Life's being loſt; or of loſing entirely the whole *Cargo*. But it was more difficult to be avoided, ſo that at length I reſolv'd for the *Black-Sea*, and prepar'd to embark.

One of my Friends to whom I imparted my Deſign, engag'd a *Greek* Merchant to aſſiſt me, who was bound for *Colchis*, and went in the *Saic* prepar'd for *Azac*. He was a very honeſt Man, beſides that my Friend had ſome hank as well over his Eſtate as Perſon. So that he oblig'd him to ſerve me to the uttermoſt of his Power, under the forfeiture of his Friendſhip if he fail'd. Thereupon the *Greek* Merchant undertook to help me, and did it ſo cordially and ſedulouſly that the Succeſs anſwer'd both his Diligence and Fidelity. He took upon him to hire Cabbins for me in the *Saic*, never diſcovering for whom it was; he put my Goods aboard, ſome and ſome, as he ſaw his Opportunity. He gave me advice, and neceſſary Inſtructions how to make my ſelf reſpected in the Veſſel, and to get good Entertainment at *Caffa*, whither I was firſt bound. Among the reſt of my Directions, he order'd me to get good Recommendations to the Officer that was to Command at *Azac*, and to take along with me the *Grand Signior*'s Paſs. As for the Recommendation, I did not much fear to get it, but the Paſs drove me to deſpair, becauſe I had already been refus'd it.

Thereupon I diſcover'd my perplexity to *M. de Nointel*, beſeeching his Excellency to give me leave to make uſe of the Letters of Recommendation which I had from the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who was at *Paris*, when I departed thence, for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Conſtantinople*, that I might by his means obtain a Paſs as an Engliſh-Man. Which although *M. de Nointel* ſcrupl'd at firſt, yet he conſented at length, when I told him the Urgency of my Occaſions. So that he caus'd his Secretary both to write and carry his Letter to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, who was very glad to ſerve his Excellency in my behalf. And indeed the Ambaſſador purſu'd his Kindneſs with the greateſt Grace in the World, and with a real Affection, but without ſucceſs. For as the *Caimacan* was ready to ſign the Paſs, Some-body gave him private Intimation to take a care what he did; for that the Paſs requir'd of him was for

a *French*-Man under pretence of being *Engliſh*. Which ſpoil'd all; and made a Difference between the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and the *Caimacan*, who complain'd of the Surprize; and between the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and *M. de Nointel*, whom he tax'd for having giv'n the *Caimacan* his private Intelligence.

The 19th of *July* the *Greek* Merchant who was to Conduct me to *Mingrelia*, came to give me notice that the *Saic* lay at an Anchor near the Mouth of the *Black-Sea*, and only expected a fair Wind. So that I would preſently have gone aboard, but my Friends did not think it convenient, till the Veſſel was ready to Sail, for fear I ſhould be diſcover'd for a *French*-Man. Thereupon I ſtaid three days with *Signor Sinibaldi Fieſchi*, *Reſident of Genoa*, at a Country-Houſe which he had upon the *Boſphorus*, and four days more at a fair Monaſtery of the *Greeks*, at the end of the Channel upon *Europe* ſide, over againſt the Harbour where the *Saic* lay at Anchor.

The *Thracian Boſphorus* is certainly one of the Lovelieſt parts of the World. The *Greeks* call *Boſphori*, thoſe Streights of Arms of the Sea which an Ox may be able to ſwim over. This Channel is about Fifteen Miles in length, and about Two in breadth, in moſt parts, but in others leſs. The Shores conſiſt of Riſing Grounds cover'd over with Houſes of Pleaſure, Wood, Gardens, Parks, Delightful Proſpects, Lovely Wilderneſſes Water'd with Thouſands of Springs and Fountains.

The Proſpect of *Conſtantinople*, when ye behold it from the top of the *Channel*, at the diſtance of two Miles, is beyond compare, as being to my Eyes, as to all that ever ſaw it, the moſt Charming Proſpect that can be ſeen. The Paſſage through the *Boſphorus* is the moſt lovely and fulleſt of Diverſiſement that can be made by Water: And the number of Barks that Sail to and fro in fair Weather is very great. The Reſident of *Genoa* told me, He made it his Paſtime to tell the Boats that Sail'd to and fro before his Houſe from Noon to Sun-ſet, in what time he told no leſs then Thirteen Hunderd.

There are Four Caſtles that ſtand upon the *Boſphorus* well Fortifi'd with great Guns: Two, Eight Miles from the *Black-Sea*, and Two more near the Mouth of the Channel. The Two latter were built not above Forty Years ago, to prevent the *Coſſacks*, *Muſcovite* and *Polanders* from entring into the

Mouth

Mouth of the Channel; who before made frequent Inroads into it with their Barks, almoſt within ſight of *Conſtantinople.*

The 17th by break of day I embark'd, our Veſſel being then under Sail. Above Fourſcore Veſſels of different Burthens put to Sea at the ſame time. In ours there were about Two Hunderd Men; the Commander of *Azac* with his Train, to the Number of *Twenty*; a Hunderd Janiſaries, Thirty Mariners, and Fifty Paſſengers. I had three Cabbins, two for my Comrade and my ſelf, and the third for our Goods. Our Servants lay upon the Deck. Their Cabbins are very narrow and incommodious; ours being at the Prow. There were in all Thirty two in the *Saic*, with a great Cabbin for the Captain very ſpacious and handſomely furniſh'd; wherein Ten Perſons might lodge very conveniently. But that which is very inconvenient in the Turkiſh Veſſels is this, That they make no Proviſion of any thing for Subſiſtance, not ſo much as of Wood and Water; for the reſt might well be endur'd. Every one has his Liberty to dreſs his Vittles three or four times a day. The Fire Place is upon the Deck near the Poop: where they who have any thing to dreſs carry their Kettle, their Wood and their Water. So that I have ſeen about Eighteen Pots together upon the Fire. Their Places of Eaſement are with outſide of the Ship near the Poop, like Cages, which they take off and hang on as they pleaſe themſelves.

The *Saics* have no more then one Deck. Nor but two Maſts with a Boltſprit; that is, a Main Maſt and Mizen. Theſe Maſts carry but two Sails, and for the moſt part but one. They have no Shrouds but one that is very ſmall, which is fix'd to the Main Maſt, and hangs down upon the Deck. They have no Skuttles at the top of their Maſts. So that the Turkiſh Seamen never run up to the Yards Arms to furl or looſen their Sails, which is needleſs, becauſe the Yards Arm is always below upon the Deck; ſo that when they would take the Wind, they only draw up the Yards Arm to which the Sail is fix'd. The Top-Sail is ty'd to the Yards Arm, and when they would make uſe of it, they pull up the Yards Arm with a Pully faſten'd to the Top-Maſt-Head. Thus it may be eaſily ſeen that they neither underſtand the Uſe of the Yard-Arms nor Maſts of a Ship.

Neither have they in theſe Veſſels either Pumps to pump out the Water, nor Capſtalls to weigh their Anchors; but they empty out their Water with Pales: and then when they weigh

Anchor, there are Twenty or Thirty Men that take hold of the Anchor-Cables that run through two ſmall Pulleys faſten'd to the Prow of the Ship, and draw up the Anchor with all their Might, till it be high enough. When a Veſſel enters laden into any Port, they fix four Anchors, two to her Poop, and two to her Prow, and ſo let her lie. And this is all I have obſerv'd in reference to the Building and Rigging of theſe ſort of Veſſels among the *Turks*.

As for their Navigation there is nothing of Art, nor Security in it: The beſt of the *Turkiſh* or *Greek* Pilots depend only upon a bare Experience, without any Foundation of Rules. They never make any uſe of Sea-Carts, nor ever make thoſe exact Obſervations, like our Seamen, of the Ships way every day ſet down in Journals, by which Obſervations they know how far they are from the place whither they intend. They underſtand very little of the Compaſs; only they know that the *Flowre de Luce* always tends toward the North. When they are to make any Voyage they ſtay for a good Wind and fair Weather. Nor do they, when that is come, preſently put to Sea till they have ſtaid eight or ten Hours to ſee whether the Weather will hold or no: and generally they Sail along by the Shore, having the Land always in ſight. But when they are forc'd to take the Main Sea, then they make uſe of the Compaſs: To which purpoſe they know either by report or experience upon which hand they ought to have the North, that they may gain ſuch a Harbour; which is all they have to guide 'em; for more then this they know not. Were they to make long Voyages in the open Sea, hardly one Ship would eſcape a Tempeſt, which they happily avoid, keeping as much as they can within ſight of Land, or near ſome Harbour. When the Wind is very high, they furl their Sails, and let the Veſſel drive with the VVaves. If the VVind be contrary, they never ſtrive againſt it, but vere about, and rather return from whence they came, then endure the Violence of a contrary Sea. That which ruines 'em, is when the VVind blows 'em upon the Shore; for then they are ſo out of heart, that they ſplit immediately not knowing what it is to *lie by*.

I have heard ſeveral old *Turkiſh* Captains affirm, That there are Fifteen Hunder'd Veſſels upon the *Black-Sea*, of which they loſe a Hunderd every Year. The moſt dangerous place where Shipwracks are moſt to be fear'd being at the Entrance of *Boſphorus*.

The Entrance into it is very Narrow, where generally the VVinds encounter one another; of which there is one that ſtill keeps back the Veſſels, which if it be violent dings 'em upon the Coaſt which is full of ſharp Rocks; to the loſs of ſo many Galleys and Ships that their Number is hardly to be numberd. 'Tis but a little while ſince that no leſs then ſeventeen Galleys were caſt away in one day. And there is no queſtion but that the frequent Storms that ariſe at all ſeaſons in the *Black-Sea*, the Surges ſhort, and cutting one upon another, its ſtreight and narrow Channel, and the dangerous Coaſts that in part ſurround it, are the chief cauſe of the ſeveral Ship-wracks that happ'n there. On the other ſide there is no doubt alſo but that skilful Pilots and good Seamen would ſave above half the Veſſels which are there loſt.

The Third of *Auguſt* in the Morning we arriv'd at *Caffa*, after a Voyage of eight days, all which time we had very fair Weather and little Wind. Upon the Fifth we ſpy'd the Point of the *Tauric Cherſonneſe*. For the *Greeks* call that a *Cherſonneſe*, which the *Latins* call a *Peninſula*, and they gave that Name to this almoſt *Tauric* Iſland, becauſe it was firſt inhabited by the *Scythians* of *Mount Taurus*. It lies toward the Eaſt and Weſt, being about 250 Leagues in Circuit; that is, 35 Leagues in length, which I take from the *North* to the *South*, and 55 Leagues in the broadeſt part. But the *Iſthmus* that joyns it to the Continent is not above a League in breadth. The Modern Geographers call it *Crim Tartary* and *Precopenſian Tartary*. As much as to ſay *Tartary* full of Towns; to diſtinguiſh the *Tartars* of this *Peninſula* that live for the moſt part in Cities, eſpecially all the Winter long, from thoſe other *European Tartars*, which inhabit without the *Peninſula*, call'd *Nogays*, as alſo *Hordes* or *Hordou*, a word which ſignifies an Aſſembly, and of which the *Turks* and *Perſians* generally make uſe to ſignifie the Camp of an Army, or the Numerous Train of a Court. The Country belonging to theſe two ſorts of *Tartars*, *Precops* and *Nogays*, is that which we call the *Leſſer Tartary* to diſtinguiſh it from the *Aſiatick Tartars* that inhabit beyond the *Lake Mæotis*, to the Eaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*, and thence as far as *China*.

The Sea-Coaſt of this *Precopent Peninſula*, to ſpeak of that part which ſhoots fartheſt into the Sea as far as *Caffa*, conſiſts of very high Shoars, and Mountains cover'd with Woods and Villages. And by the Accompt of the Seamen, it is from *Conſtantinople* to *Caffa* through the *Black-Sea*, 750 Miles. Tho I know

know not how they reck'n, nor how it can agree, with what frequently happens, for the *Saics* to make the Voyage in two Days and two Nights juſt. And therefore by my Accompt it is no more then Two Hunderd Leagues. Upon our coming to an Anchor, our Veſſel fir'd two Guns, and the Commander deſign'd for *Azac* made all his Musketeers give the Caſtle a Volley. Which done, he went aſhoar with the Officers that were come to receive him in the *Baſha*'s Name. Both the City and Port are very free; for you have Liberty to go in and out, never asking any leave: Nor do they come aboard to ſearch the Veſſels. But when a Ship drops her Anchor, ſeveral Boats make from the Haven to carry thoſe aſhoar that are deſirous to go.

Caffa is a great Town built at the bottom of a little Hill upon the Sea-ſhoar. It extends it ſelf more in length then breadth, lying in length very directly from the *South* to the *North*; encompaſs'd with very ſtrong Walls, that advance a little into the Sea, which is the reaſon that when we take a Proſpect of the City from the upper part of the Deck, it ſeems to be built like a Half-Moon. The Caſtle upon the *South* ſide ſtands upon a Riſing Ground that commands all the parts thereabout, being very large, and the Reſidence of the *Baſha*. The other is not ſo big, but well ſtor'd and defended with great Guns; the Sea waſhing that ſide which is next to it. They reck'n about 4000 Houſes to be in *Caffa*; of which 3200 are inhabited by *Mahumetans*, *Turks* and *Tartars*, and 800 by *Chriſtians*, *Greeks* and *Armenians*; though the *Armenians* are more numerous then the *Greeks*. The Houſes are but ſmall, and all built of Earth, as are alſo their *Bazars* or Market-places, their Publick Structures, Moſquees, and Baths. There is not one Building of Stone in all the City, except eight Churches ſomewhat gone to decay, formerly built by the *Genoeſes*. This *Caffa* was once call'd *Theodoſia*, which the *Greeks* built in the fifth Age. Afterwards it fell under the Dominion of the *Genoeſes*, with ſeveral other Sea-Port Towns in ſeveral parts of that Sea, in the Thirteenth Age, in the time of the Holy War, and during the weak and low Condition of the Eaſtern Emperors. But *Mahomet* the Second won all thoſe Places from the *Genoeſes* toward the end of the Sixteenth Age; *Caffa* being taken in the Year 1574.

The Soyl about *Caffa* is Dry and Sandy; nor is the Water good; but the Air is very pure and wholſom. There are very few Gardens about it, nor is there but little Fruit. However

ever they bring great Quantities from the Neighbouring Villages, though it cannot be ſaid to be very delicious. However I do not know whether there be any other City in the World where other Proviſions are cheaper and better. Their Mutton is exceeding well-taſted, and not above one Farthing a Pound. Their other Proviſions of Bread, Fruit, Wild Fowl, and Butter, is ſold proportionably at a cheaper Rate. Salt is as good as giv'n ye; and in a word, whatever is neceſſary for Human Suſtenance coſts little or nothing. Nevertheleſs by the way take notice, that Freſh Fiſh is a very great Rarity, and very ſmall whatever that they catch in the parts round about the Harbour, and that only at certain times, as in *Autumn* and the *Spring*. Almoſt all the *Turks* and *Tartars* that live in the Town wear little Bonnets of Cloath fac'd with Sheepskins. But in regard that over all *Aſia* Bonnets are moſt uſually worn among the *Chriſtians*, thoſe of *Caffa* are oblig'd to faſten to theirs a little piece of Cloath, ſuch as the *Jews* in *Germany* wear upon their Cloaks, to diſtinguiſh 'em from the *Mahometans*.

The Road of *Caffa* is ſhelter'd from the Winds, except it be to the *North* and *South-Eaſt*: and the Ships lie at Anchor near the Shoar in Ten and Twelve Fathom Water, Ouzie at the bottom and very ſafe. There is alſo a great Trade driven there, more then in any other Port belonging to the *Black-Sea*. During the Forty Days that I ſtaid there, I ſaw come in and go out above Four Hunderd Sail of Ships, not counting little Veſſels that keep cloſe to the Shoar. The moſt uſual and moſt conſiderable Trade which they drive conſiſts in Salt Fiſh, and Caveare, which comes from the Lake *Mæotis*, and is thence tranſported into *Europe*, and as far as the *Indies*. 'Tis incredible what a World of Fiſh is caught in that Lake, conſidering its extent. And the reaſon which the Country People give for the Infinite Multitude of Fiſh there bred and taken, is this, For that the Water of that Lake being muddy, thick, and not very ſalt, becauſe of the *Tanais* that empties it ſelf into it, it invites not only the Fiſh out of *Tanais* and the *Black-Sea*, but alſo out of the *Helleſpont* and the *Archipelago*; where they breed and grow fat in a ſmall time. Several Perſons have aſſur'd me, That they uſually catch Fiſh in that Lake, which weigh every one Eight and Nine Hunderd Pounds, and of which they make between three and four Hunderd weight of Caveare. 'Tis true, I never ſaw any ſuch large Fiſh alive at *Caffa*; however I am apt to believe it, by the pieces of

Fiſh which I have ſeen, and the vaſt Quantities which they export into a Thouſand Places. Their Fiſhing laſts from *October* till *April*. And perhaps it is the Mudd of that Water of *Mæotis* which makes 'em call it a *Merſh*; for otherwiſe it would be more properly call'd a Lake, in regard it bears Veſſels of Burden, nor do the Waters riſe or fall, and beſides that it continually partakes of a great River and the Sea.

Next the Exportation of Caveare and Fiſh, the moſt conſiderable Trade is driv'n in Corn, Butter and Salt, with which this City furniſhes *Conſtantinople*, and ſeveral other places. The *Caffa* Butter is the beſt in all *Turkey*. The *Venetians* have ſeveral times deſir'd leave to Trade to this Town; but it would never be granted. In the Year 1672. *Signor Quirini* was at great Expences to obtain it, and he had obtain'd it indeed, but the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople* caus'd the Licence to be revok'd upon this Occaſion.

All the *Europeans* have it agreed in their Capitulations, That they ſhall pay no Cuſtoms, but in ſuch places where they unlade their Goods. By Virtue of which Article the *Venetians* would pay no Cuſtoms at *Conſtantinople* for Goods that came in a ſmall Veſſel bound for *Caffa*, which the Farmer of the Cuſtoms claim'd. And *Signor Quirini* obtain'd an Order from the *Defterdar* to the *Farmer*, not to take any Cognizance of what was in the ſaid *Venetian* Veſſel: (Which *Defterdar* is the High Treaſurer of the Empire; and has all the Cuſtoms under his Inſpection.) But the Cuſtomer ſeeing this Order, wrote to the *Vizier*, That the Trade of the *Venetians* into the *Black-Sea*, would be very prejudicial to the *Grand Signior* and the *Port*, and that the particular Damage to his Highneſs was moſt viſible, in regard the Merchandize which is proper for the *Black-Sea* and brought from *Venice* pays Cuſtoms twice, at their coming into the *Port* of *Conſtantinople*, and going out. That it was the ſame thing as to the Commodities that were brought out of that Sea, and which the *Venetians* Export, all which the *Grand Signior* would loſe if the *Venetians* had Liberty to Trade thither, in regard that by Virtue of their Capitulations, they ought to pay no Cuſtoms but where they diſcharge their Merchandiſes. Beſides, that to permit the *Venetians* an Entrance into the *Black-Sea*, was to open a new way for the *Chriſtian* Princes to Correſpond and Confederate with the Princes whoſe Dominions border upon thoſe Seas who are all Enemies to the *Port*. And laſtly;

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That

That it behov'd him to conſider that ſuch a Permiſſion would ruine a great Number of Seamen, of the *Grand Signior*'s Subjects, as well *Turks* as *Chriſtians*, for that in regard there is more Security in the *European* Navigation then in the *Turkiſh*, the *Venetians* would have all the Carriage of Goods through the *Black Sea*, and every one would Ship his Goods in their Veſſels. The *Grand Vizier* was ſenſible of this; and therefore gave Orders to the Governor of *Conſtantinople* not to let any *Venetian* Ship paſs into the *Black-Sea*.

The 30th my *Grecian* Guide unladed my Goods, Baggage, and whatever belong'd to me out of the Ship that brought me to *Caffa* and Ship'd it aboard another Veſſel bound for *Colchis*. Which done, he went to the *Cuſtomer* of *Caffa*, and told him, That there were two *French Papa*'s aboard the Veſſel of *Azac*, who were deſirous to Embark themſelves in another Veſſel, being bound for *Mingrelia*. That thoſe *Papa*'s carry'd ſeveral Trifles along with 'em, as Books, and other Things of no value, for the Uſe of a Monaſtery; and that if the *Cuſtom-Houſe* thought fit, that he ſhould ſend ſome of their Officers to ſearch the Ship. For the *Oriental Chriſtians* as well as the *Turks*, call *Papa*'s all manner of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons that Officiate in Holy Orders, whether Single or Married; and therefore my Guide thought fit that my Companion and my ſelf ſhould both take upon us the Title of *Papa*'s.

To that purpoſe our *Greek* made 'em believe, that we were going to the *Italian Miſſionaries* in *Colchis*, and that we were of their Fraternity. However the *Cuſtomer* ſent his Officers aboard to ſearch our Packs; and our *Greek* came along with him. Preſently I open'd two Cheſts before the Searcher; who put his Hand into one that was full of only Books, Papers, and Mathematical Inſtruments, and finding nothing more at the Bottom, then what he ſaw at the Top, fell a laughing, and ask'd the Man that brought him, If ſuch Rubbiſh as that were worth carrying out of *Europe* into *Mingrelia*? With that I fumbl'd out one of thoſe Pieces that are worth Three Shillings, like a Man that had not much to ſpare, but look'd upon five or ſix of thoſe Pieces to be a great Treaſure, and preſented the Searcher with it; who refus'd it at firſt, but took it at laſt, when I told him 'twas only to pay for his Boat, which he could not deny; and ſo went away without more ado. My Guide went along with him, and heard the Report which he made to the Cuſtomer, That we had nothing

but

but a few Books and Papers, with ſome few Toys of Braſs and Wood that were of little or no Value.

At the end of two Hours my faithful Guide return'd, and told me, That to protect us abſolutely from any further danger of the *Cuſtomers*, it behov'd us to give the Clerk of the Veſſel as much as we had giv'n the Searcher; in regard the Clerk took an exact Note of all that was embark'd, and gives it every Evening to the *Cuſtomer*, who keeps it for a Control: to which I anſwer'd, That he might do what he thought fit. Thereupon preſently calling to the Clerk, Thou ſeeſt, ſaid he, that the Searcher has found nothing in the *Frank Papa's* Cheſts. They have one more full of Papers, and five or ſix Boxes of Pictures for their Church. That they did not op'n 'em, becauſe the Air ſpoils the Colour of the Painting, and becauſe the Pictures were carefully ty'd up in Bundles; and therefore I deſire thee to accept of this Three Shillings which they give thee, and to put down in thy Note no more then the two Cheſts which the Searcher has ſeen, without taking Cognizance of the reſt. Upon which he let us carry away all that we had, and bid us, *Farewel in the Name of God.* So that we carry'd off all our Goods in two Boats, and put 'em aboard the Ship that was bound for *Mingrelia.* Nor did any Body demand any thing of us. For the Cuſtomers, and the Seamen of the Ship which we left as well as of the other Veſſel wherein we embark'd again, really believ'd us to be *Papa's*, and that all we carry'd with us was of little worth: that the Sacks wherein I told 'em were our Proviſions were full of nothing elſe beſide. For there are certain Slights and Shifts which we cannot ſo well ſet down, that are abſolutely neceſſary for thoſe that travel *Turkey*, that they who can make a right uſe of may paſs ſecurely and without trouble. For thereby we avoid Forfeitures and ill uſage, and we free our ſelves dextrouſly from the Cuſtom-Houſes, which take 'em all together, are none of the ſevereſt. But after all, it requires Good Luck, that is to ſay, a prudent Conduct and a Contrivance proper to the Genius of the *Turks*; and a Man muſt alſo be ſure to watch his Opportunities.

The 25th of *Auguſt*, the Veſſel that brought us to *Caffa*, ſet Sail for the Fortreſs of *Azac*, with three *Saics* of the ſame Burden in her Company. The New Commander would not have had her ſet Sail till the return of the *Courrier* which he had ſent to the Fortreſs, to know whether they were at Peace with the *Muſcovites*, and whether there were any Pirates or

not

not Cruiſing upon the Lake *Mæotis*. The People of *Caffa* reck'n it 450 Miles from thence to *Azac*: though it be not ſo much by Land, in regard they travel it eaſily in Twelve or Thirteen Days. As for the Streight of the Lake *Mæotis*, or rather the Channel between the Lake and the *Black-Sea*, it is about five Leagues in length. Which Channel was by the Ancients call'd the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*; but now the Moderns call it the Steight of *Caffa*, and alſo the *Mouth of St. John*. The great Veſſels that go to *Azac* put in at *Paleſtra*, which is Forty Miles from the Fortreſs, and Twenty from the River *Tanais*; for that there is not Water deep enough for 'em to Sail any farther. The Fortreſs of *Azac* is Fifteen Miles from the River: And it is very dangerous and hazardous to ſend either Men or Money to that Place; for they are attack'd by ſtrong Parties of the *Muſcovites* as well by Sea as by Land. The Commanders of this Fortreſs make always Leagues with the Neighborhood, though they ſeldom laſt long: for that either of one ſide or t'other there ariſe every day new Occaſions to break 'em. The *Turks* have two little Fortreſſes where they keep Gariſon at the Mouth of the *Tanais* upon the Banks of that great River which the Ancients call'd *Orxentes*, and which the People of the Country call *Don*, being about Fourſcore Leagues in length. They Fortifie the Mouth of this River with a vaſt Chain, to prevent the *Muſcovites* and *Circaſſians* from Roving with their great Barks upon the Lake and the *Black-Sea*. For before thoſe two Fortreſſes were built, and this Chain faſten'd athwart the River, thoſe People came down with their Boats and Cruis'd about all over thoſe Seas. But there is a ſtop now put to their great Veſſels. However in the Night-time, and by the power of Number, they ſometimes force their ſmaller Barks over the Chain; but 'tis very rarely that they will venture, for fear of being ſunk by the Shot from the two Forts. There was alſo formerly another Fort three Leagues off from the *Merſh* call'd *Tana*, belonging to the River *Tanais*; but it is now ruin'd; nor is it *Azac*, as ſome would have it to be, which is fifteen Leagues diſtant from it.

The 30th our Veſſel put to Sea, and Sail'd to a place call'd *Donſlow*, or the Salt-Pits; which are great *Merſhes* of Salt upon the Shoar fifty Miles from *Caffa*. We arriv'd there the 31ſt in the Morning: Immediately all the People went to Lade Salt; for there was no Guard kept upon it; and they aſſur'd us that Two Hunderd Veſſels were Laden there every Year

with Salt, and that there was enough for twice as many if there were occaſion. Theſe Salt-Pits are ſupply'd without any Charges: For they only let in the Water into the *Merſh*; which is a fat and hard Earth at the bottom. There it congeals and becomes a white Salt, which has all the good Qualities of Salt, and among the reſt that it preſerves the Moiſture of Salted Meats. They only pay Three Shillings a Day to thoſe that they employ to lade the Salt, without any further Examination how much they carry away.

About a Mile from the Shoar there is a Habitation of the *Tartars*; whither I went with ſome of my Servants to buy Proviſions, but I did not ſee in all that place above Ten or Twelve Houſes with a little Moſquee. Only round about it there was a great Number of Tents, Round and Square very well clos'd, together with ſeveral Wagons cloſe and cover'd, which ſerve 'em in ſtead of Houſes. The faireſt of their Tents were very handſome, being made of Round Poles lay'd a croſs one upon another, and cover'd without with large Furs very light and well ſtretch'd. The Door is made after the ſame Manner, with an opening at the Top, for the Light to come in, and the Smoak to go out. The Door is ſhut with a piece of Felt. The inſide is Hung with Tapeſtry, and the Floor cover'd alſo with the ſame. Every Family has one Tent of the ſame Faſhion and two others. The other is cover'd with a great Sarpler of Wooll, for their Cattel and Horſes. The other cover'd with the ſame, but not ſo handſome, and much larger; in the midſt of which is a round Pit five Foot deep and two Foot wide, and there it is that they dreſs their Vittles. Here their Slaves lie, and here they keep their Proviſions for the Family. The *Tartars* ſtore up their Corn and their Forrage, as do all the Country People in the *Eaſt*, in deep Pits under Ground which they call *Amber*, or Magazines. Which they cover ſo exactly, that you cannot diſcern where they have remov'd the Earth, ſo that only they that made the Pits can tell where to find 'em. The *Tartars* dig theſe Pits either in their Tents or in the Field; and as I have ſaid they cover theſe Pits ſo like the reſt of the ſurface of the Earth round about it, that you cannot perceive where they broak the Ground. When they remove their Quarters, they do it preſently and without any Trouble; their Tents being pull'd down and lad'n in leſs then Half an Hour. Their moſt uſual Carriage is by Oxen and Horſes of which they breed a Great Number. The People profeſs the *Mahumetan* Religion

but

but intermix'd with ſtrange Superſtitions and Ridiculous Opinions of Fortune Telling and Divination.

The 2d of *September* the Wind blew hard and contrary, ſo that we were conſtrain'd to return for *Caffa*, in regard the Coaſt where we lay was very dangerous.

The Seventh at Midnight we put again to Sea with fair Weather, which did not long continue For in the Morning roſe a moſt furious Tempeſt, inſomuch that we were afraid of being caſt away; and that which encreas'd our fears was this, that our Veſſel was very deep Loaden, not only the Hold being full, but Twelve Foot High above Deck. But the Storm, thanks be to God, was ſoon over, and that which ſav'd us was this, that the Wind was with us.

Our Ships Lading conſiſted in Salt, Fiſh, *Caveare*, Oyl, Biſcuite, Wooll, Iron, Tin, Copper, Copper and Earthen Ware, in all ſorts of Harneſs, Arms, Utenſils of Husbandry, Cloth, Linnen of all Colours, Habits for Men and Women, Coverlets, Carpets, Leather, Boots and Shooes, and in a word in all things moſt neceſſary for Mans Uſe. There were all ſorts of Grocery and Pothecary's Ware, Spices, Perfumes, Drugs and all manner of Oyntments. So that the Veſſel ſeem'd to be a little Town, where every thing was to be had; beſides the People that were aboard, to the Number of a Hunderd.

The 8th in the Morning we diſcover'd the Coaſts that bound the Lake *Mæotis*, which were very High Lands about 30 Miles diſtant from us. In the Evening we found our ſelves near *Cape Cuodos* which *Ptolomy* calls *Cirocondoma*, ſhouting out far into the Sea; the ſhoar being all very High Land, and ſeen a great way off. From *Caffa* to this Point, we ſail'd all along in the Channel, from whence to *Mingrelia* we always kept along by the ſhoar.

It is Six and Twenty Mile from *Caffa* to the Channel of the Lake *Mæotis*. The Country on each ſide is all in Subjection to, and inhabited by the *Tartars*, but ſo very thinly that all the Coaſt is like a deſert. From the Channel of the *Palus Mæotis* to *Mingrelia* they reck'n it Six Hunderd Miles along the Coaſt, which conſiſts of pleaſant Mountains cover'd with Woods, inhabited by the *Circaſſians* whom the Turks call *Cherks*. By the Ancients they were generally call'd *Zageans*, as alſo Mountaineers. *Pomponius Mela* calls 'em *Sargacians*. They are neither the Subjects of the *Port*, nor Tributary to it; their Climate being very bad, cold and moiſt;

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it produces no Wheat, nor indeed does it afford any thing that is rare and valuable; which is the reaſon that the *Turks* leave all this vaſt Country to the Natives, not worth the Toyl of Conquering, nor the Charge of Keeping. The Veſſels that are bound from *Conſtantinople* and *Caffa* for *Mingrelia*, caſt Anchors in ſeveral places along theſe Coaſts, and ſtay at every place a Day or two: During which time they Trade with the *Cherks* with their Arms i' their Hands. For when any of them deſire to come aboard, they give Hoſtages, and ſo they likewiſe do when any of the Seamen or Perſons in the Ship deſire to go aſhoar, which is very ſeldom; for they are a very perfidious People: and therefore they give three Hoſtages for one. The Seamen carry thither all the very ſame Commodities which they carry into *Mingrelia*, for which they take in Exchange Slaves of all Sexes and Ages; Honey, Wax, Leather, and *Chacal*-Skins; which *Chacal* is a Beaſt like a *Fox*, but much bigger. *Zerdava's*, which is a Furr that reſembles a *Martin*; with the Furrs of other Beaſts that breed in the Mountains of *Circaſſia*. Which is all to be had among theſe People. They Exchange their Commodities after this manner: The Ship-Boat Rows cloſe to the Shoar, and they that are in it are well arm'd. Nor will they ſuffer a greater Number of *Cherks* to come nearer the place where the Boat lies than they themſelves are: For if they ſee a greater Number approach, they preſently put out to Sea. When they are come ſo near as to talk one to another, they ſhew their Commodities, agree upon the Barter to be made, and preſently make the Exchange: however it behoves 'em to ſtand upon their Guard all the while: For the *Cherks* are Infidelity and Perfidy it ſelf; and it is an Impoſſibility for 'em to find an Opportunity to ſteal, but they take their Advantage.

They are a People altogether Savage; formerly Chriſtians; but now of no Religion, not having ſo much as the Light of Nature among 'em. For I look upon their Superſtitious Cuſtoms as nothing; which ſeem to be a Mixture borrow'd from the *Chriſtians* and *Mahumetans* their Neighbors. They live in Woodden Huts, and go almoſt Naked. Every Perſon is a ſworn Enemy to thoſe that live in the Provinces round about 'em. The Inhabitants make Slaves one of another, and ſell one another to the *Turks* and *Tartars*. And for their Ground the VVomen Till and Manure it. The *Cherks* and their Neighbors live upon a kind of Paſte made of a very ſmall Grain like to Millet: and they who have Traffick along theſe Coaſts

will

will tell ye a Thouſand Stories of the Barbarous Cuſtoms of theſe People. However there is no ſafety in believing the Reports which are ſpread abroad either of thoſe that live upon the Sea-Coaſts, or of thoſe that inhabit farther up in the Country; in regard that no body travels thither, and all that we know is by means of the Slaves that are brought from thence, who are all meer Savages, from whom there is nothing to be learnt of Certainty. This is the reaſon why I have made no more Deſcriptions of Places in my Map of the *Black-Sea*, which is at the beginning of this Book, chuſing rather to leave a ſpace for the *Circaſſians* and *Abca*'s void, then to fill it up upon the Credit of People ſo illiterate, who for the moſt part can hardly tell the *North* from the *South*.

The *Abca*'s border upon the *Cherks*, poſſeſſing about a Hunderd Miles of the Sea-Coaſt between *Mingrelia* and *Circaſſia*. However they are not altogether ſo much Savages as the *Cherks*, but they are equally inclin'd with *Them* to Thieving and Robbery. The Seamen alſo Trade with 'em, with the ſame Precautions as with their Neighbors already mention'd. They ſtand in need of the ſame Commodities as their Neighbors, and make their Exchanges in Slaves, Furrs, Does and Tigres Skins, Linnen, Thread, Box, Wax and Honey.

The 10th of *September* we arriv'd at *Iſgaour*: Which is a Road belonging to *Mingrelia*, pretty ſafe in the Summer: and there the Veſſels that Trade into *Colchis* lie; ſo that we ſaw ſeven great Ships there, when we arriv'd in the Road. Preſently our Captain faſten'd his own Veſſel to four Anchors, two at the Prow and two at the Poop, and carry'd his Maſts and his Yards aſhoar. As for *Iſgaour* it is a deſert place without any Habitations: only according to the Number of Traders that come thither, they build up Huts and Booths of Boughs, as they find themſelves ſecure from the *Abca*'s, which does not often happen. But beſides thoſe Huts, there is not one Houſe to be ſeen.

Now before I enter into the Relation of the Hardſhips which I ſuffer'd, and the Dangers I underwent in *Mingrelia*, I ſhall give ye a Deſcription of the Country and Parts that border about it, without intermixing any thing Dubious, or what I have not learnt by exact Information.

Colchis is ſituated at the end of the *Black-Sea*. To the *Eaſt* it is enclos'd with a little Kingdom, which makes a part of *Georgia*, which by the People of the Country is call'd *Imiretta*,

by the *Turks*, *Pacha tchcouk* or *Pacha Koutchouk*, as much as to ſay, the *Little Prince:* to the *South*, by the *Black-Sea*; to the *Weſt*, by the *Abca's*; and to the *North*, by Mount *Caucaſus*. In length it lies between the Sea and the Mountains; in breadth, it extends from the *Abca's* to the Kingdom of *Imiretta*. The *Corax* and *Phaſis*, famous Rivers in Ancient Hiſtory, at preſent call'd *Coclours* and *Rione*, ſerve for its Bounds; while the firſt parts it from the *Abca's*; the ſecond from *Imiretta*. The length of *Colchis* is a Hunderd and Ten Miles at moſt, the breadth Sixty. Which I know to be true, not only by the concurring Report of the People of the Country, but alſo as having croſs'd it my ſelf from one end to the other. It was formerly Fortifi'd againſt the *Abca's* by a Wall Sixty Miles in length, which has been laid in Ruines theſe many Years: So that now the Thick Foreſts are its chiefeſt Defence, and its greateſt Security. The Inhabitants of *Caucaſus*, that border upon *Colchis*, are the *Alane's*, whoſe Country was formerly the Northern Frontier of *Armenia*; the *Suane's*, the *Gigue's*, the *Caracioles* or *Cara-cherks*; a ſort of People more Barbarous then their Names. Theſe *Cara-cherks*, as they are call'd by the *Turks*, that is to ſay, the *Black Circaſſiens*, are the Northern *Circaſſians*. The *Turks* ſo call 'em, though they are the faireſt People in the World, by reaſon of the Foggs and Clouds that continually dark'n their Skie. Formerly they were Chriſtians; and ſome Relicks of their Cuſtoms they retain, and ſome certain Ceremonies alſo they obſerve, yet at preſent they profeſs no Religion, but live by Robbery and Rapine, utterly ignorant of all Arts and Sciences, and having nothing that may entitle 'em to Humanity, but their Speech. They are much taller and more portly then other People; ſo furious in their Looks, and ſpeaking with ſuch a terrible Tone, that you may eaſily thence diſcern their Diſpoſitions and their Courage to be no leſs ſavage. Their very Countenances are frightful to look upon; more eſpecially when you come to experience their Civility, and underſtand 'em to be the moſt reſolute *Aſſaſſins*, and moſt daring Robbers in the World.

The Ancient Kingdom of *Colchis* was not ſo ſmall a Kingdom as now; for it extended on the one ſide to the *Palus Mæotis*, and the other way as far as *Iberia*. The Capital City was alſo call'd *Colchis*, ſeated at the Mouth of *Phaſis* upon the Weſtern ſide of the River, and that was the Reaſon that *Mingrelia* was formerly call'd *Colchis*; for that *Mingrelia* is bounded by this River, to the *Eaſt*. Our Modern *Geographers* have ſeated another

ther City which they call *Faſſo*, in the place where *Colchis* ſtood; but this I know my ſelf to be a grand Miſtake.

All the Oriental People call *Colchis Odiſche*, and the *Colchians Mingrelians*; though I could never underſtand the Etymology of either of thoſe Words. The Country it ſelf is unequal; full of Hills and Mountains, Valleys and Plains, which cauſes great variety of Proſpect, and it riſes inſenſibly from the Sea-ſhoar. It is almoſt all over cover'd with Woods, except the Fields that are Manur'd, which are not very many: and beſides, the Woods are ſo thick and tall, and the Trees grow ſo faſt, that if they did not grub up the Roots that ſpread themſelves into the Till'd Land, and the High-ways, the whole Country in a ſhort time would be nothing but a Thick Foreſt altogether Impaſſable. The Air is temperate as well in reſpect of the Heat as Cold, but very moiſt and very unwholſom in regard of the extream wet Weather; for it rains there almoſt perpetually. In Summer the Moiſture of the Earth, being heated by the Sun, infects the Air, and cauſes not only frequent Peſtilences, but ſeveral other Diſtempers and Diſeaſes. Therefore inſupportable to Strangers. For it reduces 'em to a Ghaſtly Leanneſs, and renders 'em in a Years time yellow, juiceleſs and faint. The Natives of the Country, more us'd to the Climate, are not ſo much incommoded by it, for the time that they live, which is ſeldom above Threeſcore Years.

Colchis abounds with Water-Streams, which fall from the Mountains of *Caucaſus*, and diſcharge themſelves into the *Black-Sea*. The Principal Rivers are *Codours*, which is that *Corax* I have already mention'd; the *Socom*, which I take to be the *Terſcen* of *Arrian*, and the *Thaſſeris* of *Ptolomy*; the *Langur*, call'd by the Ancients *Aſtolphus*; the *Cobi*, by *Arrian* call'd *Cobo*, which before it enters into the Sea, meets with another River call'd *Cianiſcari*, which was the Ancient *Cianeus*. The *Tacheus* which *Arrian* calls *Sigamus*; The *Schemiſcari*, that is to ſay, The *River Horſe*, ſo call'd from the Rapidneſs of its courſe, and which the *Greeks* for the ſame Reaſon call *Hippus*, and the *Abaſcia* to which *Strabo* gives the Name of *Glaucus*, *Arrian* that of *Caries*, and *Ptolomy* that of *Caritus*. Theſe two Rivers intermix with *Phaſis*, about Twenty Miles from the place where it diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea. I have ſet down as well the Ancient as Modern Names of the *Mingrelian* Rivers, in regard that all the Hiſtorical Geographers, eſpecially *Arrian*, and ſeveral of the Moderns place 'em ill. But beſides theſe Rivers there are are ſome others of leſſer note; of which

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I ſay no more, for that before they fall into the Sea, they loſe themſelves in thoſe larger Torrents already mention'd.

The Soyl of *Colchis* is very bad, and produces little Corn or Pulſe. The Fruits are almoſt all wild, without any taſte, and very unwholſom; and yet there grow in *Colchis* almoſt as many ſorts as we have in *France*. They have alſo very large Melons, but they are worth very little or nothing. The only Fruit that thrives beſt in this Country are their Grapes; of which there is great Plenty. The Vines grow about the Trees, and run up to the very Top of the Boughs. I have ſeen ſome Stocks of theſe Vines that have been ſo large, that I could hardly compaſs 'em with both my Arms. They prune their Vines every four Years, and as for the Wine of *Mingrelia* I muſt needs ſay it is moſt excellent. It is ſtrong, and has a very good Body; pleaſing to the Taſte, and comfortable to the Stomach. Nor do I know where there is better in any part of *Aſia*. So that if the Country People knew how to make Wine ſo well as we do, theirs would be the beſt in the World. But they never take any pains at all with it. They only hollow the larger Trunks of great Trees, which they make uſe of in ſtead of Tubs. In thoſe they bruiſe and ſqueeze the Grapes, and then pour out the Juyce into great Earthen Jarrs, which they bury in their Houſes, or elſe hard by. Theſe Veſſels contain about two or three Hunderd Quarters. And when the Veſſel is full, they cloſe it up with a Woodden Cover, and then lay the Earth upon it. For indeed they cover theſe Urns, juſt after the ſame manner as I have told ye that the Eaſtern People cover the Pits where they ſtore up their Corn.

The Earth is ſo moiſt in *Mingrelia* in Seed-time, that for fear of ſoftning too much the Land where they ſow their Wheat and Barley, they never Plough it at all. They only caſt their Grain upon the Top of the Earth, and that is ſufficient; for it comes up without any farther trouble, taking root a foot deep in the Mould. The *Mingrelians* moreover affirm, That ſhould they Plough their Ground where they ſow their Barley and Wheat, it would be ſo ſoft that the leaſt Wind would lodge the Stalks, ſo that they would never be able to riſe again. Their other Lands they plough, and ſow their other Grain with Ploughs and Ploughſhares of Wood, which make however as deep Furrows as if they were of Iron, by reaſon of the ſoftneſs and moiſture of the Earth, as I have already ſaid.

Their uſual Grain is *Gom*: which is a ſort of Grain as ſmall as Coriander Seed, and very much reſembles Millet. Which they ſow in the Spring-time after the ſame manner as they do Rice: for they make a Hole in the Ground with their Finger, then put in the Grain and cover it. This Grain produces a Stalk about the bigneſs of a Mans Thumb, and grows up as high as moſt Men are tall; at the end of which there is an Ear that contains above Three Hunderd Grains: And indeed the *Gom*-Stalk is very like to the Sugar-Cane. They gather this Grain in *October*, and preſently lay it upon high Hurdles expos'd to the Sun; which they do to dry it. After it has been Twenty Days upon the Hurdles, they bind it up in Sheaves; but they thraſh it only as they have occaſion to boyl it, and they never boyl it, but juſt before they go to eat it. It is inſipid and heavy. Yet is it preſently boyl'd, and in leſs then half an hour after it is put into the Water, they ſtir it ſoftly with a Stick; and after it has ſtood never ſo little upon the Fire, it turns into Paſt. When the Grain is all diſſolv'd, and the Paſt well wrought together, they leſſen the Fire, let the Water boyl away, and the Paſt harden and dry in the Skellet where it was boyl'd.

This Paſt is very white; and ſome there is, which they make as white as Snow. They ſerve it upon little Woodden Peels made on purpoſe. And this ſort of Bread the *Turks* call *Paſta*, the *Mingrelians*, *Gom*, being eaſily brok'n between the Fingers: but it is of a very cold and laxative Quality; nor is it worth any thing, after it is once cold, or when it is heated a ſecond time. However the *Circaſſians*, *Mingrelians*, and *Georgians*, who are Tributary to the *Turks*, the *Abca's*, the Mountaineers of *Caucaſus*, and all that inhabit the Coaſts of the *Black-Sea* from the Lake *Mæotis* to *Trebiſond*, live all upon this Paſt. 'Tis all the Bread they have, nor have they any other; and indeed they are ſo accuſtom'd to it, that they prefer it before Bread made of Wheat, as I have obſerv'd in moſt parts of thoſe Countries which I have ſeen. Nor do I wonder at it; for when Neceſſity conſtrain'd me to make it my Food, I found it ſo acceptable to my Palate, that I could hardly leave it, when I came where I met with our uſual Bread. Beſides, I found my ſelf very well, and my Body in a better Condition of Health then before. In *Armenia* and *Georgia* I ſaw a great many of the *Turkiſh* and *Georgian* Lords, and among the reſt the Prince of *Tiflis* and the *Baſha* of *Akalzike*, who ſent for this Grain and eat it for a Delicacy: but it requires good ſtore

of Wine to waſh it down, to correct and temper its cold and laxative Quality.

Beſides this *Gom*, they have in *Mingrelia* great plenty of Millet, ſome Rice, with Wheat and Barley, but very ſcarce. The People of Quality many times eat Wheaten Bread for a Dainty; but the meaner ſort never ſo much as taſte of it.

The ordinary Food of the Country is Beef and Pig; of which latter they have an extraordinary plenty, and that ſo good, that the World does not afford better. There is alſo Goats Fleſh, but very lean, neither is it well taſted. Their Wild-Fowl is very good, but very ſcarce. While I was there, there was hardly any to be got, by reaſon that the Wars had haraſs'd all the Country. For Fiſh, there is none but Salt-Fiſh, which is brought from *Turkey*; Tunny Fiſh, and ſome few ſmall Quantities of other Fiſh at certain ſeaſons of the Year. Their Venizon in *Mingrelia* is the Wild Boar, the Hart, the Stag, the Fallow Deer and Hare: which is ſo excellent that there cannot be better Food. Partridge they have alſo, Pheaſants and Quails in abundance, ſome River-Fowl, and Wild Pigeons, which are very good Meat, and as big as our Cramm'd Chicken. The *Mingrelians* catch theſe Pigeons with Nets, and take great Numbers of 'em in *Autumn*; for in the Winter they return to the Mountains of *Caucaſus*.

The Nobility of *Mingrelia* ſpend their whole time in the Field: and their chiefeſt delight is in Birds of Prey, which they tame and afterwards make uſe of for their ſport. And indeed it may be truly ſaid that theſe Birds of Prey are no where in the World in greater Numbers then in *Mingrelia*, as Lanner-Hawks, Gos-Hawks, Hobbies and others, which build and breed in Mount *Caucaſus*. The young Ones, as ſoon as they are fledge, reſort to the Foreſts round about, where they take great Numbers, and reclaim 'em in five or ſix days.

But of all their Flights, that which yields the moſt delightful Paſtime, is that of the *Faulcon* at the *Heron*. For River-Fowl and Pheaſants they only make uſe of their Sparrow-Hawks. To which purpoſe, as they do in *Perſia* and *Turkey*, they carry a little Drum at the Pummel of their Saddles to put up the Wild-Fowl with the Noiſe, and then let fly their Hawks at the Game. When they take any Herons, they only cut off the Feathers upon their Heads to make Heron Tufts for Bonnets, and then let 'em go again: for the People of the Country affirm, that the Feathers grow again as fair and as beautiful as they were at firſt. Beſides the Fowl already nam'd, and which

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are to be found in *Mingrelia*, there are other ſtrange Fowl as well for their Shape as Feathers, altogether unknown in our parts; and not only thoſe, but a great Number of Eagles and Pelicans. All which *Caucaſus* produces, beſides a great Number of Wild Beaſts, as Tigres, Leopards, Lyons, VVolves, and *Chacalls*; which are Creatures much reſembling Foxes, only that they are much bigger, and their Hair is much more thick and ſhaggy: and ſome will have this *Chacal* to be the *Hyæna* of the Ancients. For it digs up dead Bodies, and devours both living Creatures and Carrion. They bury their Dead in the Eaſtern Country without Coffins, only in their VVinding-Sheets. And therefore I have ſeen 'em in ſome parts rowl great Stones over the Graves of the Deceas'd, only for fear of theſe Beaſts to prevent 'em from digging up the Graves, and devouring the dead Bodies. For *Mingrelia* is full of theſe *Chacalls* and VVolves; inſomuch that they beſet the very Houſes themſelves, where they make a moſt dreadful howling Noiſe. The worſt is, they make moſt terrible Havock among their Cattel and Horſes. The Superiour of the *Theatins* aſſur'd me, that in one VVeek the VVolves eat him up three Horſes and a Colt, cloſe by the Houſe.

There are a great Number of Horſes, and very good ones too, in *Mingrelia*, of which every Man has a great many, in regard they coſt 'em little or nothing to keep. For as ſoon as they alight, they take off their Bridles and Saddles, and turn 'em a Field: Nor do they ever Shooe 'em, or give 'em any other Food or Provender, then what they graze of themſelves.

In *Mingrelia* are neither Cities nor Towns, only two Villages by the Sea-ſide: But all the Houſes are ſcatter'd ſo thick up and down in the Country; that you ſhall hardly travel a Mile, but you ſhall meet with Three or Four together. There are alſo Nine or Ten Caſtles, of which the chiefeſt is call'd *Rucs*, where the Prince of *Mingrelia* keeps his Court. This Caſtle is ſurrounded with a Stone-Wall, but ſo ill built, and ſo thin, that the leaſt Field-Piece will make its way through it: however there are ſome few Cannon within it; but the reſt of the Caſtles have none at all: being all built after this manner.

In ſome level and open place in a Wood, they erect a Stone-Tower about Thirty or Forty Foot High, ſufficient to contain Fifty or Sixty Perſons. This is the ſtrongeſt part of the Tower, where they ſecure all the Treaſure of the Lord, and of thoſe

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that deſire his Protection. Cloſe by this, ſtand Five or Six other Towers built of Wood, much lower then the middlemoſt, which are the Store-Houſes for their Proviſion; and where they put their Wives and Children, when they happen at any time to be aſſaulted. Beſide which there are within the compaſs of the open place, ſeveral Hutts made of Carpenters Work; others, with Boughs of Trees, others of Canes and Reeds. The ſpace is enclos'd with a very thick Hedge and with the Wood it ſelf, which is ſo thick that it is impoſſible to come near thoſe retirements but by the way which is cut open on purpoſe. Which paſſage, when they are afraid of an Enemy, they dig up and cover with Trees, that 'tis impoſſible to be forc'd. Nor do the *Colchians* ever retire to theſe Caſtles, but when they are in fear of an Enemy; for when the danger is paſt they return to their Houſes.

The Houſes in *Mingrelia* are all of Carpenters Work; and Building is very cheap, by reaſon of the great Plenty of Wood. Of theſe Houſes, the Poorer ſort contain but one Story: nor have thoſe of the Gentry and Nobility themſelves above two. The lower Rooms are always furniſh'd with Beds and Couches to lie down and ſit upon, by reaſon of the great Moiſture of the Earth. The Perſons of Quality ſit upon Carpets, the meaner ſort upon Forms. But their Houſes are very inconvenient and Naſty; as having neither Chimneys nor Windows. The Fire place is in the middle, and the light comes in at the Door. Their Houſes are built upon no Foundations, which is the reaſon that they are eaſily Rob'd. For the Thieves dig a hole under the firſt Beam that lyes upon the Ground, and ſupports all the reſt of the Fabrick, and ſo creep into the Houſe. And as ſoon as the People begin to ſtir, they get out again with the ſame eaſe. Which Inconvenience conſtrains the Country People to have no more then one Room for every Family. Where they keep all that they have about 'em, except their Corn, and ſometimes their Wine. So that they lie all together, and Houſe their Cattel in the Night.

Mingrelia breeds very good Blood; So that the Men are very well ſhap'd, and the VVomen very handſome. Thoſe that are of any Quality carry always in their Countenances ſome certain Features and Graces that are very Charming. I have ſeen ſome wonderfully well ſhap'd, that have had a very Majeſtick Air, with an Aſpect and Proportion much to be admir'd. Beſides, they have thoſe Obliging Glances, that win the Affections of all that behold 'em, and ſeem as it were

to command their Love. They that are not ſo handſome, or in years, paint abominably, Colouring their Eyebrows, their Cheeks, Foreheads, Noſes and Chins; but the reſt only paint their Eyebrows. They dreſs themſelves with all the curioſity they can. Their Habit is like that of the *Perſians*: but their Head-Attire is much like that of the *European* Women, ev'n to the curling of their Locks. They wear a Vail that covers only the Top and Hinder part of the Head. They are naturally very ſubtle and of clear and quick Apprehenſions. Extreamly Civil, full of Ceremonies and Complements; but otherwiſe the wickedeſt Women in the World, Haughty, Furious, Perfidious, Deceitful, Cruel, and Impudent. So that there is no ſort of VVickedneſs which they will not put in Execution, to procure Lovers, preſerve their Affection, or elſe to deſtroy 'em.

The Men are endu'd with all theſe Miſchievous Qualities with ſome Addition. There is no VVickedneſs, to which their Inclinations do not naturally carry 'em. But all addicted to Thievery. That, they make their ſtudy; that they make their whole Imployment, their Paſtime and their Glory. Aſſaſſination, Murder and Lying are among them eſteem'd to be noble and brave Actions. But for Concubinage, Adultery, Bigamy, Inceſt, and all Vices of that Nature, they are Vertues in *Mingrelia*. They make nothing to take away one anothers Wives by force: and they Marry their Aunts, their Nieces, and their Wives Siſters without any Scruple. He that has a mind to two VVives at a time, marries 'em without any more ado: and many there are that will have Three. Every Man keeps as many Concubines as they pleaſe; the VVives never grudging their Husbands that convenience: for there is ſeldome any ſuch thing as Jealouſie among 'em. If a Man take his VVife in the act with her Gallant, he has a Priviledge to compel him to pay him a Pig by way of ſatisfaction; which they eat all Three together: and generally that is all the revenge the Perſon injur'd takes. But this is the greateſt VVonder, that this VVicked Nation ſhould maintain, that to have ſeveral VVives and Concubines is juſtifiable: for ſay they, they bring us many Children, which we ſell for ready Money or Exchange for neceſſary Conveniences. VVhich is nothing to another moſt Inhuman Tenent of theirs, that it is a piece of Charity to Murder Infants newly Born, when they have not ſufficient wherewith to maintain 'em; or ſuch as are Sick and paſt hopes of recovery. And the reaſon they give is this, that by ſo

doing, they put thoſe Children out of a great deal of Miſery which they would undergo in a languiſhing Diſtemper, which in the end muſt of neceſſity carry 'em off. Such are the Arguments of theſe Barbarous People that have neither ſhame, nor Humanity. I am afraid to tell the Truth, leſt Hiſtory ſhould want belief in this particular, or that the Truths which I recount ſhould be look'd upon as the Exorbitances of Relation. But I aver 'em to be really true, as ſome actions which I ſhall recite, will ſufficiently juſtifie.

The Gentlemen of the Country have full Power over the Lives and Eſtates of their Tenants, with whom they do what they pleaſe. They ſeize upon 'em, whether VVife or Children; they ſell 'em, or diſpoſe of 'em otherwiſe as they think fit. Every Country-Man furniſhes his Lord with ſo much Corn, Cattel, VVine, and other Proviſions, as he is able. So that their Wealth conſiſts in the Number of their Vaſſals. Beſides, every one is oblig'd to entertain his Lord Two or Three days in a Year at their own Expences. VVhich is the reaſon that the Nobility, ſo long as the Year laſts, go from one place to another devouring their Tenants, and ſometimes the Tenants of other Men.

The Prince himſelf leads the ſame Life, ſo that 'tis a hard matter every day to know where to find him. VVhen the Vaſſals of ſeveral Lords are at difference, their Maſters decide the diſpute: but when the Lords are at variance among themſelves, force and main ſtrength determine the Quarrel, and the ſtouteſt Arm gets the better. There is not a Gentleman in *Mingrelia* but has ſome quarrel or other. And therefore it is, that they always go arm'd, and as numerouſly attended as they can. VVhen they ride, they are arm'd at all Points, and their followers alſo; nor do they ever ſleep without their Swords by their ſides; and when they go to Bed, they ſleep upon their Belleys, laying their Swords under 'em.

Their Arms are a Lance, Bow and Arrows, a ſtreight Sword, a Mace, and a Buckler; but there are very few that carry Fire-Arms. They are very good Souldiers, ſit a Horſe very well, and handle their Lances with an Extraordinary Dexterity.

Their Habit is peculiar; and unleſs they be the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they wear but very little Beard. They Shave all the Top of their Heads in a Circle, ſuffering the reſt of their Hair to grow down to their Eyes, and then clip it round of an even length. They cover their Heads with a light Cap of Felt

very thin par'd, and cut into ſeveral Half-Moons about the Edges. In the VVinter they wear a furr'd Bonnet: They are moreover ſo beggarly and ſo wretched, that for fear of ſpoiling their Caps or their Bonnets in the Rain, they will put 'em in their Pouches, and go Bare-Headed. Over their Bodies they wear little Shirts, that fall down to their Knees, and tuck into a ſtreight *Pantaloon*. Nor indeed is there any habit in the VVorld more deformed then theirs. They carry a Rope ſeveral Fadoms long at their Girdles, to tye together ſuch People or Cattel which they Rob from their Neighbours, or take in War. The Nobles wear Leathern Girdles Four Fingers broad, full of Silver Studs, at which they hang a Knife, a Whet-ſtone, and a Steel to ſtrike Fire: together with Three Leathern Purſes, the one full of Salt, the other of Pepper, and the other with Pack-Needles, Leſſer-Needles, and Thread. The Poor People go almoſt naked; ſuch is their Miſery not to be parallell'd; as not having any thing to cover their Nakedneſs but a pityful ſorry Felt like to the *Chlamys* of the Ancients; into which they thruſt their Heads, and turn which way they pleaſe as the Wind ſits; for it covers but one ſide of their Bodies, and falls down no lower than their Knees. There are ſome, that are par'd very thin to keep out the Water, which are not ſo heavy as the common ſort; that are ready to weigh a Man down, eſpecially when thorough wet. He that has a Shirt and a pair of pitiful Drawers, thinks himſelf Rich; for almoſt all of 'em go Bare-Foot; and ſuch of the *Colchians* as pretend to Shooes, have nothing but a piece of a *Bufalo's* Hide, and that untann'd too; which piece of raw Hide is lac'd about their Feet with a Thong of the ſame: ſo that for all theſe ſort of *Sandals*, their Feet are as durty, as if they went Bare-Foot.

Almoſt all the *Mingrelians*, both Men and Women, even the moſt noble and wealthy, never have but one Shirt, and one pair of Breeches at a time; which laſt 'em at leaſt a Year: In all which time they never waſh 'em above Three times: only Once or Twice a VVeek they ſhake 'em over the Fire, for the Vermin to drop off, with which they are mightily haunted; and indeed, I cannot ſay I ever ſaw any thing ſo Naſty and Loathſome. VVhich is the reaſon that the *Mingrelian* Ladies carry a very bad ſcent about 'em. I always accoaſted 'em, extreamly taken with their Beauty; but I had not been a Minute in their Company, but the Rank VVhiffs from their Skins quite ſtiff'd all my Amorous Thoughts.

The

The Grandees Eat, ſitting upon Carpets, after the manner of the Eaſtern People. Their Napkin is only a piece of painted Cloath, or Leather, and ſometimes they only wipe upon the Boards. The Ordinary ſort ſit upon a Form, with another Form before 'em of the ſame height, which ſerves for a Table. All their Diſhes are of Wood to their very Drinking Cups: only among the People of Quality you ſhall ſee a little Silver Plate.

Moreover it is the cuſtome in this Savage Country, that the whole Family without diſtinction, Males and Females, Eat all together. The King with all his Train to his very Grooms. The Queen, her Women, Maids, Servants and all, to the very Lacqueys that attend her. When it does not rain, they Dine in the open Courts, where they rank themſelves, either in a Circle, or ſide by ſide, one below another, according to their Quality. If it be cold weather they make great rowſing Fires in the Court where they eat; for Wood-Firing coſts nothing in that Country, as I have ſaid already. When they are ſate down, Four Men, if the Family be great, bring upon their Shoulders a large Kettle full of *Gom*, or Grain boyl'd as I have already related; of which, moſt uſually a Poor beggarly half-Naked Raſcal ſerves upon a VVooden Plate, to every one his proportion, which weighs full Three Pound. Afterwards two other Servants, ſomewhat but not much better equipp'd, bring in another Kettle full of Grain more white than the other; which is only for the better ſort. Upon Worky-Days they never give but only *Gom* to the Servants, the Maſters being ſerv'd with Pulſe, or dry'd Fiſh roaſted, or elſe Fleſh. On Holy-Days or when they make entertainments, they kill either a Hog, or an Ox, or a Cow, eſpecially if they have no Venſon. As ſoon as they have cut the Throat of the Beaſt, they dreſs it, and ſet it upon the Fire, without Salt, or Sauce, in the great Kettle where they boil their Paſt. VVhen it has boyl'd a while, they take it from the Fire, throw away the Broth, and ſerve it in half-raw, without any ſeaſoning. The Maſter of the Houſe has always ſtanding before him a large Portion of this Vittles: They ſet before him likewiſe all the Pulſe, all the Bread, and all the Tame and VVild-Fowl. VVho preſently Carves for his Gueſts and his Friends their ſhare. They feed themſelves with their Fingers, and that ſo naſtily, that nothing but extremity of hunger could provoke the meaneſt of our Europeans to Eat at the Tables of thoſe Barbarians. VVhen they have begun to Eat,

there

there are two Perſons, that ſerve the Drink round the Table: Among the common ſort, this Office is perform'd by Women or Maids. 'Tis the ſame Incivility among them, to call for Wine, as to refuſe it. For they muſt ſtay till it is preſented, and take it, when 'tis giv'n 'em. They never give leſs then a Pint at a Draught; which at their Ordinary Meals is thrice done; but at Feaſts and Banquets, the Gueſts, and the Gentry Drink on till they are Drunk.

The *Mingrelians* and their Neighbours are very Great Drinkers; far exceeding the *Germans*, and all the Northern People. They never mix their Wine, but Drink it pure, both Men and Women. But when they are once Heated, they think their Pints too little, and therefore Drink out of their Diſhes, and out of the Pitcher it ſelf. While I lay near *Cotatis*, I lodg'd at a Gentleman's Houſe, who was one of the ſtouteſt Drinkers in all the Country: and while I ſtay'd at his Houſe, he made a Feaſt for Three of his Friends; at what time they were all Four ſo ſet upon Carowſing, that from Ten in the Morning till Ten in the Evening, they Drank out a whole *Charge* of Wine, that weigh'd Three Hunderd Pound Weight. It is alſo a cuſtom among theſe People, practiz'd by all the World, to riſe from the Table, and empty as often as they have occaſion, and when they return, they ſit down without ever Waſhing their Hands. They provoke their Gueſts and their Friends, as much as they can, to Drink; it being chiefly at the Table that they obſerve Civility, and are free of their Complements. Their diſcourſes between Man and Man, are only Stories of their Robberies, their Wars, Duels, Murders, and Selling of Slaves. Neither is their diſcourſe any better among the VVomen: for they are pleas'd with all ſorts of Love-Tales, let 'em be never ſo Obſcene, or never ſo Laſcivious: and their Children learn their filthy VVords and Phraſes, aſſoon as they can ſpeak; inſomuch that by that time they come to be Ten Years of Age, all their diſcourſe with the VVomen, is the moſt beaſtly that a Brothel-Houſe can utter: And certainly the Education of their Children in *Mingrelia*, is the moſt Vicious and Lewd in the VVorld. Their Father's bring 'em up to Thievery, and their Mothers to Obſcenity.

Mingrelia is at preſent very much diſpeopl'd; there not being in it above Twenty Thouſand Inhabitants. Though it is not above Thirty Years ago, that there was no leſs then Fourſcore Thouſand. The cauſe of which Decreaſe proceeds from

their VVars with their Neighbours, and the vaſt number of People of both Sexes, which the Nobility have ſold of late Years. For a long time there has been drain'd out of *Mingrelia* every Year, either by Purchaſe or Barter, above Twelve Thouſand Perſons; all which are ſold to the *Mahometans*, *Perſians* and *Turks*, there being none but they, that deal in that ſort of Traffic in thoſe parts. They carry Three Thouſand every Year directly to *Conſtantinople*, which they have in Exchange for Cloth, Arms, and other things which they carry, as I have ſaid, into *Mingrelia*. To which purpoſe there came every Year Twelve Sail of Ships from *Conſtantinople* and *Caffa*, and above Sixty *Felouques* from *Gorica*, *Triſſa* and *Trebiſond*. The Commodities which they export from *Mingrelia*, beſides Slaves, are Silk, Linnen Thread, and Wov'n, Linſeed, Hides, *Martins*, Beavers, Box, VVax and Honey. The Honey of *Mingrelia* is very Good; and there are two ſorts of it, the one Red, the other White; the White is not ſo plentiful as the other, but it is much better and more Sweet; Sweeter indeed then refin'd Sugar, very delicious to the Taſt, and Crumples between the Teeth. Beſides their Garden Honey, there is another ſort is found in the Trunks and Clefts of Hollow-Trees in great abundance; which the Veſſels from *Caffa* carry into *Tartary*, where they make a very ſtrong Liquor of it, mix'd with Barley. The *Turks* make great profit of their *Mingrelian* Trade, ſelling for Four, what they buy for one Crown; but their greateſt advantage is by their Slaves.

Certainly the Inhumanity of theſe *Mingrelians*, their unnatural Cruelty toward their own Country Men, and particularly of ſome of 'em toward their own Fleſh and Blood, are things hardly to be Credited. They Study Opportunities to fall out with their own Vaſſals, meerly to find a Pretence to Sell 'em, with their Wives and Children. They force away their Neighbours Children from the Embraces of their Parents, to the ſame end, and ſometimes they will ſell their own Children, Wives and Mothers: And I have been ſhew'd ſeveral Gentlemen who have been ſo Prodigiouſly Unnatural. One of thoſe Gentlemen ſold Twelve Prieſts in one Day. In which Piece of Impiety there is one particular paſſage ſo ſtrange, that it deſerves to be related as an Example not to be Parallell'd.

This Gentleman fell in Love with a Lady, whom he reſol-v'd to Marry, tho he had a Wife already. To which purpoſe he Courted the Lady, and obtain'd her Good VVill. Now it is the Cuſtom in *Mingrelia*, to purchaſe their Wives,

and

and they Buy 'em, according to their Quality, their Age, and their Beauty. Thereupon the Gentleman not knowing where to raiſe the Sum which he had promis'd for the Enjoyment of his Miſtreſs, nor to defray the Expences of his Wedding, but by ſelling of Slaves, and for that reaſon reduc'd to Deſpair, bethought himſelf of a Piece of Treachery, the moſt Infamous and VVicked that could be. To that purpoſe he invited Twelve Prieſts to his Houſe, to hear a Solemn Maſs and offer a kind of Sacrifice, upon which the Prieſts went very Chearfully, never Dreaming that he intended to have ſold 'em to the *Turks*, the like Practice having never been heard of before in *Mingrelia*. The Gentleman on the other ſide receiv'd 'em very Courteouſly, caus'd 'em to ſay Maſs, and to offer an Ox, and afterwards gave 'em an Entertainment. But after he had made 'em to take a Hearty Cup, he caus'd his Servants to ſeize 'em, Bind 'em, Shave their Heads and their Beards, and the Night following carry'd 'em to a Turkiſh Veſſel, where he ſold 'em for Houſhold Goods, and other Neceſſaries, but finding he had not yet enough to pay for his Miſtreſs, and his Nuptials, this Tyger went and fetch'd his own VVife, and ſold her to the ſame Veſſel.

All the Trade in *Mingrelia* is driv'n by way of Barter: for there is no ſet price of Money among the People: the currant Money are the Piaſters, Dutch Crowns, and *Abaſſe's*, which are Pieces made in *Georgia*, and Stamp'd with the *Perſian* Stamp, to the value of Eighteen Pence every Piece. 'Tis true that the Prince of *Mingrelia*, who died about Twenty Years ago, began to Coyn Money of his own. But the Mint did not work long, in regard there was but little Silver brought into the Country, and for that the Country produces none at all, no more then it does Gold, or any other Metal. I know not what is become of that Gold-Gravel, and Golden-Sand which the People ſpong'd out of the VVater with their Sheep-Skins, according to the Ancient Stories, and which gave occaſion to the Fable of the Golden Fleece. There is no ſuch thing in *Colchis*, nor in the Mountains or Rivers adjoyning. So that which way ſoever ye go, there is no poſſibility of Reconciling Antiquity with the preſent Times.

Mingrelia of it ſelf is not able to raiſe above Four Thouſand Men, fit to bear Arms; which are alſo all Cavalry for the moſt part; there not being above Three Hundred Foot to joyn with theſe Horſemen. Nor are the Souldiers Marſhall'd into Regiments and Companies. But every Lord, and every Gentleman

Gentleman, leads his own People to the Fight, without Order, without Ranks, without Officers; and they follow their Leader, whether it be in Flight, or to the Charge.

The VVars of the *Mingrelians*, and their Neighbours, are indeed but meer Incurſions, and *Boots-Halings*; and when they make their Inroads into the Enemies Country, they fall on with an Extraordinary Fury; for they want neither Courage nor Reſolution. VVhen they have put the Enemy to Flight, they vigorouſly follow the purſuit, and over-run all the Country, Burn and Plunder all before 'em, carry away Priſoners of all Sexes and Degrees, and then retreat with the ſame Impetuoſity. They take as many Priſoners as they can; ſo that when they have Diſmounted any one, preſently they leap from their Horſes, bind the Perſon Vanquiſh'd, with the Cords which they carry at their Girdles, as I have ſaid, and deliver 'em to the Cuſtody of their Servants. He that has taken a Priſoner, has Power over him of Life and Death, he may diſpoſe of him as he pleaſes; but generally they make 'em their Slaves, and ſell 'em to the *Turks*. On the other ſide, when theſe People are invaded, they ſhew themſelves at the Ford of ſome River, where they lay their Musketeers in *Ambuſcado*, endeavouring to prevent the Enemies Paſſage. At what time, if the Enemy forces his way, they fly to the VVoods, leaving the Country to their Mercy: So that the VVars with theſe People never laſt long. In leſs then Fifteen Days the VVar is at an end, and the Enemy retreats, after he has ravag'd, and ranſackt all the Country.

The Revenues of the Prince of *Mingrelia*, amount at moſt, to no more then Twenty Thouſand Crowns a Year. VVhich ariſes from the Cuſtoms of what is Imported and Exported out of the Country, the Slaves which he ſells, and his Impoſitions and Fines. All this he lays up; for he is not at a Farthing Expence, for his Slaves ſerve him for nothing, and his Crown Lands furniſh him with more Proviſion for his Court then he can ſpend. He often Preſents the King of *Perſia* with Falcons, and all ſorts of Birds of Prey. For which the King of *Perſia* ſends him Rich Tiſſues, Carpets, Tapeſtries, Arms, all ſorts of Cups and Diſhes, and ſuch other Neceſſaries, of which ſuch a beggarly Prince as the Prince of *Mingrelia*, may be thought to ſtand in need. He alſo keeps the ſame Correſpondence with the *Cam* of *Georgia*. His Court upon Solemn Feſtivals conſiſts of Two Hunderd Gentlemen, upon other Days, not above Six Score. His Train conſiſts of Three

Hunderd Perſons beſides Gentlemen. And as for the Princeſs, ſhe is attended by a Hunderd of both Sexes: but upon Feſtival Days, ſhe ſhews a Court of about Sixty Ladies, all handſom and well dreſs'd.

The Religion of the *Colchians*, has formerly as I believe, been the ſame with that of the *Greeks*. The Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorians ſay, That a Slave Converted to the Chriſtian Faith, the King, the Queen, and all the Nobility of *Colchis*, in the time of *Conſtantine* the Great, who ſent both Prieſts and Doctors to Baptize the new-Converted, and to inſtruct 'em in the Myſteries of Chriſtianity. Others aſſert, That they owe for their knowledge of Chriſtianity, to one *Cyril*, whom the *Sclavonians* in their Language call *Chiuſil*, who liv'd about the Year 860. The *Mingrelians* alſo ſhew ye, by the Sea ſide, at a Place call'd *Pigivitas* near the River *Corax*, a Church with three Bodies, which is a very large one; aſſuring ye withal, that St. *Andrew* Preach'd in the Place where that Church was built. I have ſeen it at a diſtance; and it ſeem'd to be a very great Pile of Building ſo far as a Man may gueſs a Mile off. The *Catholicos* once in his Life goes thither to make the Holy Oyl, which the *Greeks* call *Mirone*. I never diſcours'd of Religion with any *Mingrelian*, having never found any one, that either knew what Religion, Law, Sin, the Sacraments, or Divine Service were. All I could learn was only this, That the Women ſometimes light up ſmall round Candles, which they fix to the Doors of their Houſes, or of ſome Church, where they burn at the ſame time a Grain of Incenſe, and turning toward the Sun, bow their Bodies very low ſeveral times, and croſs themſelves all over from Head to Foot.

The Prieſts and Biſhops perform the Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, ſay Maſs, and Baptize. I have ſeen 'em at the performance of their Functions, when no Body has been preſent for want of Devotion. But in regard I did not underſtand the Language which they ſpoke, I had rather in ſtead of relating what I only ſaw and heard by report, recite what I met with out of an *Italian* Manuſcript concerning the Religion of the *Mingrelians* and *Georgians*, written by Father *Joſeph Maria Zampi* a *Mantuan*, Superiour of the *Theatins* in *Mingrelia*. For that Fryer who made me a Preſent of the Manuſcript, had liv'd there Twenty Three Years, and could not be ignorant either of their Ceremonies or their Belief: which made him write at large his own knowledge of the *Mingrelian* Piety. And this is that which he ſpeaks more particularly, and as it lies in the Manuſcript.

The *Mingrelians*, ſays he, are fall'n into the profoundeſt Abyſs of Ignorance and Darkneſs, that the Underſtanding of Man was ever plung'd in: in regard the people have not the leaſt *Idea* of Faith or Religion; while the moſt part look upon Life Eternal, the Day of Judgment, and the Reſurrection of the Dead, to be meer Fables, and Humane Invention. Nor do the Clergy perform any Eccleſiaſtical Duties, there being hardly one of the whole Heard, that can either Write or Read. They have utterly loſt the Knowledge of the true ſervice of God: only the Prieſts make a publick profeſſion of foretelling things to come, and make the people believe that their Books do ſhew 'em the ſucceſs of future Events. With which Impoſture the *Mingrelians* are ſo obſtinately bewitch'd, that when any one falls ſick, they call the Prieſts, not to make Confeſſion of their Sins, or to Recommend their Souls to their Prayers, which is the leaſt thing that troubles the *Patient*, but to bid 'em look in their Books, and ſee whether he ſhall die of that Diſtemper or no; to tell 'em the event and ſucceſs of it, and what was the reaſon that he was viſited with that Sickneſs. Preſently the Prieſt falls to turning over the Leaves of his Book which he carries along with him, and after he has turn'd 'em over and over, and over and over again, he pronounces with the Voice of an Oracle, That ſuch a *Cati* (for ſo the *Mingrelians* call their Images) is angry with him, and has therefore ſtruck'n him with that Diſeaſe; nor will he be appeas'd without a good Preſent, which if he do not ſend forthwith, the Image will certainly ruine him. Which Preſent is to be either a Pig, or a Goat, or an Ox, or elſe Ready Money. The poor ſick perſon upon this, being dreadfully afraid of death, fails not immediately to give the Prieſts what they appoint for an Offering to the Idol, who divide the ſpoil among themſelves; and in that manner couzen the poor ſick perſon.

The *Catholicos* of *Mingrelia* is the Head of all the Clergy of that Country, of the *Abca's*, of *Guriel*, of *Mount Caucaſus*, and *Imiretta*. Whom the Prince of *Mingrelia* appoints and depoſes as he pleaſes himſelf. His Revenue is very great, as having Four Hunderd Vaſſals under him, who furniſh his Houſe with all Things neceſſary for Human Life, and many other Superfluities. He ſells their Childern to the *Turks* beſides, and as it is his Imployment to viſit the Dioceſſes under his Juriſdiction, he viſits em indeed, but it is not for the good of his Flock, to inſtruct the people, or to examine the Miſcarriages of the Inferiour

ſeriour Clergy: Thoſe Cares never trouble his Brains nor his Thoughts; but his main buſineſs is, to rake Money together, to ſuck the Blood of the poor people, and diſpoil 'em of what they have. And as to the Train that attends this *Catholicos* when he makes his Viſitations, it conſiſts of no leſs then Two Hunderd perſons.

The outward Sanctity of this Pontiff conſiſts in a continual abſtinence from Fleſh, and Wine only during Lent; and in long Prayers Day and Night. He is ſo ignorant that he can hardly read his *Breviary* and *Miſſal*. And there is ſo much to be ſaid concerning his Simony, that it would be a difficult task to make a true recital of it. I ſhall therefore ſay no more then this, That he never Conſecrates a Biſhop for leſs then Six Hunderd Crowns; that he never ſays Maſs for the Dead, under Eight Hunderd; nor any other Maſſes under a Hunderd Crowns a Piece. Not long ſince the Prince of *Mingrelia's* Vizier, being ſick, made his Confeſſion to him, and gave him Fifty Crowns. Which the *Catholicos* took for ſo ſmall a Remuneration, that upon the Vizier's falling ſick again, and ſending for him to make a new Confeſſion, he ſent him word, that he ſhould pay for his firſt Confeſſion, and then he would come and hear what he had to ſay.

There are Six Biſhops in *Mingrelia*, but thoſe Prelates take no care of the Souls of their Flocks, nor do they ever viſit their Churches, or their Dioceſſes. They ſuffer the Prieſts to live in all manner of Errours, and the People to proſtitute themſelves to all manner of Vices; they underſtand not the Form of Baptiſm: they let Polygamy Raign, and permit the Mothers to Bury their new Born Childern alive. And tho they have been often reprov'd for ſo much Cruelty more then Barbarous; Remonſtrances operate nothing upon 'em; this Inhumanity being become a Cuſtom. The Clergy tolerates it, and the Prince near Prohibits any one that pleaſes, from putting it in practiſe. The chief Imployments of the Biſhops, is continual Feaſting and Banqueting, where they are Drunk almoſt every Day: they are Rich and go Sumptuouſly Habited; their Principal Revenue ariſing from what they Spunge from their Vaſſals, and the price of the Women and Children, which they ſell to the *Turks*.

They abſtain from Fleſh, after the manner of the *Greek* Biſhops, and include the whole Chriſtian Religion, within the practiſe of Faſting. They do not believe themſelves oblig'd to any other Duty; but believe themſelves acquitted of all the

precepts

Precepts of Chriſtianity, by Faſting. Their Cathedral Church is indifferent neatly kept, and well adorn'd with Images, after the *Grecian* manner, dreſs'd up and finiſh'd with Gold and Jewels. They believe that in Beautifying their Images they ſatisfie the Juſtice of God, and that the offering of a Jewel, to an Image wipes away all their Sins. And this is the way which they take, when they have offended themſelves.

Their Apparel is very Magnificent, conſidering the Country, being of Scarlet and Velvet. It differs little from the ſecular Habit. That which makes the peculiar diſtinction between 'em, is the long Beard which they wear, with a black Bonnet, Round and High, made after the Faſhion of the *Greek* Monks. They wear Chains of Gold about their Necks, go a Hunting, and many times to the Warrs, where they Fight no leſs Courageouſly at the Head of their Slaves, then the Gentry and Noble-Men. There are ſome of 'em that are never Conſecrated, which nevertheleſs does not hinder 'em from beſtowing Orders, as if they were Conſecrated.

There are in *Mingrelia*, certain Monks of the Order of St. *Baſil*, which they call *Berres*, who wear the ſame Habit as the *Greek* Monks, and obſerve the ſame manner of living. And a Child may be made one of theſe Monks by his Father and Mother only. They Conſecrate him in his Infancy, by putting a black Bonnet upon his Head, ſuffering his Hair to grow, hindering him from eating Fleſh, and telling him upon all occaſions that he is a *Berre*. All this while the Infant underſtands nothing more what belongs to his Condition, and all his Life long never minds any thing elſe but to obſerve his Faſts as others that bear the ſame Title with himſelf.

There are alſo Nuns of the ſame Order, who obſerve Faſting Days, and wear a black Vail; but they have neither Nunneries, neither are they under any Vows or Subordination. They that have taken upon 'em to wear the Vail of Sanctity, and to obſerve Faſting, when they are weary of well-doing, quit their Habit and their Temperance, when they pleaſe themſelves: For that ſame manner of living is wholly at their own diſcretions, whether they be Maids, Wives or VVidows; whether Divorc'd, whether Free or Slaves; no Condition is exempted from that Liberty.

The Prieſts of *Mingrelia* are very numerous; and a ſort of miſerable Creatures that live upon whatever they can get, and marry again as often as they pleaſe themſelves. There needs no more then to be able to read and ſay a Maſs by Heart, to

be admitted into the Prieſthood For the Biſhop never examines thoſe that he admits into Orders, being many times more ignorant then they: eſpecially if the Prieſt that deſires to be admitted gives him the Value of a Horſe for his Ordination. God alone knows the lamentable Condition of thoſe Miſerable Prieſts, and the Validity of their Prieſthood; for many times it is a great Queſtion, whether they are Baptiz'd, and whether the Biſhops that Ordain 'em, were ever Baptiz'd or Conſecrated themſelves.

Nor is it to be imagin'd how theſe Prieſts are contemn'd and ſcorn'd. They Till their own, and the Lands of their Lords, being no leſs Slaves then the Seculars; they follow 'em to the Wars, and carry their Baggage. Now that which cauſes this Contempt is their Ignorance, their Gluttony and their Poverty. Their Poverty is ſo great, that they go Barefoot, and all in Tattars that hardly cover their Tails. So that there is no reſpect giv'n 'em but when they are ſate down at Table; for then they are the firſt to whom they offer Drink; and they deſire 'em to bleſs the Wine and the Food when they ſay Maſs; and at another time when they are ſent for to viſit the Sick, and turn over their Books to know what Image the ſick Party has offended, and what Preſent will appeaſe him. They are only diſtinguiſh'd from the Seculars by their Beards, which they let grow very long: for the Seculars wear hardly any at all.

There are but few of their Churches which have any Bells, but they call the people together by knocking with a good big Stick upon a Board. The Images in the Cathedrals are very well dreſs'd; being encircl'd by the Offerings of the people, ſuch as are Harts Horns, Boars Jaws and Tusks, Pheaſants Wings, and Weapons, to the end the Image ſhould proſper 'em in their Hunting and Wars.

The Pariſh-Churches are more Naſty then Stables; the Images mangl'd and brok'n, and cover'd over with Duſt and Spiders. Their *Sanctum Sanctorum* is ſo Naſty that I am aſham'd to ſpeak it. The Ornaments of the Altar are nothing but a few Naſty Tatter'd Clouts, torn and ſtain'd with Wine. Their Cup or Chalice is a Goblet of Wood as Naſty as may well be imagin'd; and the Cover of the Chalice is a Woodden Plate, as Naſty and as Greaſie as the Chalice. When they have occaſion they wipe it with the Curtain of the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which is yet more Naſty then all that has been ſaid; and I ſay the leſs, becauſe I would not offend the Reader. But the Cathedrals are very clean and well adorn'd.

And I could wiſh, that every Biſhop had as much care of the Education and Inſtruction of his Flock, as he has of the Cleanſing and Adorning his Church.

The Worſhip which they pay to their Images, is an Idolatrous Worſhip. For they adore 'em not with a Relative Adoration, but pay their Devotion to the Material Subſtance and Figure before their Eyes. The Images which are the faireſt, are the beſt ſerv'd, and moſt devoutly ador'd: eſpecially thoſe that are adorn'd with any thing that is coſtly, as Gold; thoſe that have moſt Jewels and Pretious Stones; but above all thoſe that are reputed to be Cruel, eaſily Provok'd, and apt to Kill thoſe againſt whom they are Incens'd. Which latter are ſerv'd with an incredible reſpect: For the People throw themſelves to the Ground, as far off as they can ſee the Church that contains thoſe Images; thump their Breſts, and beſeech 'em to Kill their Enemies, and ſuch as have Robb'd 'em of any thing. They are Horribly afraid to ſwear by thoſe rever'd Images, and when they do, there is no gainſaying ſuch an Oath. For they believe whatever is ſworn by thoſe Images. Some there are that will not call theſe Images to Witneſs the moſt certain Truths, for fear of being Kill'd by 'em; and they that do Swear, Swear only by thoſe that have a pleaſing, mild, ſmiling Countenance, and are reputed neither Murderers nor Bloody-Minded.

Nor do they Worſhip theſe Images in hopes of any Spiritual Advantages, or to obtain any Aſſiſtance in order to a future Life: For the *Mingrelians* acknowledge no other Life but their Preſent Being. And all that they do is meerly out of a Terrible and Servile fear, leſt the Images ſhould deprive 'em of their Lives, or Vex 'em with Diſeaſes, deliver 'em over with their Goods, into the Hands of Thieves and Robbers, or the Fury of their Maſters, or ſuffer 'em to be made Slaves to the *Turks*. When they have been Robb'd at any time, they go to the Church where ſtands the Image in which they have moſt Confidence, make it a preſent of two Loaves, and a Bottle of Wine, bow ſeveral times to it; and having driven a Stake into the Earth before it, they Pray to it in this manner. *Thou know'ſt, O Image, that I have been Robb'd of ſuch and ſuch Goods, and that I cannot diſcover the Thief, which has prov'd ſo great a Grief to me, that I come here to make my Prayers to thee, and I offer thee this Preſent, to the end thou mayſt take away their Lives, exterminate 'em from the Earth, and faſten 'em down in the Abyſs, as I have driv'n this Stake into the Earth before thee.*

thee. The Prieſt being preſent at all this Ceremony, takes the Offering, and having hung it about the Head of the Suppliant, they go and Eat it together. But of all the Images of whoſe Cruel Uſage theſe blind People are moſt afraid; there is not any ſo formidable as that of *S. Giobas.* They relate how this Image being one day carry'd a Journey, and paſſing by a Lake or Marſh full of Frogs, the noiſe of the Frogs ſo amaz'd it, and put it into ſuch a Fury, that it flew away to a Church that ſtood upon a Mountain. They report moreover, that it Kills all that approach too near it. So that when any Perſon has occaſion to Pray to it, he goes no nearer then juſt within ſight. Where he throws his Preſent down at a diſtance, and keeps himſelf at the ſame diſtance all the while he makes his Prayer. The *Mingrelians* are alſo every one very Zealous for the Honour and Bravery of his Pariſh-Idol; every one vaunting the Exploits of the Idol he Worſhips, and how Couragiouſly it has reveng'd him upon his Enemies: or how ſpeedily they die that fall under its diſfavour! But to the Images of the *Roman Catholicks*, the *Mingrelians* pay not the leaſt Veneration, nor have they any value for 'em. Only for St. *George*, they accompt him their chiefeſt Saint, as do all the *Georgians*, *Muſcovites* and *Greeks*.

They have ſeveral Reliques among 'em, of which the chiefeſt were brought 'em as they ſay, by the Prelates that fled for Shelter into thoſe parts, when *Conſtantinople* was taken by the *Turks*; fearing leſt they ſhould fall into the Hands of the Infidels. Our *Theatin* Monks have ſeen a piece of the True Croſs, about a handful long, and one of the Holy Virgins Shifts. The colour of it was ſomething enclining to Yellow, Powder'd with Flowers, and Embroider'd with Needle-Work. The length of it was Eight Spans, the Breadth Four, the Sleeves ſhort but a Span in Breadth, and ſtreight at the Neck. This Shift is lockt up in a little Ebony-Box garniſh'd with Silver: They have alſo a dry'd Hand of St. *Marina*, enchas'd in Gold, adorn'd with ſeveral little pretious Stones. Another Hand of St. *Quiric*; with ſeveral Bones ſet in Gold and Silver. The Holy *Swadling Cloaths*, wherein the Happy Virgin Swath'd *Jeſus Chriſt.* A little Square Box, where lie the Hairs of his Beard, and the Twiſted Cord wherewith he was Whipp'd. All which Reliques the Prince of *Mingrelia* has in his keeping; and when he ſhew'd 'em to our Fryers, he ſpread 'em upon a Carpet, where any one that would, handl'd 'em without any Veneration or Reſpect. For the *Mingrelians* have a greater

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Eſteem, for the Enchaſements, then for the Reliques themſelves. But as for the Reliques they have little or no Value for 'em, but handle 'em very contemptibly.

Their Maſs is after the *Greek* manner, which the Prieſts Celebrate, without any other Sacerdotal Habit, then only in their Surplices. And if they have no Shooes, they lay a Piece of a Wooden Plank before the Altar to ſtand upon. If the Prieſt comes to the Houſe of any one that deſires a Maſs, the good natur'd Prieſt never troubles himſelf to go to the Church to ſay it; but preſently repairs to the place where the Wine lies, and takes the firſt Plank that he meets with, tho never ſo Durty or Duſty, to ſerve him in ſtead of an Altar; then he Borrows an Old Shirt, or ſome other piece of Linnen, to put about his Shoulders, and orders a little Dough to be giv'n, of which he makes a little Cake, and Bakes it in the Cinders. After that he takes a Wooden Cup, and a Diſh for a Chalice and Cover, tho never ſo Greaſy and Naſty; which he wipes with his Hands in ſtead of a Towel; and then ſays Maſs without Book. For the Miſſal of the *Mingrelians* is a little Book Written in the *Georgian* Language: and ſeveral Prieſts carry about 'em theſe Miſſals, all torn or Dog's-Ear'd, and ſometimes here a Leaf and there a Leaf torn out, and altogether imperfect. But this never troubles 'em. They ſay Maſs all the while they are Looking for it in the *Miſſal*, and many times they have done before they can find it: for as I ſaid before, they have it by Heart. Nor is the Office perform'd with any Decency i' the World. For many times, they talk all the while of other matters. During Lent, they never ſay Maſs, but *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, for that all the other Days it behoves 'em to Faſt; and it is an Opinion among 'em that the Communion ſpoils their Faſting.

They Conſecrate Unleaven'd as well as Leaven'd Bread, without any difference; nor do they ever mix any Water in the Chalice, unleſs the Wine be very ſtrong. For they hold that the Communion may be giv'n in Vinegar, as well as in Wine. I enquir'd of ſeveral Prieſts (I ſtill recite the words of the Manuſcript) concerning the Form of their Conſecration; but I never could meet with above one that could tell me. Him I ask'd, Whether after Conſecration, the Bread and VVine were Subſtantially the Body and Blood of Chriſt? Upon which the *Mingrelian* Prieſt fell a Laughing, as if I had ſpoken to him in Raillery. VVhat, ſaid he, is there any one that can put Chriſt in a Loaf? VVhich way could he get into it? How is it poſſible

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he ſhould be contain'd in ſuch a little piece of Bread? What reaſon ſhould move him to leave Heav'n and deſcend to Earth? I never heard the like of the Queſtion that you ask. Then I ask'd him, Whether the Maſs were effectual without the words of Conſecration? To which he anſwer'd, That the Maſs was certainly effectual without 'em, yet that the *Prieſt* who did not pronounce the words of Conſecration, did very ill. But as for the Intention of Conſecration requiſite in him that Conſecrates, that's a thing of which the *Mingrelian Prieſts* know nothing at all.

They make their *Viaticum* Bread once a Year; that is to ſay, upon *Holy Thurſday*. Which they keep in a Purſe of Leather or Linnen that hangs faſten'd to their Girdles. But they have no more Veneration for this *Viaticum*, then for a Morſel of any other Vittles. As for example, when they go to Bed, they lay it under the Bolſter with the reſt of their Furniture, and when a ſick Perſon ſends for any of this *Viaticum*, they open the Purſe, and take out a piece, and give it the Meſſenger for the uſe of the Perſon that wants it, whether Man, Woman or Child. And becauſe this *Viaticum* is uſually very dry, they break it with their Hands upon a Stone, or in a Platter, never minding to gather up the Bits or Crums that fall to the Ground; which afterwards they put into a Draught of Wine, and give it the ſick. At the Years end the *Prieſt* empties out of his Purſe upon the Altar the remainder of the *Viaticum*, if there be any left; where generally the Mice come and eat it. By which you may conjecture what is the Opinion and Belief which the *Mingrelians* have of the Holy Sacraments.

They anoint the Foreheads of their Children ſo ſoon as they are born, and the Oyl which they make uſe of for this purpoſe is call'd *Myrone*. But they are not Baptiz'd till a long time after: nor does any one Baptize his Child, until he be in a Capacity to make a Feaſt after the Ceremony is over; which is the reaſon that many Childern die, without being ever Baptiz'd. And when they do perform the Ceremony, they never carry the Child to the Church, but into a Cellar or Vault, where the *Prieſt* ſits down without minding to put on his Sacerdotal Habit, and reads a good while in a Book; which being ended, the Godfather ſtrips the Child, waſhes him all over with Water, and then rubs him from Head to Foot; which done, he dreſſes the Child again, and gives it to eat. And then the Prieſt, the Father, the Godfather, and the Gueſts invited,

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ſit down at the Table. There is not one Prieſt among 'em all that underſtands the Form of Baptiſm, ſo that 'tis a Queſtion whether their Baptiſm be to any purpoſe or no. Which is the reaſon that our *Theatin* Monks Baptize as many Childern as they can: which they generally do under the pretence of ſome Phyſical Application: by that means concealing the Office of the Prieſthood under the diſguiſe of Phyſical Operation.

There are very few People in *Mingrelia*, whether Eccleſiaſtical or Seculars, that make any Confeſſions: and I think I might well ſay there are none at all. For they believe it to be a ſufficient Satisfaction for their Sins to offer a Preſent to their Idols, which is the utmoſt addreſs of their Worſhip, and limit of their Religion. They never make uſe of Extream Unction, which is a thing of which they are utterly ignorant. They do not believe that Ordination imprints a Character not to be defac'd. And therefore they Ordain anew thoſe who have been degraded, as if they had never been in Orders.

They do not allow Marriage to be in the Number of the Sacraments. 'Tis a Contract by way of Bargain and Sale; for the Parents of the Maid agree upon the price which the perſon that demands her in Marriage is to give for her. The price of a Woman repudiated is leſs, then that of a VVidow; and the price of a VVidow leſs then that of a Maid. VVhen the Match is concluded, the Party concern'd makes it his Buſineſs to raiſe the Sum agreed upon for the purchaſe of his Miſtreſs: which he raiſes by the Sale of his Subjects if he have any, or their Childern to the *Turks*, either for Ready Money or Commodities. However, while he is raiſing the Sum, he has Liberty to go privately and ſee his Miſtreſs; nor is it any ſcandal if her Belly ſwell before ſhe is married. At length when the Young Man has rais'd the Sum agreed upon by the Parents, he carries it to 'em: and that Day they make a great Feaſt together, and that is the firſt Day of the Nuptials. The next Day the Parents Conduct the Bride to the Bridegroom's Houſe: and uſually give him either in Slaves, Cattle or Houſhold-Goods the value they have receiv'd from him: and upon the fourth or fifth of theſe Feaſting Days the Ceremony is concluded, according to the Cuſtom of the *Greek* Church, only in this, that the Ceremony is perform'd not in the Church, but over the Door. But if any one have marry'd a Barren VVoman, or of an ill Diſpoſition and ugly Humour,

mour, they hold it not only lawful, but requiſite to Divorce her; in regard it was no Match of Gods making, for that God does always that which is good, and never makes Matches between people that are Barren, or whoſe Humours are incompatible one with another.

There is not a Man among 'em that underſtands the Bible, or that reads it; there being very few among 'em that can read or underſtand the *Georgian*; which is the only Language wherein they have the Holy Scripture written. But as for the VVomen, they are not altogether ſo ignorant as the Men; ſo that you ſhall have ſome of them who will rehearſe ſeveral Stories of the Goſpel, which they have read and got by Heart.

Their Faſts are almoſt the ſame which the *Greeks* obſerve. For they obſerve the four great *Lents*; The firſt before *Eaſter*, being 48 Days; That before *Chriſtmas*, which laſts 40 Days; That which is call'd St. *Peter's* Faſt, which holds very near a Month; and the laſt which the *Oriental* Chriſtians obſerve in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, which continues for 15 Days.

They make the Sign of the Croſs upon certain Occaſions, but they do not believe the Sign of the Croſs to be any Mark of Chriſtianity. Only they make this Sign when they drink VVine and eat Pork. Their Prayers are all addreſs'd to their Idols, relating only to Temporal Benefits, their own Proſperity, and the Ruine of their Enemies.

They offer Sacrifices like the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. The *Prieſt* prays over the Victim, and then cuts the Throat of it; And when it is Boyl'd, they ſet it upon the Table. At what time all the people of the Family ſtand about it with Candles in their Hands, except the perſon who makes the Offering, who is Kneeling all the while. He firſt perfumes the Victim with Incenſe; which when the reſt have likewiſe done, they fall too, and eat it altogether. They alſo cut the Throats of Beaſts and Birds over the Graves of their Relations and Friends, and pour VVine and Oyl upon 'em. And theſe Libations they obſerve every day. No Body dripks, till as he holds the Cup in his Hand, he has firſt ſaid a ſentence of a Prayer, with his Eyes lifted up to Heav'n, and pouring out at the ſame time upon the Ground a ſmall quantity of the VVine in the Cup.

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They never make Holy-Day upon *Sundays*, or abſtain from Work, but upon the Feſtivals of *Chriſtmas* and Eaſter. However the celebration of their great Feſtivals conſiſts only in Eating and Drinking to exceſs in their Houſes. Their greateſt Feſtivals which they obſerve is, when any Idol is to be carry'd through their Country. Then they put on all the beſt Cloaths they have. They make a great Feaſt, and get ready a Preſent for the Idol which is to paſs by.

And this, I believe, may ſuffice to ſhew that there is not the leaſt ſhadow of Religion among the *Mingrelians*. The Manuſcript, from whence I took theſe obſervations, relates their ſeveral ſorts of Divination practiz'd among 'em; their Superſtitions and Sundry Cuſtomes, which are a Medley of Judaiſm, and Paganiſm. All which I left behind me, not finding therein the leaſt Grain of Wit or common Sence. But quite the Contrary, nothing but Extravagance. I ſhall only add, that all that I obſerv'd in the Religious Ceremonies and Belief or Faith of the *Mingrelians*, is no other then what I have truly reported.

I ſhall only ſpeak a word concerning their Mourning, which is the Mourning of people in deſpair. When a Woman loſes her Husband, or a near Relation, ſhe rends her Cloaths, ſtrips her ſelf naked to the Waſte, tears her Hair, and with her Nails claws off the Fleſh and Skin from her Body and Face, ſhe beats her Breaſt, ſhe crys, yells, gnaſhes her Teeth, foams at Mouth, like a Woman mad or poſſeſs'd, and acts her paſſion to that degree, that it ſeems terrible to the ſight. The Men alſo expreſs their Grief after a manner altogether as Barbarous: They tear their Cloaths, thump their Breaſts, and ſhave their Heads and their Beards. This Mourning continues 40 Days, with the ſame Fury as I have deſcrib'd for the firſt Ten Days, but afterwards relaxing by degrees. During the firſt Ten Days, the Relations of the deceas'd, and a great Number of Men and Women come to bewail the Dead, which they do in this manner. The people range themſelves in order about the dead Corps, and in their torn Habits, thump their Breaſts with both Hands; crying out *Vah*, *Vah*; and ſo keeping time with their Thumps and their Cries, they make a diſmal Noiſe; which altogether yields a frightful Spectacle of deſpair, not to be beheld without a kind of Horrour. Of a ſudden you hear nothing, all's quiet, the Mourning ſtops, and all obſerve a profound Silence; By and by they all begin again with a loud Cry, and fall into their firſt Tranſportments.

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The laſt Day, which is the Fortieth, they Bury the Dead. Then they make a Feaſt for all their Relations, all their Friends, all their Neighbours, and all thoſe that came to bewail the Party deceas'd; the Women eating by themſelves, apart from the Men. The Biſhop ſays Maſs, and then ſeizes as his Right, upon all that the Deceas'd Perſon made uſe of in his Life, his Horſe, his Cloaths, his Weapons, his Plate if he have any, and all the reſt of that ſort. So that theſe Mournings ruine whole Families in *Mingrelia*. Nevertheleſs they are oblig'd to this Solemn Performance. The Biſhop ſays a *Maſs* for the Dead, for the great profit he receives; and the Mourners come to waile the Deceas'd, as ſure to live Forty Days upon what he has left behind. When a Biſhop dies the Prince himſelf cauſes Maſs to be ſaid upon the Forti'th Day, and ſeizes upon all his Goods that are Moveable.

This is all that I could learn in *Colchis*, concerning the Nature of the Country, and the Cuſtoms and Religion of the Inhabitants. Their Neighbours Live and act after the ſame Faſhion, almoſt in every reſpect: only they who Live nearer to *Perſia* and *Turkey*, are more Civil in their Manners, and more Honeſt and Juſt in their Inclinations. Whereas they who lie nearer the *Tartars* and *Scythians*, are more Barbarous in their Cuſtoms, living without any *Idea* or outward Form of Religion, or obſervance of any Laws. I have ſpoken alſo of the *Abca's* and other People that Live at the Foot of Mount *Caucaſus*; concerning whom I have related as much as I could learn. But now I ſhall give an accompt of what I have ſeen and heard, moſt remarkable, concerning thoſe other Countries that border upon *Mingrelia*. VVhich are the Principality of *Guriel*, and the Kingdom of *Imiretta*.

The Country of *Guriel* is very ſmall; it Borders to the North upon *Imiretta*; Eaſtward upon a part of Mount *Caucaſus* that belongs to the *Turks*. To the VVeſt upon *Mingrelia*, and to the South upon the *Black-Sea*. It lies all along upon that Sea in length from the River *Phaſis*, that runs a Mile from the Caſtle of *Gonie*, held by the *Turks*; diſtant only Forty Miles from *Phaſis*. The Country of *Guriel* reſembles *Mingrelia* in every thing as to its Nature and the Manners of the Inhabitants. For they have the ſame Religion, the ſame Cuſtoms; and the ſame Inclinations to Leudneſs, Robbery and Murder.

The Kingdom of *Imiretta* is ſomewhat bigger then the Country of *Guriel*; and is the *Hiberia* of the Ancients. It is Enclos'd and Surrounded by Mount *Caucaſus*, *Colchis*, the *Black-Sea*, the Principality of *Guriel*, and *Georgia*: being about Six and Twenty Miles in Length, and Sixty Miles broad. The People of Mount *Caucaſus* that lie next to it, are the *Georgians* and *Turks*, and to the North the *Oſſi* and *Caracioles*, or *Caracherks* or *Black-Circaſſians*, ſo call'd by the *Turks*, for the reaſons already mention'd. Theſe are thoſe *Caracioles* or *Black-Circaſſians*, which the *Europeans* call *Huns*, who ranſackt *Italy* and *Gaul*, and whoſe devaſtations in thoſe Countries, are ſo frequently mention'd by the Ancient Hiſtorians, and particularly by *Cedrenus*. The Language which they ſpeak is almoſt half Turkiſh.

Imiretta is a Country full of Woods and Mountains like *Mingrelia*; but the Vallies are more Lovely, and the Plains more Delicious; where you may meet much more eaſily with Bread, Meat, Pulſe and Herbs of all ſorts. There are alſo in it ſome Iron-Mines. Money goes among the People of this Country, and is Coyn'd in the Kingdom; and here ye alſo meet with ſeveral Towns. But as for their Manners and Cuſtomes, they are the ſame as in *Mingrelia*. The King has Three good Caſtles; one call'd *Scander*, ſeated upon the ſide of a Valley, and two in Mount *Caucaſus*, call'd *Regia* and *Scorgia*, both almoſt inacceſſible; as being built in places that Nature her ſelf has ingeniouſly fortifi'd; the River *Phaſis* running before 'em. The Prince had alſo not long ſince another Fortreſs call'd *Cotatis*, bearing the ſame Name as the Country round about it, which perhaps may be the ſame place that *Ptolomy* calls the Region of *Cotatene*. But the *Turks* are at preſent Maſters of it.

The Kingdom of *Imiretta*, has had under its Juriſdiction the *Abca's*, the *Mingrelians*, and the People of *Guriel*, after they had all Four ſhaken off the Yoke of the Emperors of *Conſtantinople* firſt of all, and then of the Emperors of *Trebiſond*. But then in the laſt Age, ſetting up for themſelves, and revolting one from another, they have been ever ſince at continual Wars one with the other. They who lay next the *Turks* implor'd their aſſiſtance, who readily took 'em into their Protection, and then made 'em all Tributaries one after another. The Tribute of the King of *Imiretta* is Fourſcore Boys and Girls, from Ten to Twenty Years of Age. The Prince of *Guriel* pays Six and Forty Children of both Sexes; and the

Prince

Prince of *Mingrelia* Sixty Thouſand Ells of Linnen Cloath, made in the Country. The *Abca's* alſo were made Tributary, but they ſeldom pay'd any thing; and now they pay nothing. The King of *Imiretta*, and the Prince of *Guriel*, ſend their Tribute to the *Baſha* of *Akalzike*: but a *Chiaux* gathers it in *Mingrelia*. When I came to *Akalzike*, the report went, that the *Turks* would take poſſeſſion of theſe Countries, under the Government of a *Baſha*, not knowing any other way to prevent the perpetual Wars, that apparently ruine and depopulate the Countries. However it be now, the *Turks* formerly forbore to take poſſeſſion of it, in regard that the Precepts of Mahumatiſm, could not conveniently be there obſerv'd, becauſe the beſt nouriſhment in thoſe Countries is their Wine and their Hogs Fleſh, which are both prohibited by the *Mahometan* Law: beſides that they have no Bread; and the People live ſcatter'd upon and down the Country, ſo that wherever the *Turks* ſhould build their Fortreſſes, they would not be able to Command, within their reach, above Seven or Eight Houſes. Upon which Conſiderations they left thoſe Provinces in their Ancient Condition, and are ſatisfi'd only to keep 'em under Subjection for a Nurſery of Slaves; which yeilds 'em every Year no leſs then Seven or Eight Thouſand. And the ſame Reaſons and Obſtacles moſt apparently diſcourage the *Turks* from Incorporating into the Body of their Empire, thoſe Vaſt Plains of *Tartary* and *Scythia*, and the wide Regions of Mount *Caucaſus*. For if the People that inhabit thoſe parts, were united into Cities and ſtrong Places, there might be a way found to reduce 'em, and keep 'em in Subjection. But which way is it poſſible to ſubdue a People that change their Habitations every Month, and all their Life-time wander up and down the Country?

The preſent Prince of *Mingrelia* is the Eighth, ſince that Country firſt revolted from the Dominion of *Imiretta*. Theſe Princes of *Mingrelia*, all give themſelves the Title of *Dadian*: as much as to ſay, *the Head of Juſtice*; from *Dad* a *Perſian* Word, that ſignifies Juſtice; from whence the firſt Race of the Kings of *Perſia* was call'd *Pich-Dadian*; that is to ſay, the firſt Juſtice. To denote, that they were the firſt Men, whom the People of that vaſt Country, eſtabliſh'd over 'em for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice among 'em; and to maintain every one in the enjoyment of his own Property. The King of *Imiretta* gives himſelf the Title of *Meppe*, which ſignifies a *King* in the *Georgian* Language. Both which *Meppe* and *Dadian* boaſt themſelves

ſelves to be deſcended from the King and Prophet *David*. The Ancient Kings of *Georgia* alſo aſſum'd the ſame deſcent; and the *Kan* of *Georgia*, among the reſt of his Titles, calls himſelf, the Iſſue of that Great King by *Solomon* his Son. The King of *Imiretta*, alſo in his Letters aſſumes a more Haughty and Pompous Title then the other, calling himſelf *King of Kings*.

Now ſo ſoon as our Veſſel was come to an Anchor, in the Road of *Iſgaour*, as I have already ſaid, I went a Shoar with the *Greek* Merchant, who was my Guide. For I expected to have met with Houſes, where I might have found Proviſions and ſome other Relief. Nor were theſe hopes without any Ground, to one that ſaw no leſs then Seven Veſſels together at an Anchor in the Road: but I was utterly deceiv'd; for I found nothing at all. The Coaſt of *Iſgaour*, is all cover'd with Wood. Only they have levell'd and lay'd open, about a Hunderd Paces from the Sea ſide, a certain ſpot of Ground, about Two Hunderd and Fifty Paces long, and Fifty broad; which is the Grand Market of *Mingrelia*. In this there is one Street, containing on both ſides of the VVay, about a Hunderd ſmall Hutts, made up of the Boughs of Trees, faſten'd one to another; of which every Merchant takes one. There he lies, and keeps Shop, tho with ſuch VVares only as he thinks he ſhall ſell in Two or Three Days. But as for thoſe which he has bought, and ſuch for which he does not ſee any Probability of a quick Vent, he keeps 'em in the Veſſel, there being no kind of Security a Shoar. There was nothing elſe to be had at this Market, nor a Country-Man's Houſe to be heard of in all the parts there about. Thereupon my Guide ſpoke to ſome of thoſe that came to the Market, to bring us ſome *Gom*, which is that ſort of Grain, by them made uſe of in ſtead of Bread, ſome VVine and other Proviſions; which the Country-Men promis'd to do, but fail'd in their VVords. So that I was ſurpriz'd, and very much troubl'd to meet with nothing, for our own Proviſions began to grow ſhort, nor to ſee any thing at ſuch a Market, but a Company of Slaves Chain'd together, and about a Dozen of Tatter'd Fellows, with Bows and Arrows in their Hands, who it ſeems were the Officers of the Cuſtoms, and look'd more ready to Rob, then relieve us. But I was much more ſurpriz'd and perplex'd, when I heard, that the *Turks*, and the Prince of *Guriel*, were coming into *Mingrelia*, that the People took Arms, and had begun the VVar; Pillaging and Ranſacking their Neighbours, and clear-

ing the Country both of Cattel and Inhabitants. I muſt confeſs I depended very much upon the *Theatin Miſſionaries* in *Mingrelia*, when I firſt reſolv'd to make choice of that way. I was aſſur'd they had a Houſe where I might be ſecure, and that they could much facilitate my paſſage into *Perſia*. But their Houſe was Forty Miles from *Iſagour* by Land, and Fifty Five by Sea. However I ſent an Expreſs to the Superior of the *Miſſionaries*, with a Letter wherein I gave him an account, That I was come into *Mingrelia*, and that I was going into *Perſia* about buſineſs of great Importance. That I had Letters of Recommendation to him from the Ambaſſador of *France*, the Reſident of *Genoa*, the Warden of the *Capuchins* of *Greece*, and the Sollicitor for the *Theatins* at *Conſtantinople*, and therefore I earneſtly deſir'd him to ſend me ſome Perſon that might give me neceſſary Informations how to proceed in my Voyage. I would have made my Bargain with the *Expreſs* for Ready Money, but he rather choſe to have Cloth. Thereupon my Guide agreed with him for two pieces of blew Linnen, upon Condition that he return'd in two days and a half. Which two pieces coſt Six Shillings at *Caffa*. This done, I return'd to the Veſſel, very penſive, and ſorely troubl'd to find my ſelf in a Country where there was no Proviſion to be bought, where Money would not go, nor any Lodging was to be had. And beſides the ſight of ſo many Slaves of all Ages and both Sexes, ſome in Chains, ſome ty'd two and two, and of the Officers of the Cuſtomers that look'd like meer Robbers and Ruffians, had fill'd my Head with a Thouſand Fears. However I kept a good Heart ſtill, and did my utmoſt endeavour to diſſipate thoſe Diſturbances of my Mind.

All this while I ſaid nothing to my Comrade or to my Servants, only that I had been promis'd Proviſions; nevertheleſs 'twas but prudence to be as good Husbands as we could of that little we had. Nor did the Rumours of the War hinder the Merchants in our Veſſel from going a Shoar; where they took every one a Hutt, and carry'd their Commodities along with 'em.

The 18th at Noon, my Guide came aboard, and brought me an Anſwer from the Superiour of the *Theatins*. It was very ſhort: For he only ſent me word, That within two or three Days he would come to the Veſſel with a Bark, and would ſerve me to the utmoſt of his Power.

The 19th toward the Evening, a great Number of Country People that had made their eſcapes, paſs'd by *Iſgaour*, and gave us a hot *Alarum*, That the *Abca*'s whom the Prince of *Mingrelia* had call'd in to aſſiſt him againſt the *Turks*, pillag'd and burnt all before 'em, carrying away the Inhabitants, and driving away the Cattel, where-ever they came. Thereupon the Merchants endeavour'd to carry off what they could in their Long-Boats. But it was late, and the Veſſels rid about a Mile from the Shoar; nor could they make above two Returns. Thereupon every Captain caus'd two great Guns to be carry'd aſhoar, which they planted at the Avenues of the Market, and ſtood to their Arms all Night. For my own part I cannot expreſs the ſorrow I was in at ſuch an unfortunate and unexpected Accident. I had hardly Conſtancy enough to hold out. And that which drove me almoſt to deſpair was this, That the Captain diſcours'd of going to Trade among the *Abca*'s and *Cherks*, and then to return back to *Caffa*. Which was to be three Months at Sea, and not to be laid up till the end of the Year. The Recoyl of my Fortune, which ſuch a Reſolution ſet before my Eyes, the danger of periſhing at Sea, want of Victles, the impoſſibility to get any; all theſe things which I foreſaw diſtinctly, were not the greateſt Trouble that perplex'd me. My greateſt Vexation was to ſee my Friends Concerns, which I thought had eſcap'd the Dangers of the *Black-Sea* and *Turkey*, expos'd to new Hazards, and my ſelf likely to undergo the Reproaches and Scorn of People, that would be apt to lay to my Charge unexpected Accidents for Miſcarriages, and attribute unfortunate Conjunctures to my Imprudence. To this I may add the Grumbling and Imprecations of my Servants, that continually rang i' my Ears: Some curſing Deſtiny, others the Country, others the People that had adviz'd me to the *Black-Sea*. In a word, I was in ſuch a profound Agony, as I thought would have utterly ſwallow'd me up. But *GOD* in his Mercy deliver'd me; He ſtrengthen'd me with Courage, and I hearten'd up my People; but their patience was ſoon tyr'd, ready to break forth every foot with the ſame extravagance; for the Hunger which we endur'd heighten'd their Tranſports even to Britiſh Outrage.

The 20th all the People that belong'd to our Veſſel, and the reſt that lay in the Road, return'd aboard. Chuſing rather to leave their Wooll, their Salt, their Earthen Ware, and ſuch like Commodities, then to hazard their being tak'n by

by the *Abca's*, who as they were assur'd were very near at hand. And indeed their Intelligence was too true. For about Ten a Clock at Night we saw all the Market-place a Fire; and the next Morning such as ventur'd to see what was the matter, found nothing but the Ashes, and Remainders of the Conflagration.

So soon as our People were all come aboard, I endeavour'd to buy of them Bisket, Rice, Butter, Onions, and dry'd Herbs; but no Body would part with their Goods, fearing lest they should not return to *Caffa*; till at length by the power of Money I got of several Merchants Sixty Pounds of Bisket, a few Herbs, Eight Pounds of Butter, and Twelve Pounds of Rice. This was but a small Stock for six People. But good Husbandry made it last longer then I expected. For there was in our Vessel dry'd Fish in abundance, and we scarcely fed upon any thing else. But I was wonderfully pleas'd when I had prevail'd with my Men to make a Meal without Bread, and lookt upon that Abstinence of theirs as the Lucky Chance of a Fortunate Day.

The 27th, seeing the Superiour of the *Theatins* did not come, and not knowing what I might hope for from him, I propos'd to my People the Necessity there was that one of them should go and find him out; in regard there was none but he that could preserve us from the Miseries that threaten'd us, and which came thick upon us every day more then other. But 'twas the want of Victles and their own despair that prevail'd beyond all my Arguments. So that one among the rest proffer'd me to go seek out the *Theatins*. And it so happen'd that there was a Bark of *Anarguie* that lay by our Vessel. Which *Anarguie* is a Village upon the Sea-Shoar, not above Twenty Miles from *Sippias*, where those Fryers have their Residence. This Bark being come to take in a Lading of Salt, my Servant went aboard, after I had given him four Duckets in Gold, Money, Mercery Ware, and all the Letters I had for the Superiour of the *Theatins*. Which I did, to the end that the Recommendation of so many Persons, some of Quality, the rest his Friends, might hast'n him to assist us in our Extremity: besides that I had written to him my self at large, desiring him to aid us if it were in his Power. I wrote to him also, That the Messenger whom I had sent, had Money, which I desir'd him to make use of, for that I begg'd no more of him then his Trouble; for which I should not also fail to be farther Grateful.

The

The Fourth of *October* in the Morning my Servant return'd, bringing along with him the Superiour of the *Theatins*, whoſe Name, as I have already ſaid, was Don *Maria Joſeph Zampi*, of *Mantua*: to whom I preſently ran and embrac'd him. But obſerve how he accoſted me: *Sir*, ſaid he, *God forgive thoſe People that adviſ'd ye to come this way, the Miſchief they have done ye. You are come into the moſt Wicked and Barbarous Country i' the World; and the beſt Courſe you can take is to return back to* Conſtantinople *with the firſt Opportunity*. At which words the Joy which I felt for the Arrival of the good Fryer, was ſoon at an end. However, I carry'd him into my *Cabin*, and there, together with my Comrade, we debated what was beſt to be done. We return'd him Thanks in the firſt place for the pains he had taken in coming ſo far. To which he anſwer'd, That he had come according to his promiſe, but that the War and the Incurſion of the *Abca*'s, had made the Roads ſo dangerous, that he durſt not venture himſelf. After that, I told him, That his firſt Complement to me at our firſt Greeting, put me at my Wits end: and therefore I beſought him to tell me, Whether he were not come to take us along with him, and carry us to his own Reſidence? Who anſwer'd, That he was come to ſerve me to the utmoſt of his Power, and that he would carry us Home to his own Houſe if we deſir'd: however he would gladly let us know the Nature of the Country through which we were to paſs. That it was a Place where there was no Bread to be had; and hardly any other Food to be got at that preſent time: That the Air was very unwholſom, and the People ſo wicked that it was ſcarce to be imagin'd. I told him, That we had a Letter of Recommendation to the Prince of *Mingrelia*. To which he anſwer'd, That this Prince was as great a Cut-throat, and as profeſs'd a Robber as any of his Subjects. He told us moreover, That about three Years before, returning from *Italy*, he brought along with him ſeveral Preſents for the Prince, for the Princeſs his Wife, for the Viſier, and the Principal Lords of the Court, which he diſtributed among 'em till he had almoſt left himſelf nothing; with which the Prince was ſo far from being ſatisfi'd, that he ſent and took away that little that he had reſerv'd; and although he were at that time Phyſitian to the Prince and all the Grandees, the *Viſier* clapt him up ſoon after in a *Dungeon*, with a Chain about his Neck, and Fetters upon his Feet, to get more Money from him; and that he could not be releas'd out of the Clutches of that Tygre, till

he had paid him Forty Crowns. Not that I tell ye this, Gentlemen, ſaid he, to ſend ye back again, but only to inform ye of the danger ye have thrown your ſelves into, by ſetting foot in *Mingrelia*. Yet after all this, if you will needs go forward, I will do my beſt to preſerve your Perſons and your Goods, and to paſs ye ſecurely into *Perſia*.

Upon this, I conſider'd what the Father had repreſented to us: and I came to this reſult with my ſelf, That the Miſchiefs that threaten'd me in *Mingrelia* were Miſchiefs to come, and which I was in hopes, though I knew not which way, to eſcape. Thoſe which I endur'd were preſent, and my Head and my Heart were both full of 'em I repreſented therefore to Father *Zampi*, That whatever Misfortunes ſhould happen to us in *Mingrelia*, would be leſs then thoſe would befal us in returning to *Caffa*, which would infallibly be our ruine. I deſir'd him to conſider, that we had neither Proviſion nor Vittles, that the Veſſel where we were was old, and daily took aboard great Numbers of Slaves of all Ages and Sexes, ſo that we could hardly ſtir one by another in the Ship. That a great Number of *Abca's* and *Mingrelian's* went and came from Morning till Night, that fill'd it with *Vermin* that would endanger a general Infection, and end in a Peſtilence. That the Veſſel would be two Months before ſhe return'd for *Caffa*, at what time the Weather would begin to be unſeaſonable and tempeſtuous; as being that part of the Year when the *Black-Sea*, ſo dreadful ſtormy, was moſt furiouſly exaſperated by the Violence of continual Tempeſts; ſo that ſuppoſe they ſhould get ſafe to *Caffa*, and thence to *Conſtantinople*, 'twould be four Months at leaſt before they could perform their Voyage, and then we ſhould be forc'd to begin again, and put to find out a new Project which way to paſs through *Turkey*. Beſides running the Riſco of extravagant Impoſitions, or exorbitant Cuſtoms; and yet after all theſe Adventures we ſhould be ſtill expos'd to ruine, which was the ſame thing or worſe then to run the hazard in *Mingrelia*, where the Danger could not be greater, but where the Peril could never laſt ſo long, ſince it was but four Days Journey before we ſhould be in a Country where we ſhould be ſecure.

Father *Zampi* could not gainſay any of my Reaſons: Beſides that our paſſage could not but be advantageous to himſelf in particular, or to his Miſſion. So that he talk'd of nothing elſe but of taking us along with him, and of our leaving

the Ship for good and all. Now the Bark wherein I had ſent my Servant was a long Veſſel like a ſmall Lighter, and was hir'd to go and come with Goods: and into this Veſſel it therefore was that we put our Baggage aboard, and about a hunderd Crowns worth of Goods which we bought out of the Veſſel. Which Purchaſe was made at my Intreaty by Father *Zampy*, becauſe he knew what would beſt go off in *Mingrelia*, for that Money, as I have ſaid already, was no otherwiſe Current or Valuable there then as it was a ſort of Merchandize. Our Baggage being Embark'd before Noon, we ſet Sail at the ſame time. And then it was that I was over-joy'd to find my ſelf quit of the Ship; for I could not endure the Stench of it. Beſides that the Naſtineſs and Infamous Behaviour of the People aboard made me loath the very ſight of 'em. The Veſſel was a meer Sink and Dungeon of Slaves, who as ſoon as Night came, were Chain'd two and two, as well the Boys as the Men. In the Morning they took off their Chains agen, ſo that I could hardly reſt for the ratling of the Irons, and then the very Object it ſelf griev'd me to the very Heart. Every Morning we were ſure to ſee a Fire aſhoar, which was a ſignal that there were people come to ſell either Slaves or other Merchandize. Upon which they ſent away their Long-Boat, into which they who had a deſire to come to the Veſſel put themſelves and their Wares, and being brought aboard, drove the Bargains as they could agree. And indeed the War in *Mingrelia* was very favourable to our Merchants; for the *Abca*'s brought 'em all their Plunder and Booty to ſell: Among the reſt there came one day to our Veſſel an *Abca* of Quality, having a Train of ſeven or eight Men at his Heels, who ſeem'd to be the arranteſt Rakehels in the World. He brought three Slaves, and his Men were loaden with Booty; and among other Things they had got a Frame of an Idol all of Silver; I caus'd 'em to be ask'd, Where the Idol it ſelf was? To which they anſwer'd, That they had left it in the Church, not daring to carry it away, for fear it ſhould have kill'd 'em.

Our Veſſel had Forty Slaves when I left it, which the Turkiſh and Chriſtian Merchants had bought for Arms, Houſhold-ſtuff, and other Commodities. They gave 'em what they pleas'd themſelves, and reck'nd twice as much as the Goods coſt 'em. They gave no more then Fifteen Crowns for Men from Twenty Five to Forty Years of Age; and Eight or Ten, for thoſe that were older. Handſom Maids from Thirteen to

Eighteen

Eighteen were ſold for Twenty Crowns; others for leſs. Women for Twelve, and Childern for Three or Four. A *Greek* Merchant that lay in a Cabin next to mine, bought a Woman and a Child at her Breaſt. She had incomparable Features in her Face, and a truly Lilly-white Complexion; and indeed I never ſaw more lovely Nipples, and a rounder Neck, nor a ſmoother Skin; which created at the ſame time both Envy and Compaſſion. So that I could not chuſe but caſt a mournful Look upon her, ſaying this to my ſelf, Unfortunate Beauty! neither would I envy or compaſſionate thee, were I in another Condition, and that I did not find my ſelf juſt upon the Brink of Danger, threaten'd with the greateſt Miſeries imaginable, if there can be a greater Miſery then that of Slavery. But that which ſurpriz'd me was this, That theſe miſerable Creatures were no way caſt down, nor did they ſeem ſenſible of the miſery of their Condition. At length when they had bought 'em, their Maſters took from them the Rags that cover'd 'em, clad 'em with Linnen and new Habits, and ſet 'em to work; the Men and the Boys to moyl in the Ship, and the Women to ſow. Nor did they ſeem to be much diſſatisfi'd with their Habit, or the Food which was giv'n, only they did not like Working, ſo that the Cudgel was forc'd to walk now and then to quick'n their Lazineſs.

We had a good Wind, and we made uſe of Oars as well as Sails in our Bark. And for my own part, all my diſcourſe was with Father *Zampi*, what courſe I ſhould take to prevent my falling into the Enemies Hand, and my being plunder'd and aſſaſſinated by the *Mingrelians*. Which diſcourſe at length brought us to talk of thoſe Perſons, whoſe Letters I had ſent him. He told me the *French* Ambaſſador's Letter was a Duplicate of one which he had ſent the laſt Year for Atteſtations of the Religion of *Colchis*: but when he gave it into my Hands, and that I had read it, I was ſurpriz'd to find, that having been giv'n me for a Letter of Recommendation, there ſhould not be the leaſt mention of my Name. Which made me afraid leſt Father *Zampi* ſhould think, that the Ambaſſador had not that Value and Kindneſs for me, which I pretended to make him believe. And therefore I thought my ſelf oblig'd to ſhew him the Letter which the Ambaſſador had done me the Honour to write to the Prince of *Mingrelia*, of which this was a Copy.

Thrice

Thrice Illuſtrious Prince,

THE Emperor of France *my Maſter, having Commanded me to make uſe of his Protection to ſupport your Intereſts in the* Ottoman *Court upon all Occaſions that ſhould offer: I am glad of this Opportunity not only to Confirm it by this Letter, but for that theſe two Gentlemen alſo, the* Sieur Chardin, *and the* Sieur Raiſin *will give you farther Aſſurances of the ſame Thing in my behalf. You will oblige me to believe 'em, and in Conſideration of that Value which I have for their Perſons, to ſupport and defend 'em with all your Authority ſo long as they ſhall ſojourn in your Court; and when they depart from your Court in order to their going forward into* Perſia, *I hope you will freely grant 'em that Favour, and add to the reſt that one more of believing me to be,*

Thrice Illuſtrious Prince,

Your moſt Humble and Obedient Servant,

De NOINTEL,

Ambaſſador for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, the Emperor of *France* at the *Ottoman* Port.

About Midnight we arriv'd at the Mouth of the River *Aſtolphus*, call'd by the *Mingrelians*, *Langun*; and which is one of the biggeſt Rivers in *Mingrelia*. There we ſtopp'd and ſent to *Anarghie* two of our Seamen, to know what News of the Enemy, and to ſee whether the People were not fled, and in what condition they ſtood. This *Anarghia* is a Village two Miles from the Sea, the moſt conſiderable in all *Mingrelia*, conſiſting of a Hunderd Houſes, but ſo far diſtant one from the other, that it is two Miles from the firſt to the laſt.

There are always *Turks* in this Village that come to buy Slaves, and have Barks ready to carry 'em away. And it is ſaid, that this Village is built in the ſame place where formerly ſtood a fair and large City, call'd by the Name of *Heraclea*.

The fifth before day, the two Seamen return'd, and brought us word that the *Abca*'s had made no Inroads within Fifteen Miles of *Anarghia*, but that things were quiet without any Diſturbance or Alteration. Thereupon Father *Zampi* deſir'd 'em to Row hard, to the end we might come early to the Village, and Land our Goods before we ſhould come to be ſeen by any Perſon. All things fell out to our Wiſh, and we took a Lodging at a Country-Mans Houſe, which was one of the beſt Accommodations in the Town. For we had a great many Cheſts, the biggeſt of which was full of Books. Thereupon Father *Zampi* adviſ'd me to open it, and take out the Goods in the ſight of the People of the Houſe, to the end they might have no ſuſpicion that we carry'd any Treaſure in our Cheſts; but might be ready to give it out that we were only Perſons in Holy Orders, for which reaſon we loaded our ſelves with a great Number of Books for our particular uſe. I follow'd his Advice, and found it to be very good. For the People of the Houſe were amaz'd to ſee nothing in ſuch a large Cheſt but only Books; and I am apt to believe they conceited there was nothing elſe in all the reſt.

The ninth a Lay-*Theatin* came to ſee us: He was the Phyſitian and Surgeon that ſerv'd all *Mingrelia*. And the Acceſs which his Art had procur'd him to the Prince and all the Grandees, had puft him up to that degree of Pride, that he valu'd neither Fathers nor Superiour, and in all his Actions and Diſcourſe manifeſted a moſt inſupportable Superbity. However, I receiv'd and entertain'd him as his Vain-glory ſeem'd to require. Who thereupon gave me a Thouſand Aſſurances of Protection and Aſſiſtance, and promis'd to bring us Tidings of the Retreat of the *Abca*'s, ſo ſoon as he found his Information to be ſuch as he could confide in. Nor did he fail in his Undertaking; ſo that he return'd to us the 13th, and brought us the Good News we expected. He told us that he had been with the Prince the Day before, at what time the Intelligence came to him. He recounted alſo to us, that the *Abca*'s had carry'd away with 'em Twelve Hunderd Perſons, and a great Number of Cattel, with other Booty; that they had plunder'd the Houſe of a Tenant to the *Theatins*, and taken away three of their Slaves: That the Prince had ſent three Gentlemen to the Prince of the *Abca*'s to make his Complaints, and to threaten 'em for their Perfidiouſneſs; for that having enterd *Mingrelia*, under an Engagement and upon Oath to defend it againſt the *Turks*, they had made uſe of their Forces to Sack and Pillage

the Country, and was return'd, and had retreated without doing him the leaſt Kindneſs. And thus after he had given us a full Accompt of the News that was ſtirring, he told Father *Zampi* farther, That we might all go together to their Reſidence at *Sippias*, and that the Prince and the *Catholicos* had order'd him to aſſure me and my Comrade, That we were Welcom, and that he would provide us Men and Horſes to Convoy us into *Georgia*. Upon which we reſolv'd to depart the next day.

While we ſtaid at *Anarghia* we ſuffer'd for no want of any thing; we had Fowl, Wild Pigeons, Porkers, and Goats in abundance. All which my People had in exchange for Linnen, Needles, Incenſe, Combs and Knives: and they had their Proviſions very Cheap too: Wine was alſo very plentiful, for it was then the very time of their Vintage. There was alſo at *Anarghia* a Lady of Quality, who had made choice of that Place to retire to for ſecurity but a little before. She vvas a Widow, and her Husband had been Chief Miniſter or Vizier to the Prince. Father *Zampi* carry'd me to her Houſe, where I preſented her vvith ſome inconſiderable Trifles, and ſhe in Acknowledgment of vvhat ſhe had receiv'd, and in hopes of more, ſent me every Day a Loaf of half a Pound, vvith ſome other of her choiceſt Viands. One Day ſhe ſent me a piece of Wild Boars Fleſh, another Day a Ball of Wax, another Day a ſmall Quantity of Honey, another time a Pheaſant, and by the Meſſenger ſtill ſhe requeſted ſome Trifle or other, as Knives, Sciſſars, Ribband, Paper, or the like, and ſo ſhe paid her ſelf double for her Preſents. One Day ſhe came to give me a Viſit, and ſhew'd her ſelf very Complaiſant, and ſignifi'd her Fancy for ſeveral other things. But though I did not like this Trade, I kept fair vvith her however, becauſe I vvould not vvant Bread, vvhich vvas not otherwhere to be had.

Father *Zampi* advis'd me to pretend my ſelf a *Capuchin*; and gave out himſelf that I vvas going to the *Capuchins* in *Georgia*: That I had diſguis'd my ſelf becauſe I vvould not be known in *Turkey*, and to the end I might travel vvith more freedom. And the better to counterfeit my Diſguiſe, he perſwaded me to go very meanly, and to pretend Poverty upon all Occaſions. And for my own part, I acted my part very vvell, but the ill Management of my Servants prevented my Plot from taking Effect. They brake my Meaſures by the Good Houſe vvhich they kept. For they bought the beſt Vittles they could find, let it coſt vvhat it vvould. In a

vvord, they repaid themſelves for the ſcarcity vvhich they had endur'd. Which Expences of theirs caus'd People to think I vvas not ſo poor as I pretended to be.

The 14th, two Hours before Day, vve departed from *Anarghia*, and Row'd up the River *Aſtolphus* two Leagues, after vvhich vve landed our Baggage, and loaded our Goods into ſix little Carts: and fill'd two more vvith the Proviſions vvhich Father *Zampi* had bought. Theſe Eight little Wagons made a great Noiſe; for it vvas an unuſual ſight in *Mingrelia* to ſee ſo many together. So that in leſs then two days the News flew about the Country of the Arrival of certain *Europeans*, vvith Eight Wagons loaden vvith Baggage. Which News vvas ſpread vvith ſo many Circumſtances, as vvere the occaſion of ſeveral Misfortunes that befel us, as I ſhall relate in the purſuit of my Story. Thus vve travell'd four Leagues and a half by Land, and by Sun-ſet arriv'd at *Sapias*.

Sapias is the Name of two little Churches, of vvhich the one is a Pariſh-Church of *Mingrelia*, the other belongs to the *Theatins*. It vvas beſtow'd upon 'em, together vvith the Church-yard vvherein the two Churches are enclos'd. Which Encloſure is very large: and vvhere they have alſo built ſeveral Apartiments and Lodgings after the Faſhion of the Country: every one of the Fryers having his Apartiment to himſelf, according as they are one ſeparated from another. The leſſer Lodgings are for their Slaves, and two Families of Country-People vvho are their Tenants.

The *Theatins* came firſt into *Mingrelia* in the Year 1627. vvhere they vvere admitted as Phyſitians. The Prince vvho then Raign'd vvas very Potent, and it vvas repreſented to him as a Thing greatly to the Advantage and Benefit of his Country, that Perſons vvho underſtood an Art ſo profitable for the Advantage of his Health, ſhould be ſuffer'd to ſettle in his Country. Thereupon he made 'em Welcom, gave 'em the Reſidence vvhich they enjoy, vvith Lands, and a certain Number of Country-People to Manure the Ground, and furniſh their Society vvith Corn and Wine. One and Twenty Years before, the Jeſuites of *Conſtantinople* ſent Two of their Fraternity into this Country; but they dy'd there ſo ſoon, that the reſt vvere afraid to venture any more. The *Theatins* however for ſome Years laſt paſt, had Houſes in *Tartary*, *Georgia*, *Circaſſia* and *Imiretta*. Which are all forſak'n and deſtroy'd, ſeeing the People no vvay enclin'd to embrace the Roman Religion; and beſides they, were over-imploy'd in their

Practice

Practice of Phyſick. Moreover, they aſſur'd me that they had long ſince abandon'd *Colchis* likewiſe upon the ſame Conſiderations; only that they ſtaid there for the Honour of the Roman Church, vvhich glory'd to have her Miſſionaries in all parts of the Earth; but more particularly for the Honour of their own Order, out of vvhich there being no other Miſſion into any part of the World, it vvould turn to their diſcredit ſhould they not be able to uphold it.

There were only four *Theatins* at *Sapias* when I arriv'd there, three Prieſts and one Laic. The Prieſts practis'd only Phyſick, the Lay-Brother both Phyſick and Surgery. For he had been up and down in the World, a Chirurgeon by Profeſſion. The *Theatins* affirm, That all the Spiritual Beneſit which the Country reaps from their being among 'em, is only Baptizing of Infants, there being none which are there Baptiz'd, or but after a very odd Faſhion. Unleſs it be in that, they confeſs, they make no other progreſs among the *Mingrelians*, vvho are ſo far, ſay they, from embracing the Roman Ceremonies, that they do not believe the *Europeans* to be Chriſtians, becauſe they do not ſee 'em obſerve ſo many Faſts, nor with ſo ſtrict and ſevere an Abſtinence, beſides that they do not Worſhip Images. The *Theatin*'s very immediate Slaves, will not Communicate with their Maſters in their Religious Exerciſes; and they have aſſur'd me, they could never Educate any one to ſerve at the Maſs. I have ſeen theſe Fryers ſometimes Baptize Childern; for they Baptize all that they meet with, in Houſes vvhere they have not either been of a long time, or vvhere they do not remember that ever they Adminiſter'd that Sacrament before. I have tarry'd ſeveral Days in ſeveral Places of *Mingrelia* with the Superiour of the *Theatins*, and have frequently ſeen his vvay of Baptizing. For vvhen they brought him any one that vvas ill, he call'd for a Baſon of Water, pretending to vvaſh his Hands, and vvhen he had waſh'd 'em, before he dry'd 'em again, vvith the end of his Finger he touch'd the Forehead of the Child, making the Parents believe it vvas only to underſtand the Diſtemper.

He Baptiz'd Childern that vvere in Health by ſlirting a little Water in their Faces, vvhile he vvas vvaſhing his Hands, as if he had done it in ſport. I ask'd him, What it vvas he did? I have Baptiz'd theſe Childern, ſaid he; happy is it for them that vve came into the Houſe. I ask'd him a ſecond time, What Name he had giv'n 'em? I give 'em no Name, anſwer'd he; for oft-times I know not whether I Baptize a

Male

Male or a Female; there is no Neceſſity for the Name, it being ſufficient to caſt a drop of Water upon the Infant, and mentally to recite the Form of Baptiſm. In a word, the *Theatins* are very miſerable in *Mingrelia*, they pillage 'em, they abuſe 'em; nor have they any value or reſpect for 'em, unleſs it be when any Sickneſs or Wound conſtrains 'em to require their Aſſiſtance.

The 18th the Princeſs of *Mingrelia* came to viſit the *Theatins*; and preſently the Superiour of the *Theatins* made haſte to attend her. Theſe Princeſſes of *Mingrelia* and thoſe of the Neighbouring Countries they call *Dedopalè*, which in the *Georgian* Language ſignifies Queen. She was a Horſeback, attended by about Eight Women and Ten Men, and ſome Lacqueys that ran by her Horſe. But this Train of hers was very ill clad, and very badly mounted. She told the *Prefect* or Superiour, That ſhe underſtood that the Proviſion which was uſually ſent 'em from *Conſtantinople* was come, and that there were *Europeans* in the Houſe, who had brought a long with 'em a conſiderable Quantity of Goods: that ſhe was very glad of it, and deſir'd to ſee 'em, that ſhe might bid 'em Welcom. Preſently I was call'd for to pay my Reſpects to her: at what time Father *Zampi* told me that I muſt make her a Preſent, the way according to the Cuſtom of that Country, to acknowledge the favourable Viſits of the Prince and Princeſs. Upon that I beſought her to tarry till I could bring her one to her Palace; to which ſhe readily conſented. Now ſhe had been told, that I ſpake *Turkiſh* and *Perſian*; upon which ſhe ſent for a Slave that underſtood *Turkiſh*, whom ſhe order'd to ask me a Thouſand Queſtions concerning my Quality, and the deſign of my Travels. I made him anſwer, That I was a *Capuchin*, and ſpoke and acted always as a Religious Perſon: but it was plain her Majeſty did not believe me; for all her Diſcourſe was about Love: and ſhe caus'd the Queſtion to be put, Whether I were ſenſible of that Paſſion, and whether I had ever been in Love? How it could be that a Man could never be in Love, or live without a Woman? And with this Diſcourſe ſhe went on ſo pleaſingly, that all her Train were ſtrangely delighted to hear her. Though for my part I could have wiſh'd the Princeſs and her Train farther off from me: For I was afraid ſhe would have caus'd the Houſe to be plunder'd, having three times demanded to ſee what I had brought, together with the *Theatins* Proviſion. Which Proviſion is yearly ſent 'em from *Conſtantinople*, as I have al-

ready ſaid, and conſiſts of Goods and Commodities of ſeveral ſorts; of which they are oblig'd to ſend a good ſhare to the Prince, the Princeſs, to the Vizier, and the Principal Gentlemen of the Country. Father *Zampi* therefore promis'd to bring her the accuſtom'd Preſent the next day, and that I my ſelf ſhould bring her one likewiſe; and ſo ſatisfi'd, God be thanked, ſhe went away.

The 19th in the Morning ſhe ſent to invite me to Dinner, whither I went with Father *Zampi* and another *Theatin*. She was then at a Houſe about two Miles from ours. For ſhe did not live with the Prince, who could not endure her, but hated her to death, in regard he had been forc'd to marry her. I found her in a Dreſs ſomewhat richer then the day before; ſhe was likewiſe painted; and had us'd all her Skill to ſet her ſelf out to the beſt Advantage. Her Habit was of Cloth of Gold, the Attire of her Head Gliſter'd with Precious Stones: but for her Vail it was altogether Curious and Gay, and of a particular Faſhion. She ſate upon a Carpet, having on each ſide Nine or Ten Women that belong'd to her Chamber; for her Maids of Honour were, as they ſaid, retir'd for ſafety to a Fortreſs by reaſon of the Wars. The Hall was full of *Rakeſhames* half Naked, which compos'd her Court. Before I was admitted, I was ask'd for the Preſent I had brought. Which was carry'd by a Lacquey, who gave it to ſome of her Servants; conſiſting of Paſtes of *Genoa*, Ribbands, Paper, Needles, Twizers, Knives and Sciſſars, all Neat and Curious. The whole coſt about Forty Shillings; but worth above a Five Pounds in *Mingrelia*. The Princeſs was extreamly pleas'd; and when ſhe had ſeen 'em, ſent for me into her Preſence. Where the Slave that ſpake *Turkiſh* order'd me to ſit down upon a Bench that was cloſe by. Preſently the firſt thing ſhe ſaid to me was, That ſhe would marry me to one of her Friends, and that ſhe would not have me to leave the Country, for that ſhe would give me Houſes, Lands, Slaves and Tenants. After that ſhe fell into the ſame Diſcourſe as the Day before; but it laſted not long, becauſe the People gave her Notice that Dinner was ready.

The Houſe where ſhe liv'd was in the midſt of five or ſix others, every one a hunderd Paces diſtant from it, without any Fence either of Hedge or Wall. Before it ſtood a large *Eſtrade* or Aſcent of about eighteen Inches high, cover'd with a kind of a *Duomo*. This they ſpread with Carpets; where alſo ſate the Princeſs, and her Women about four Paces

from

from her upon other Carpets: The *Rakeſhanies* that compos'd her Court ſate in a Circle upon the Graſs, to the Number of Fifty. As for the *Theatins* and my ſelf there were two Benches placed near the Aſcent, the one to ſit upon, the other to ſerve us in ſtead of a Table. So ſoon as the Princeſs was ſate down, her Butler ſpread before her a long painted Linnen Cloth, at the end of which he dreſt up his Court-Cupboard, which conſiſted of two great Flagons and two ſmall ones, four Plates and eight Cups, ſome bigger ſome leſſer, a Baſon and Eure, and a Skimmer, all of Silver; and at the ſame time other Servants ſet before all thoſe that were ſeated in the ſame place, VVooden Planks to ſerve in ſtead of Tables; and one alſo was plac'd before the VVomen. And thus when every thing was order'd in this manner, they brought into the Middle of the place two Kettles, one very large, carry'd by four Men, which was full of Common *Gom*; and the t'other much leſs, which was carry'd by two Men, full of white *Gom*. And I have already obſerv'd, that this *Gom* is a *Paſte* of which the *Mingrelians* make the ſame uſe in their Dyet, as we do of our Bread. Two other Men brought in upon a kind of *Bier* a whole Porker boyl'd, and four other Men, every one a large Pitcher of Wine. Of all which they carv'd firſt to the Princeſs, then to the Women, next to us, and laſt of all to the Train. After this they ſerv'd in to the Princeſs a Woodden Platter with Bread and ſtrong Herbs to create an Appetite, together with a large Silver Plate containing two Fowls, the one Boyl'd, the other Roaſted; both ill dreſt, and with ſuch Sawce that my Stomach would not bear. The Princeſs ſent me a part of her Bread and Herbs, and bid the Meſſenger tell me withal that I ſhould ſtay and Sup with her, and that ſhe would cauſe an Ox to be kill'd; but that was only a Complement. A ſhort while after, ſhe ſent me two Pieces of her Fowl, and bid the Meſſenger ask me, Wherefore none of the *European* Workmen, being ſuch Excellent Goldſmiths, and Weavers both of Silk and Woollen came into *Mingrelia*, but only Monks, of which they had no need, and whoſe Company they ſo little deſir'd? Which was a Queſtion that did not a little ſtartle me; for the Princeſs ſpake aloud in *Mingrelian*, and her Slave return'd the Interpretation of his Anſwer as loud. So that I leave the Reader to judge whether or no the poor *Theatins* were not ſtrangely abaſh'd to hear the Princeſs propound ſuch a Queſtion. To ſay truth, I took the ſcoff to be pretty well aim'd at my ſelf, and therefore I anſwer'd as well

for

for my ſelf as for them, ſince ſhe had addreſs'd her ſelf alike to all, That the *European* Artiſts work for Money, and that they had Imployment enough at Home to keep 'em from any thoughts of Gadding abroad, but that they who were in Orders ſought only the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls, and that only thoſe two predominant Motives could over-rule the *Europeans* to quit their Country to travel ſo far.

The Feaſt laſted two Hours; and when it was half over, the Princeſs ſent me a Cup of Wine, and bid the Meſſenger tell me it was Wine which ſhe preſery'd for her own Drinking, and the Cup out of which ſhe drank her ſelf: and this Honour ſhe did me three times. But ſhe wonder'd very much when ſhe ſaw me mix Water with my Wine, ſaying withal that ſhe had never ſeen the like done: For ſhe and her Women drank it Neat, and that to a good pitch. When Dinner was ended, ſhe ſent to know whether or no I had brought along with me any Spices or Porcelane Diſhes; and ſix or ſeven of theſe Meſſages I had from her all to the ſame purpoſe, by which I gueſt that the beggerly Princeſs did not Careſs me with ſo much Civility but only for her own Intereſt. But all my Anſwers were poſitive Denials; which put her at length into ſuch an ill humour, that ſhe told me ſhe would ſend to ſearch my Cheſts; to which I only reply'd, That ſhe might do it when ſhe pleas'd: which I did, as well fearing leſt a refuſal and unwillingneſs might incenſe her Covetous Humour, as to conceal the dread into which her threatning Language had put me. She anſwer'd me, That ſhe had only ſpoke it in Drollery; and I made as if I had really believ'd what ſhe ſaid: but ſo ſoon as we were riſen from the Table, I deſir'd one of the *Theatins* to make haſte home, and give my Comrade Notice of the Princeſſes words, to the end he might be prepar'd, whatever ſhould happen. After Dinner ſhe fell again into her Diſcourſe of Marriage, and told me that within a few days ſhe would ſhew me the Lady ſhe had a mind to beſtow upon me. To which I anſwer'd as before, That Perſons in Orders were never allow'd to Marry. And having ſo ſaid, ſhe was about to have diſmiſs'd me. But as ill Luck would have it, as I was making my Obeiſance, the Princeſs eſpy'd under my poor and mean Habit, that I wore Linnen much whiter and finer then any was made in *Mingrelia*. Thereupon ſhe came cloſe up to me, took me by the Hand, thruſt up my Sleeve to my Elbow, and holding me by the Arm, talk'd to one of her Women with a low

Voice. I was then, I muſt needs confeſs, at a cruel Nonplus; for the Ladies Careſſing Actions no way pleas'd me; and though ſhe ſmil'd very pleaſantly in my Face, yet my Fears were ne'er the leſs. And that which troubl'd me moſt was, that I could not underſtand what ſhe ſaid, and yet by her Geſture I could perceive ſhe ſpoke of me with a more then ordinary Earneſtneſs and Affection. Nor did I know how to behave my ſelf before ſo many People toward a Woman, in whom I conſider'd at the ſame time the Quality of a Soveraign Princeſs, and the Impudence of a Curtezan. However, till then I felt no more then only a little Diſturbance in my Mind. But that which put me into a very great Conſternation was this, that the Princeſs, addreſſing her ſelf to Father *Zampi*, gave him this Rebuke: *You have both deceiv'd me*, ſaid ſhe, *but 'tis my Pleaſure that you both come hither to me again upon* Sunday-*Morning, and that the New-comer ſay Maſs before me.* The Father would have made her an Anſwer, but the Princeſs turning her back, bid us depart.

Upon this I return'd to my Lodging very penſive and ſad: for her Diſcourſe had fill'd me with a Thouſand Fears, apprehenſive leſt her Avarice and ſome other Motives might ſpur her on to do me a Miſchief. And Father *Zampi* admoniſh'd me to take it for good warning, and to expect it as a thing that would infallibly happen; which made me reſolve to prepare for it, inſomuch that the Night following we buried all our Goods that were of greateſt Value. To which purpoſe I caus'd a Pit to be made in the Chamber of the *Theatin* Fryers five Foot deep, where I hid a Cheſt of Clock-work, and another of Coral: which were ſo well cover'd, that there was not the leaſt Appearance that the Earth had been ſtirr'd. Afterwards I went into the Church with the ſame deſign. Where Father *Zampi* advis'd me to open the *Grave* of a *Theatin*, who had been buried ſix Years before, and to commit the Care of a little Caskanet to his Aſhes. But *GOD*, who knew what would ſoon after happen to that *Grave*, prevented me from following that Advice; ſo that I rather choſe to dig a Hole in a corner of the Church behind the Door, where I caus'd as deep a Pit to be made as in the Chamber, and there buried a little Box that contained Twelve Thouſand Duckets in Gold. Afterwards I hid in the Roof of the Chamber where I lodg'd a Scimiter and a Dagger ſet with Precious Stones, and ſome other Jewels; which Roof was cover'd with Straw. And as for ſuch other Things as were of great Value, and light, my

Comrade and I carry'd thoſe about us; and as for ſuch Things as were of leſs Worth, we recommended them to the care of the *Theatins*.

The 23d I underſtood the Kindneſs which the Princeſs had done me, when ſhe threaten'd to Viſit my Baggage. It was upon a *Sunday*, part of which I had ſpent in Prayer, and in bewailing my ſelf, out of a deep ſenſe of the Misfortunes that overwhelm'd me, and the Dangers that environ'd me, not finding any Door open for me to make my eſcape. I expected ſo certainly to be made a Slave, that I durſt not pray to *GOD* for my Liberty. Only I thought it all I could do to beg that I might fall into the Hands of a kind Maſter; for that if I might have my choice, I ſhould rather chuſe the Chains of a *Turk*, then the Fetters of a *Colchian* Lady.

When we had Din'd, word was brought to the Superiour, That two Gentlemen deſir'd to ſpeak with him at the Door; which two Gentlemen were their Neighbours, both a Horſeback, in Coats of Mail, and very well arm'd: Nor did the Superiour wonder to ſee 'em in that Equipage with ſuch a Train, in regard it was in time of War. When he came to 'em, the two Gentlemen told the Superiour, That they came to diſcourſe with him, and the *Europeans* that were newly arriv'd. And ſo ſaying, they alighted. Thereupon the Superiour call'd both me and my Comrade forth, who as readily went to wait upon 'em, never ſtopping to conſider whether they had any ill deſign or no. But they quickly let me underſtand their Errand; for ſo ſoon as we accoſted 'em, they caus'd us to be laid hold on by their Followers: and at the ſame time they commanded the Superiour and the other *Theatins* who were come to ſalute 'em, that they ſhould retire; telling 'em withal, that if they ſtirr'd, they would cut their Throats. Upon which the Superiour in a Panick fear ran away; but the reſt would not forſake us, and the Lay-Brother ſtood briskly to us. He ſacrific'd himſelf in our behalf; Nor could the Naked Sword which they ſet to his Throat affright him from our ſides. Preſently our Servants were ſeiz'd; and one of them who was reſolv'd to have made ſome reſiſtance, and to that end drew his Cutlace that hung at his Girdle, was knockt down with a Lance, and then Bound and Ty'd to a Tree.

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Afterwards theſe Aſſaſſinates declar'd they would ſee what we had; to whom I anſwer'd, That they were our Maſters, and we only poor *Capuchins*, all whoſe Riches conſiſted in Books, Papers, and ſuch pitiful Lumber, that they needed not have us'd ſo much Violence to conſtrain us to ſhew it. For I had no other Game to play, being ſeiz'd and bound, and theſe Cut-throats become Maſters both of the Houſe, and all the People that were in it. And indeed through *GOD*'s Mercy it took effect; for immediately they unbound me, and bid me open our Chamber-Door; which was in the firſt Story; and where there was nothing but what we did not much value whether it were ſeen or no. For as I have ſaid already we carry'd our moſt Coſtly Jewels about us; and my Comrade had ſow'd his ſhare in the Collar of a large Furr'd *Juſt-au-Corps* which he wore. And for my own ſhare I had made 'em up in two little Bundles, and hid 'em in the Cheſt where my Books were. For I durſt not carry 'em about me for fear of being Murder'd or Robb'd, or ſold for a Slave. I was therefore fain to deſire the Lay-Brother and my Comrade to take the Gentlemen aſide, and hold 'em in a Diſcourſe of Compoſition, and to offer 'em a little Money, thereby to gain time to take thoſe two Coſtly Bundles out of my Cheſt, to the end I might hide 'em the beſt I could. Which they did, and I went into the Chamber, and Lockt the Door upon me. The Souldiers apprehenſive of my Deſign, gave the Gentlemen Notice, who preſently came to the Door, which was ſtrongly Lockt within-ſide. At what time my Comrade cry'd out from below, and bid me have a care, for that the Enemy peep'd and watch'd me through the Chinks. Which made me preſently take away my two little Bundles from the Roof where I had thruſt 'em, for fear they had ſeen where I laid 'em, and put 'em in my Pocket: but then perceiving they were about to break open the Door, I flung my ſelf out at the Window into the Garden, taking ſuch a Leap, that had not Neceſſity conſtrain'd me, I ſhould not have taken at another time for never ſo much: for it had been enough to have broke a Mans Neck; but a Man that is ſeiz'd with a Panick Dread fears nothing but the Object of his firſt Fears. However, being once down, I ran to the end of the Garden, and threw the two little Bundles among the thickeſt of the Buſhes: though the Diſtraction of my Mind would not ſuffer me to take a true Notice of the Place where I threw 'em. After this, I return'd to my Chamber, which I found full of Robbers;

bers, ſome of whom were abuſing my Comrade, others knocking with their Maces upon my Cheſts with a deſign to break 'em; but then I took Courage, knowing there was nothing in 'em that was very conſiderable, and bid 'em have a care what they did, for that I was the King of *Perſia*'s Envoy; and that the Prince of *Georgia* would ſeverely chaſtiſe the Violence they had offer'd me; and ſo ſaying I ſhew'd 'em the King of *Perſia*'s Paſſport, which one of the Gentlemen took and would have torn, ſaying he fear'd no Body, nor valu'd no Man living upon the Face of the Earth; but the other prevented him, as having a greater Reverence for the Gold Letters and Gilt Seal. After that he bid me open my Cheſts, and he would do me no Injury; but if I made any longer delay, he would take my Neck from my Shoulders. To which I was about to have reply'd, in ſtead of yielding Obedience, which had like to have coſt me my Life, for one of the Souldiers had drawn his Sword, and was lifting up his Arm to have ſplit my Brains. But the Lay-Brother ſtopt his Arm. Upon this I open'd my Cheſts; but then, Heav'ns bleſs me, what work they made! Whatever they had a mind to, 'twas all free Plunder.

While they were thus buſie at their Pillage, I was leaning at a Window, and turning my Eyes another way, as unwilling to encreaſe my Sorrows, I look'd into the Garden, where I perceiv'd two Souldiers among the Buſhes, where I thought I had thrown my little Bundles. Preſently I ran like mad to the Place, follow'd by a *Theatin* Fryer; but whatever the Matter was, the two Souldiers withdrew when they ſaw us enter: Nevertheleſs I was willing to ſatisfie my ſelf whether they were there or no, and ſought for 'em, but having miſtaken the place, through the trouble I was in, I could not then find 'em, ſo that I thought they had been found and carry'd away. And you may judge by the Value of theſe two little Bundles, that amounted to Six Thouſand Pounds, what a deſperate condition I was in: enough to have broke a Mans Heart: but God ſuſtain'd me through his Mercy, and ſo ſupported me that I had ſtill a preſence of mind and thought that ſeldom fail'd me in extremity. But the loud Cries of my Comrade and the Lay-Brother, call'd me out of the Garden, into the Chamber: where when I came, I was ſeiz'd by two Souldiers, who drew me to a Corner of the Chamber, and took what I had in my Pockets, which was no great Matter. Which done, they took me by the Hands, and wou'd ha' bound

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me. Upon that I made a Noiſe, and us'd all the Strength I had, and made ſigns that they ſhould carry me to their Maſters; and then I told the Chief of theſe Cut-throats, that there was no Neceſſity to bind or kill me, for that I was ready to ſuffer whatever they were diſpos'd to do to me. Who anſwer'd, That they would carry us to the Prince ſince we were Ambaſſadors. To which I reply'd, That we were ready to go without binding, and that we hop'd he would do us Juſtice: for that we had Letters for him, for which no doubt but he would have a very great reſpect. By this time it grew late, and Night drew on; beſides, it was above fifteen Miles to the Princes Caſtle: ſo that they releas'd us, and carry'd no Body along with 'em but only the Servant, who offer'd to make Reſiſtance at firſt, whom I redeem'd fifteen Days after for Ten Crowns.

When I was rid of theſe Freebooters, I went to the Garden, for the Fryer that follow'd me before, when I went to look for the two Bundles I had hid in the Buſhes, had been telling the Misfortune which he believ'd had befall'n me, and no Body queſtion'd but that the Souldiers had obſerv'd and follow'd me, and found the Treaſure I had ſo endeavour'd to conceal. Now I had an *Armenian* Servant at that time, whoſe Name was *Allaverdy*; (and I therefore name him, becauſe ſeveral of my Friends have ſeen him at *Paris* after my return from my firſt Travels, and for that his Fidelity to me at that time was ſo remarkable that I cannot forbear to mention it.) This poor honeſt Man follow'd me into the Garden; but I could not but wonder to ſee him throw his Arms about my Neck, with Tears in his Eyes: *Sir*, ſaid he, *we are ruin'd: Fear and our common Misfortune made us forget what we were.* I was a little ſcar'd at firſt, for I took him for ſome *Rakehel Mingrelian* that would have cut my Throat: but knowing him, I was mightily taken with the Mans Affection for me, and bid him forbear weeping. *But, Sir*, ſaid he, *have you lookt well?* I have lookt ſo well, ſaid I, that I am too well aſſur'd of my ill Luck. However, the Fellow would not be ſo ſatisfi'd, but deſir'd me to ſhew him the place as near as I could gueſs, and what courſe I had taken both to hide 'em before, and ſince to ſearch for 'em again. Which I did to ſatisfie a Servant, who ſhew'd himſelf ſo much concern'd for me, but for my own part, I lookt upon it to be ſo much Labour loſt, and therefore never thought it worth my time to help him. Moreover, it was by this time almoſt Night, and I was ſo poſſeſs'd

with Grief, and my Sorrows did ſo perplex me, that I was not ſenſible either what I did, whither I went, or what I felt. But I was amaz'd to find the Fellow come and hang about my Neck a ſecond time, who at the ſame time overjoy'd thruſt the two little Bundles into my Boſom. Nor is it to be imagin'd what a Change this Comfortable Return of my Servant wrought in my Mind. Though my Conſolation did not ſo much proceed from the Recovery of Six Thouſand Pounds, which I thought I had loſt, as to ſee the Care that Providence took of me, the Goodneſs of GOD, his Preſence, and his Aſſiſtance. This Conſideration reſtor'd me again to my ſelf in a moment; my preſent Condition neither troubl'd me, nor did the proſpect of future Miſchief diſturb me, but manifeſtly acknowledging that only GOD could have thus preſerv'd me, I conceiv'd ſuch an Aſſurance of his Preſervation, that has ſtill ſupported me in all my Diſtreſſes.

Thus having ſav'd the two High-Priz'd Packets, I made little accompt of what they might have taken out of my Cheſts; ſo that returning to my Chamber, I gave an accompt of my good ſucceſs to my Comrade, whom I found reſtoring to order the confuſion which thoſe Robbers had made; by which it appear'd that they had carry'd away only ſome few Cloaths, ſome Arms, Copper Veſſels, and other Trifles. There we agreed together, not to let any Body know that we had found the two little Bundles, to the end they might think we had nothing more of Value to loſe. Which prov'd to be very good Counſel. For the *Theatin*'s Servants, thought we had been utterly Rob'd. Tho thanks be to God, the whole that we loſt did not amount to above One Hunderd Pound.

The 24th in the Morning the Superiour of the *Theatins*, and the Lay Brother, carry'd me to the *Catholicos*, and the Prince to demand Juſtice, and would have had me carry'd to each a Preſent. I alleadg'd in vain, that it would look ſtrangely for us to complain of being Robb'd and Plunderd of all, aud yet to bring Preſents. But Cuſtom prevail'd, and I preſented to the *Catholicos*, a Knife, Spoon and Fork of Silver in one Caſe, with a Hat which he had ſent to requeſt of me. Which done, I ſhew'd him the Paſs and Command of the *Perſian* King, as alſo to the Prince: but I did not deliver to the Prince the Letter from the French Ambaſſador, in regard the *Theatins* did not think it proper. But neither the one nor the other gave me any ſatisfaction. The Prince told me, that in time of War (as now it happen'd to be) he was not Maſter of the No-

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bility. That at another time he would have done me Juſtice ſpeedily, and to the full: However he would endeavour the Reſtitution of what had been taken from me. The *Catholicos* told me the ſame Story, and in ſtead of aſſiſting me, began to preach me a Lecture of Conſolation. However, they made choice of two Gentlemen to go in their Names and demand what had been tak'n from us.

But the moſt conſiderable Thing that I got by this Days Work, was the Diſcovery which I made, that the *Dadian* or Prince had a ſhare in the foregoing Days Robbery, and that he had a third part of the Goods for himſelf. Which Diſcovery ſerv'd to make me underſtand the Nature of the Country where I was, and that the Dangers were the more inevitable that threaten'd us. After our departure, the two Gentlemen appointed to ſerve us, went along with us, and lay at our Houſe, where it was neceſſary to preſent 'em with ſomething at their Arrival. And they for their parts made a great ſhew as if they had rid about all the next Day, and the Day following to ſerve us; but all their Riding produc'd nothing: for the 26th in the Evening they return'd to tell us they could do us no good; nor could they look any farther, for that the *Turks* were enter'd *Mingrelia*, burnt and ſackt all before, and therefore they were oblig'd to return ſpeedily to their Maſters.

I was ſo accuſtom'd to ſuffer, that theſe ſame dreadful Tydings hardly mov'd me. But the *Theatins* were at their Wits end; foreſeeing that this Incurſion of the *Turks* would utterly ruine 'em: therefore both they and we prepar'd for flight. At the ſame Inſtant we heard two great Guns go off, which was a Signal from the Fortreſs of *Rucks* of the Enemies approach. Upon which Signal all the People betake themſelves to flight, carrying away with 'em into the Woods and Strong-Places whatever they are able.

The 27th by break of Day we began our Flight with the reſt: but I reſolv'd not to meddle with any thing that I had bury'd, or that I had hid in the Roof of the Houſe, which I held to be more ſecure then if I ſhould carry 'em along with me. The *Theatins* had only one Wagon drawn by two *Oxen*, and two Horſes to carry the whole Baggage belonging to the Houſe and two Childern: and as for the Horſes, the Lay-Brother rode upon one, and my Comrade on the other; who was then ſick, which very much retarded our Journey. Two *Theatin* Fryers and my ſelf follow'd the Wagon afoot; and

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the Slaves and the reſt of the Servants belonging to the Houſe follow'd us. So that there remain'd but one Fryer to look after it, and a Thouſand Things more which we could not carry away, for want of Conveniency. I my ſelf left all my Books, my Papers, and Mathematical Inſtruments behind me, believing that neither the *Turks* nor *Mingrelians* would trouble themſelves with 'em. The Father, who ſtaid behind, fled into the Woods in the Day-time, when he heard any Rumour of the Enemies coming, and return'd to the Houſe at Night. Now I have already obſerv'd, that the Wars of the *Mingrelians* and their Neighbours ſeldom laſt long, being no more then Inroads for Spoil and Plunder, the heat of which being over, the Enemy retreats back again: and therefore the Inhabitants always leave one or two Perſons in their Houſes, to prevent the Neighbours from pillaging the Corn, Wine, and other Proviſions which they cannot carry away. Which Perſons are ſometimes ſurpriz'd by the Enemy, but very rarely; for that they are always upon the Watch; and for that the Woods are ſo near and ſo thick, that they can eaſily run for't, and hide themſelves when any danger appears.

'Twas one of the moſt lamentable Things in the World to behold theſe poor People in their flight: Women lugging their Childern and their Bundles: Men ſtooping under the Burden of their Baggage: Here one driving his Cattel; another halling a Cart after him full of Houſholdſtuff. The Highways were ſtrew'd with People quite weary'd off their Legs, and ſo faint, that they were ready to die. Of Aged and Decrepit People and Childern not able to go, a great Number were to be ſeen crying out, and making lamentable Moans for Aſſiſtance. It was ſuch a ſpectacle of Lamentation, Miſery and Deſolation, that would have melted the Hearts of any but of thoſe Barbarians. Yet I muſt confeſs I was not much concern'd at it, not out of hard-heartedneſs, but becauſe my Compaſſion was all ſpent, my own Miſeries had ſo drain'd me, that I had none left for any Body elſe. Now the Place whither we made our Retreat was a Fortreſs in the Woods, like thoſe which I have already deſcrib'd; of which the Lord was call'd *Sabatar* a *Georgian*, who turn'd Mahumetan, and afterwards became a Chriſtian. He was alſo lookt upon to be leſs a Thief and leſs a Raſcal then the reſt: and we arriv'd at this Fortreſs after a tedious Journey of five Leagues in deep Mud and Dirt, out of which I could not think the Cart could ever have been drawn; which was the reaſon we

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were fore'd to load and unload twenty times by the way: nor would it be any News to tell ye, That I was twice very neat being pillag'd and loſing my Life; in regard I ran that hazard every Day. When we came to the Fortreſs, he that own'd it let us in, and receiv'd us kindly enough. For the *Theatins* had told him, That I was a Perſon that never receiv'd a Courteſie but I made a return for it. He lodg'd us in the place where the Oven ſtood, in a little ſcurvy Hutt, where we were no more ſhelter'd from the Weather then thoſe that lay i' the open Air; for it rain'd in on every ſide. However, it was a great Favour that we had it, and were not crowded as were an infinite Number of poor Wretches one upon another. For the Fortreſs was full of People when we arriv'd: there being in it no leſs then Eight Hunderd Perſons, Women and Childern for the moſt part.

But here, before I continue the farther Recital of my Misfortunes, give me leave to ſay ſomething of the Occaſion of this Incurſion of the *Turks*, and what I have learnt concerning the late *Mingrelian* Wars, and of the People of *Imiretta* and *Guriel*, in which their Formidable Neighbours the *Turk* and *Perſian* were engag'd. Therein you will find ſome Paſſages perhaps not unworthy the Remembrance of Hiſtory; and certainly 'tis a thing equally to be obſerv'd and wonder'd at, That ſuch ſmall and inconſiderable Kingdoms ſhould continually produce ſuch Tragick Revolutions. Nor ſhall I be accus'd to have injur'd the People of theſe Countries, while I tell ye how wicked they are, when you have read this part of my Story; ſince the bare Relation which I ſhall make in repreſenting 'em ſuch, will juſtifie me perhaps in the Judgment of my Readers.

The moſt Famous Prince that ever *Mingrelia* had, ſince it revolted from the King of *Imiretta*, was *Levan Dadian*, Uncle to him that Reigns at this preſent. He was Valiant, Generous, a Perſon of great Wit, indifferently juſt and more happy in his Undertakings. He made War upon his Neighbours and vanquiſh'd 'em all: and no queſtion but he would have made an excellent Prince, had he been born in a better Country. But the Cuſtom in his Country of Marrying ſeveral Wives, and thoſe near Relations, was that which tranſported him to ſuch Exceſſes as render'd him unworthy of all *Encomiums*.

He remain'd an Orphan almoſt as ſoon as he had out-liv'd his Infant Years: at what time his Father dying, left him to the Tuition of his Brother, who was Uncle by the Fathers ſide

to the Young Pupil, and call'd by the Name of *George*; the Soveraign Prince of *Libardian*, a Country that extends it ſelf a great way into Mount *Caucaſus*. This *George* faithfully diſcharg'd his Truſt in the Tuition of his Nephew. He bred him well, and prudently Govern'd *Mingrelia* during his Minority.

Levan being Twenty Four Years of Age, Eſpous'd the Daughter of the Prince of the *Abca's*, by whom he had two Sons; ſhe being a Lovely Princeſs, and a Woman of a great Wit. 'Tis true, ſhe was tax'd of being none of the moſt Faithful Wives, which perhaps might be in revenge of the Foul-play which her Husband openly play'd her every Day. Now among the reſt of the Women with whom he fell in Love, one was the VVife of *George* his Uncle, who had been his Tutor, and to whom he had been ſo highly oblig'd. This Lady went by the Name of *Darejan*, of a Conſiderable Family, which was call'd *Chilaké*. And as ſhe was extreamly beautiful, but wicked and ambitious beyond Imagination, ſhe was not only content to violate her Conjugal Fidelity, and for two Years together to live in an Inceſtuous League with the Prince her Nephew, but over-perſwaded him at the end of that ſeaſon to take her away by Force, repudiate his own VVife, and Marry her. *Levan* was over-rul'd by her: He took the Adultereſs by Force from her Husbands Houſe; He Marry'd her, and eight days after ſent home his firſt Wife ignominiouſly, without any Train, back to her Father, King of the *Abca's*, after he had caus'd her Noſe, her Ears and her Hands to be cut off. And the pretence which he took to excuſe ſo horrid a piece of Cruelty was, That ſhe had committed Adultery with the *Vizier*, whoſe Name was *Papona*. And the better to make People believe the truth of it, he caus'd this *Vizier* to be ſtopp'd into the Mouth of a *Cannon* at the ſame time that he maim'd his own VVife. However, all Men agreed, that there was nothing of Incontinence that had been committed between her and the *Vizier*; only that he ſacrific'd his VVife and his *Prime Miniſter* to the Hatred and Jealouſie of the *Chilakite*.

The Love of this wicked VVoman caus'd him to Sacrifice theſe Important Victims; but her Ambition forc'd him to offer up two more pretious Oblations. For *Levan* himſelf poyſon'd his two Sons which he had had by the *Princeſs* his VVife. The *Chilakite* perſwading him to this incredible Inhumanity, to

the end the Children which ſhe ſhould have by him might Reign more ſecurely.

Prince *George* had a great kindneſs for his Wife, as much an Adultereſs, and as wicked as ſhe was. So that her being tak'n from him by force threw him into a moſt furious deſpair. He perform'd the Ceremony of Mourning for her Forty Days, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, as if ſhe had been Dead; after which he betook himſelf to Arms, and fell into the Territories of the Prince his Nephew. But *Levan* was Valiant, and had good Souldiers about him, ſo that *George* was conſtrain'd to retire into his Mountains, where he died ſoon after for Grief and Vexation.

The Prince of the *Abca*'s alſo went about to revenge the Affront and Injury done him, in the Perſon of the Princeſs his Daughter, but with as ill ſucceſs. He rais'd Forces, began a War againſt the Prince of *Mingrelia*, and tho the conſequences of the War did not at all fall out to his Advantage, yet would he never make Peace or Truce with him, nor would he put an end to the War, till he underſtood the Death of his Barbarous Son-in-Law.

There was alſo a Third Enemy, more formidable but as unſucceſsful that would not ſuffer *Levan* to be at reſt. This was his own Brother call'd *Joſeph*, who engag'd himſelf ſo far in the juſt Reſentments of his Uncle *George* and the Prince of the *Abca*'s, that he reſolv'd to revenge their Quarrel, by cauſing the Criminal to be Murder'd. To that purpoſe he corrupted one of his Guards an *Abca* by Birth to Aſſaſſinate him; the Prince's Cup-Bearer being alſo Privy to the Conſpiracy. The Plot was ſo lay'd that *Joſeph* ſhould go and Dine at the Palace: that the *Abca* Guard ſhould ſtand behind him with a Lance in his Hand, and that when the Prince lifted to his Mouth one of thoſe great Beakers of Wine which the *Mingrelians* Drink at the end of the Meal, the Cup-Bearer ſhould make a ſign to the *Abca*, who was then to ſtrike him through the Body with his Lance. This Plot was within a little of being put in Execution, but fail'd when the ſtroak was ready to have been given, Divine Juſtice reſolving that *Levan*'s Crimes ſhould be his own Murderers and Executioners, which ſpar'd him a long time before they accompliſh'd it. For the Prince perceiv'd the ſign which the Cup-Bearer gave the Guard, and as it were inſpir'd, threw himſelf down from the place where he ſtood; ſo that the Lance never touch'd him at all. However the *Abca* eſcap'd, but the Cup-Bearer was ſeiz'd, put to the Rack, and diſmem-

diſmember'd after he had confeſs'd what he knew of the Plot. Prince *Joſeph* had his Eyes pull'd out, and dy'd ſoon after, leaving a Son, who is now Prince of *Mingrelia*.

Levan had by his Inceſtuous Conjunction two Sons, and one Daughter, who ſuffer'd every one for the Iniquity of their Father, being all Three Paralytick. No means were unſought for their Cure, but all in vain: their Diſtemper Non-pluſs'd all the Phyſitians in the Country, the *Theatins* and an Eminent *Greek* Phyſitian who was ſent for from *Conſtantinople*. The Youngeſt Son and the Daughter dy'd by that time they arriv'd at the Age of Twenty Years or there-about: but *Alexander* the Eldeſt Son liv'd longer, was Marry'd and had a Child; his Wife being the Daughter of the Prince of *Guriel*. Which one Son he had a Year after he was Marry'd, and then dy'd, while his Father was yet living.

Levan dy'd in the Year 1657. after whoſe Death the *Shilakite* was in ſuch high Credit, as to ſet up in his place a Son, which ſhe had by her firſt Husband, but which moſt People were aſſur'd was begot by *Levan*. But this Young Prince whoſe Name was *Vomeki*, did not Reign long. For the Vice-Roy of that part of *Georgia* which is under the Dominion of *Perſia*, diſpoil'd him of his Principality, and reinveſted in it *Levan*'s Lawful Heir, after he had invaded *Mingrelia*, and the Territories of *Imiretta*. Which Invaſion being an Accident that happens to be genuinely appoſite to this Recital, I ſhall only give a ſhort accompt of the occaſion.

The Deceas'd King of *Imiretta*, who was call'd *Alexander*, and who dy'd in the Year 1658. had Two Wives, the Firſt was the Daughter of the Prince of *Guriel* call'd *Tamar*, whom he divorc'd for her Adulteries, after he had had a Son and a Daughter by her. The Son, who was call'd *Bacrat Mirza* Reigns at this preſent King of *Imiretta*. The Daughter is Princeſs of *Mingrelia*, the ſame that I have giv'n ye ſuch an accompt of, that would have both Robb'd and Marry'd me to her Friend. The Second Wife which *Alexander* Marry'd was call'd *Darejan*, a Young Princeſs and Daughter of the Great and Famous *Taymur Razkan*, laſt Soveraign King of *Georgia*. He had no Childern by her, and left her a Widow after he had been Marry'd to her four Years. They talk Wonders of her Beauty and her alluring Graces. So ſoon as his Son-in-Law *Bacrat* came to the Throne, ſhe wou'd have had him to Marry her. *Bacrat* was not then above Fifteen Years of Age; ſo

that

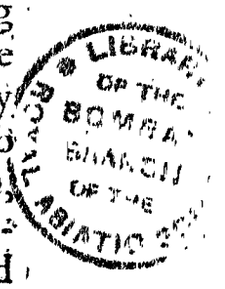
that the Charms of her Beauty could not make thoſe deep Impreſſions upon his Heart, as being ſo young that the Evil Cuſtoms of his Country had not yet corrupted him. VVhich was the Reaſon that he abhorr'd the Propoſal, and return'd diſdainful Anſwers to her Courtſhip. *Darejan* therefore finding ſhe could not ſupport her ſelf upon the Throne, immediately advanc'd to his Bed a young Perſon of Twelve Years of Age, her Kinſwoman, call'd *Siſtan Darejan*, the Daughter of *Daitona*, the Brother of *Taymur Razkan*, whom *Bacrat* Marry'd at Fifteen Years of Age, as has been already ſaid. So that *Darejan* aſſur'd her ſelf of the Soveraign Power, and of keeping the King and Queen continually under her Guardianſhip. But *Bacrat*, as young as he was, perceiv'd his Mother-in-Laws Deſign, and one Day gave her apparent Teſtimonies of his Diſguſt. Upon which *Darejan*, to ſatisfie *Bacrat*, aſſur'd him that ſhe would forbear to take any Authority upon her. Who being a good-natur'd well-meaning Prince, eaſily believ'd *Darejan*, and reſtor'd her to his former Confidence, not dreaming of the Treaſon that ſhe was meditating againſt him. To that purpoſe ſhe feign'd her ſelf ſick, and ſent for the King to come to her; who went accordingly with a great deal of Frankneſs and VVillingneſs; at what time certain People that ſhe had poſted in her Chamber, ſeiz'd and bound him. Preſently ſhe order'd him to be conveigh'd to the Fortreſs of *Cotatis*, the Principal City of the Country, the Governour of which place was her own Creature. Soon after ſhe came thither her ſelf; ſent for all the Grandees whom ſhe had gain'd to her Party, and of whom ſhe was aſſur'd, and with them conſulted for five Days together what to do with the King. Some advis'd her to put him to Death; others to pull out his Eyes: which latter advice ſhe follow'd, and ſo the Prince was depriv'd of his ſight. VVhich happen'd Eight Months after the Marriage of that poor Prince, which they ſaid moreover he had not fully then conſummated.

Among the reſt of the Lords that were of *Darejan*'s Party, there was one with whom ſhe was paſſionately in love, whoſe Name was *Vachtangle*. Him ſhe Marry'd, and caus'd him to be Crown'd King in the Fortreſs. Which highly incens'd the reſt of the Lords, who thought themſelves all affronted by his Advancement. Thereupon they fell off from ſiding with *Darejan*, joyn'd themſelves with the contrary Party, took Arms, and call'd to their Aſſiſtance the Princes of *Guriel* and *Mingrelia*, offering the Kingdom to which of the two ſhould

firſt come to their Aid. *Vomeki Dadian* was the firſt that appear'd in the Field with all the Forces of his Country; and ſoon reduc'd under his Subjection all that part which held for *Darejan*, except the Fort of *Cotatis*. However, he laid Siege to that alſo, but for want of Artillery, he could do little good againſt the Beſieged, only that he kept 'em from ſtirring forth out of their Walls; and it would have coſt him a long time before he could have brought 'em to a ſurrender, had it not been for the Politick Contrivance of a Lord of the Country, whoſe Name was *Ottia Chekaizè*, who brought that to paſs by his Wit, which they could not do with all their Force. He went to the Fortreſs full of a feign'd Deſpair, occaſion'd by the Prince of *Mingrelia*; he made *Darejan* believe that he was reduc'd to that extremity, that he knew not where to find a more ſecure Sanctuary: that he came to throw himſelf at her Feet, to beg her Pardon, and deſire her Protection againſt that Prince. *Darejan* fell into the Snare. She believ'd whatever *Ottia* ſaid, and that his extraordinary Zeal for her Intereſts was true. She admitted him into her Council, ſoon after encreas'd by the Biſhop of *Tifflis* and the *Catholicos* of *Georgia*, whom the Viceroy of that Country had ſent her, fearing leſt they in whom ſhe moſt confided ſhould betray her. But this ſame Runagate deceiv'd 'em both, as quick-ſighted as they were. He told *Darejan* in their hearing, That conſidering the Condition of her Affairs, there was no other way to expel the Prince of *Mingrelia*, to regain what he had won, and to Reign ſecurely, but to have recourſe to the *Turk*. That her beſt way was to ſend her Husband to *Conſtantinople* for Aſſiſtance, and the Confirmation of his Coronation: That the Kingdom of *Imiretta* was Tributary to the Port, and that the *Grand Signior* had both Right and Power ſufficient to reſtore the Country to Peace, and fix him in the Throne. *Darejan* was Charm'd by this Advice, and while he that gave it, offer'd to aſſiſt in the Management of it, and to Conduct *Vaclangle* to *Conſtantinople*, ſhe threw her ſelf at his Feet, not having Words enough to expreſs that Acknowledgment which ſhe had in her Heart. *Vaclangle* took only two Men along with him, to the end he might Travel with the more Security and Privacy. Thus being ſoon ready, the cunning *Ottia Chikaizè* his Guide, caus'd him to ſet forth out of the Fortreſs about Twilight, and carrying him through By-ways to bring him the more inſenſibly to the Beſiegers, brought him in leſs then an Hour into their Camp. The Prince of *Mingrelia* caus'd his Eyes forth-

 with

with to be pull'd out, and ſent that Night to *Darejan* to let her know that he had her Husband Priſ'ner, and that he had put out his Eyes. This News ſurpriz'd her ſo, that her Courage and Reſolution quite fail'd her, and in a ſhort time after ſhe ſurrender'd the Fortreſs, which was plunder'd from Top to Bottom. Inſomuch that it was certainly reported that the Prince of *Mingrelia* carry'd thence a very rich Booty, and among the reſt Twelve Wagons of Silver, Plate and Moveables. For, as it was ſaid, the Kings of *Imiretta* had heap'd together ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Plate, that every thing within the Palace was of Maſſie Silver, even to the Steps and Footſtools. Which is no difficult thing to believe in a plentiful Country, and where there is a good Trade, and adjoyning to Countries which were formerly very Wealthy, and where it appears that Money was not then in uſe, there being very little that is ſtirring at preſent. The Prince of *Mingrelia* alſo carry'd away along with him the King and Queen of *Imiretta*, the wicked *Darejan*, and the unfortunate *Vaſtangle* her Husband; but to the Viceroy of *Georgia* he generouſly return'd the two Prelates which he had ſent to the Princeſs to be her Privy Counſellors.



The Viceroy of *Georgia* is call'd *Shanavas Can*; being deſcended alſo from the laſt Soveraign Princeſs of that Country: but he turn'd *Mahumetan* to make himſelf capable of enjoying the Viceroyſhip under the *Perſian*. He has only two Lawful Wives, who are both Chriſtians, of which the one is call'd *Mary* the Siſter of *Levan* Prince of *Mingrelia*, who gave the firſt occaſion to this Relation: This Lady when ſhe underſtood how the deteſtable *Shilakite* had excluded the lawful Heir in favour of a Son which ſhe had before ſhe was Marry'd to *Levan*, daily importun'd the Prince her Husband to undertake her Nephews Cauſe, and to ſettle him in the poſſeſſion of his Principality, to which he was the true and lawful Heir. But the Viceroy would not act Hand over Head by force in this Affair. For *Mingrelia* being Tributary to the *Turk*, he durſt not declare open Hoſtility againſt that Country, without the knowledge and conſent of the King of *Perſia*. But at length a favourable opportunity offer'd it ſelf. For ſo ſoon as the Prince of *Mingrelia* was enter'd into the Kingdom of *Imiretta*, as has been already ſaid, *Darejan* who was near Kinſ-woman to the *Georgian Viceroy*, and had been bred up in his Houſe, and *Vaſtangle* her Husband, ſent and offer'd the Kingdom to *Archylas* his Eldeſt Son, if he would come and drive out the *Mingrelians*. The *Viceroy* made this

this offer known to the King of *Perſia*, and aſſur'd him withal that he would add that Kingdom and *Mingrelia* to his Empire, if he would but give him leave to Conquer 'em. To which when his Majeſty had ſent him his conſent, he muſter'd all his Forces and march'd toward *Imiretta*. But he was no ſooner enter'd the Kingdom, when news was brought him that a great *Georgian* Lord, taking the advantage of his abſence, was up in Arms, and preparing to ranſack all the Country. Upon which he march'd back again with all his Forces againſt the Rebel, defeated and put him to Death, and then return'd toward *Imiretta*.

The Grandees of the Kingdom that invited him in, had rais'd Four Thouſand Men, which was a great Army for a Country ſo bounded as that, and this number too Augmented every Day, ſome flocking out of fear of His Power, others allur'd by the charming Fame of his Valour. So that he found little or no Reſiſtance either in *Imiretta* or *Mingrelia*. Prince *Vomeki* retir'd amongſt the *Souanes* into the Fortreſſes of Mount *Caucaſus*, inacceſſible to the Cavalry. So that the *Georgian* Prince had nothing to do but to Ranſack; and he carry'd away a very Rich Booty out of both Countries. They report that it was there that he plunder'd the greateſt part of the Gold and Silver Plate, of which his Houſe is full. He ſettl'd in *Mingrelia* his Nephew, *Levan*'s Grand-Child, to whom the Principality belong'd of Right, and affianc'd him to one of his Nieces whom he promis'd to ſend him. Which done, he caus'd his Son *Archylus* to be Crown'd King of *Imiretta*; but he knew not how to be rid of *Vomeki*. For he was unwilling to leave him a Fugitive in the Mountains where he was retir'd, fearing leſt when he was gone, he ſhould come down from the Mountains, and diſturb the unſettled affairs of Princes hardly warm in their Thrones. But a Grandee of *Imiretta* whoſe Name was *Kotzia*, put him out of that pain. For he wrote to the *Souanes*, that the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* deſir'd to rid himſelf abſolutely of *Vomeki*: that he would give 'em great Rewards and Immunities if they brought him his Head: but if they deny'd to gratifie him in ſo ſmall a Matter, he threaten'd their Country with Fire and Sword. The *Souanes* therefore readily condeſcended, and having ſlain *Vomeki*, ſent his Head to the *Georgian* Prince. Which done he retreated, and carry'd along with him the two Blind Princes *Bacrat*, and *Vaktangle*; to the end no Friend of theirs in his abſence might be embolden'd to undertake any new diſturbances in their Favour; and left the

Princeſſes

Princeſſes their Wives at *Cotatis*. Which Inhuman ſeparations he made for the ſake of his Son the King of *Imiretta*; who became ſo deſperately in Love with *Bacrat*'s Wife, that he reſolv'd to take her from her Husband and Marry her.

After the departure of the *Viceroy of Georgia*, ſeveral Grandees of *Imiretta* conſpir'd againſt their new Soveraign. For ſome had been ill us'd; others could not brook the Power and high advancement of *Kotzia*, whom *Archylus*'s Father had appointed to be his Sons Prime Miniſter, nor his Domineering Haughtineſs and ſeverity towards 'em. Thereupon they wrote to the *Baſha* of *Akalzike*, that they wonderd to ſee him ſit ſtill with ſo much indifferency, while the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* ravag'd a Kingdom and Principality Tributary to the *Turks*; nay, reduc'd 'em under his Subjection, and carry'd away their Lawful Princes Pris'ners, and ſet up in their Places his own Friends and Kindred. That therefore they beſought him to let 'em know, whether it were the *Port* that abandon'd 'em to the Capricious Humours of the *Perſians*; or whether it were the Dread of their Forces, that ty'd his Hands at a time when the Honour and Intereſt of the *Grand Signior* lay at Stake. To which the *Baſha* return'd for anſwer, That he had ſent Intelligence to the *Port* of the Invaſion made by the *Georgian Viceroy*, and expected Orders every Hour; which when he ſhould receive, he would let 'em know what was neceſſary to be done. Soon after he wrote word that his Orders were come; and that as ſoon as the Forces which the *Baſha*'s of *Erzerom* and *Carrs* (both *Provinces* of *Armenia*) had Inſtructions to ſend him, ſhould be joyn'd with his, he would deliver 'em from the *Georgian* Yoke. That in the mean time they ſhould get ready to joyn with him with all the Forces they could raiſe, and that they ſhould cauſe *Kotzia* to be murder'd, for fear his Forces, his Prudence and his Reputation ſhould put a ſtop to the Enterprize, and that by his Death the new King of *Imiretta* might be without any Counſellor to aſſiſt him.

The Chief Conſpirators were the Grand Steward of the Houſhold, and Biſhop *Janatelle*; who alſo admitted into their Plot one of *Kotzia*'s Gentlemen; promiſing him withal the Grand Maſter's Daughter in Marriage, and to prevail with the *Turkiſh Baſha*, that he ſhould have all his Maſter *Kotzia*'s Land, if he would but undertake to kill him, and perform it effectually: Which Conditions the perfidious Villain accepted, and one Night Aſſaſſinated his Maſter, at what time a certain Purge that he had tak'n wrought upon his Body.

This bold Stroak diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, caus'd all the Grandees of *Imiretta* to ſtand to their Arms, haſten'd the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè*'s March, and put the King into an extraordinary Trouble and Conſternation. Preſently he gave advice of what had happen'd to his Father the Viceroy of *Georgia*. Who ſent him Inſtructions and Counſellors, and aſſur'd him, he would come in a little time with an Army to his Aſſiſtance. But the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè* would not ſtay for his coming; for he fell into *Imiretta* with that ſwiftneſs, that the young Prince had much ado to eſcape his Avant-Couriers, and to ſave himſelf. He went to his Father, where in a few days Intelligence was brought him, that the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè* had put a Gariſon into the Fortreſs of *Cotatis*, the Capital City of *Imiretta*, and that he was Maſter of the whole Country. Upon which the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* turn'd back, not daring to act any thing againſt the *Turks* without the King of *Perſia*'s Orders.

As for the Orders which the *Baſha* had receiv'd from the *Grand Signior*, the purport of 'em was, That ſince the People of *Imiretta* and *Mingrelia* made uſe of their Liberty only to deſtroy one another, he ſhould take from 'em all the Strong Places he could. The *Baſha* had kept his Inſtructions very ſecret; and having by a Stratagem got admittance into the Caſtle of *Cotatis*, he made himſelf Maſter of it, and furniſh'd it with a good Gariſon. Afterwards he ſent for all the Nobility and Gentry of the Country, and made 'em ſwear Fealty to the new King which he gave 'em, who was the Son of the Prince of *Guriel*, at that time a *Berre*, or Monk of the Order of St. *Baſil*; but he quitted his Monaſtical Habit, and was Crown'd King.

While the *Baſha* was thus diſpoſing of the Petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*, the Prince of *Mingrelia* came to waite upon him, with the offer of his Head, and Tender of his Subjection to the *Grand Signior*'s Commands. That he was and would ſtill continue a Tributary to the Court; and that the Prince of *Georgia* in eſtabliſhing him, had done no more then reſtor'd him the Patrimony of his Anceſtors, which appertain'd to him of Right. The *Baſha* was appeas'd by his Submiſſion, and by the great Preſents which he brought along with him. So that he confirm'd him in his Principality, and then return'd to *Akalzike*, carrying along with him the Wretched *Darejan*, and the Queen of *Imiretta*, whom the Unfortunate *Archilus* had not time to get into his poſſeſſion.

This happen'd in the Year 1659. at what time the Turkiſh *Baſha* had no ſooner turned his Back, but the Grandees of *Imiretta*, out of their natural Treachery and Inconſtancy, refus'd to obey their new King. Thereupon they ſent Commiſſioners to the *Viceroy* of *Georgia*, with their Complaints againſt him; and conjur'd him, to ſend 'em back *Bacrat*, as Blind as he was. The *Georgian* Prince was afraid that this demand was no more then only an Artifice of their Treachery, and therefore to aſcertain himſelf of the Truth, he made Anſwer, That if the Grandees of *Imiretta* were really, as they ſaid they were, incens'd againſt their new Maſter, and reſolv'd to dethrone him, that they ſhould pull out his Eyes, and that then when he was aſſur'd they had done it, he would ſend away *Bacrat*: Which Conditions were accepted and punctually perform'd both on one ſide and t' other. The Grandees of *Imiretta* pull'd out their Kings Eyes, and ſent him back to the Prince of *Guriel* his Brother; and the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* ſent 'em *Bacrat*, after he had affianc'd him to one of his Nieces, Siſter to her, whom he had given to the Prince of *Mingrelia*.

This latter was very Young, and *Bacrat* was Blind: ſo that their principal Officers Govern'd; and thence it came to paſs that the Prime Miniſters of *Mingrelia* and *Imiretta* had continual Quarrels one with another, wherein they engag'd their Maſters, and oblig'd 'em to make War one upon another. In which Conteſt the *Mingrelian* was Vanquiſh'd and taken Priſoner with his Wife, whom the *Viceroy* of *Georgia* had ſent him not above two Months before, and a report was afterwards ſpread abroad, that he had not conſummated the Marriage. She is very fair and very well ſhap'd, and tho I have ſeen many handſome Women in her Country, I never beheld a more charming Creature. She is moſt ſurely guilty of all the Paſſions that a Lovers Breaſt can feel. For ſuch are the Glances of her paſſionately Tender and Languiſhing Eyes, that ſhe never looks but to command Love, and inſpire hope. In a word, the Air of her Countenance and all her diſcourſes are irreſiſtable Allurements. So that Biſhop *Janatelle*, who is one of the greateſt Lords in all *Imiretta*, was taken with her at firſt ſight. Who being very Rich, ply'd her with Preſents, and gain'd her ſo entirely, that now ſhe ſticks cloſe to him, and that ſo publickly, as if they were Man and Wife. And indeed the cunning which this Prieſt made uſe of to retain this lovely Pris'ner ſtill in *Imiretta*, was more then uſual, and a very pleaſant Contrivance. For he made the King his Maſter, the

poor

poor Blind *Bacrat*, in Love with her, by means of the dayly Encomiums of her Beauty which he continually peal'd in his Ears, and when he had kindl'd his Flame, he lay'd before him a kind of neceſſity of Marrying her. *Your Majeſty*, ſaid he, *has loſt your Wife, as being carry'd away by the Baſha of* Akalzike, *ſo that GOD knows what is become of her. The* Viceroy *of* Georgia's *Niece, to whom you are affianc'd, is an Infant, ſo that it will be a long time before you can be Marry'd to her. And therefore your Majeſty will do well to eſpouſe the Princeſs of* Mingrelia, *nor can you any where Marry another, that has more Beauty, or more Wit.* And thus the King being over-rul'd, follow'd his Counſel, never conſidering that he acted more for the Intereſt of his Advizer then his own. And as for the Princeſs ſhe was glad of the Bargain.

'Tis well known that the Prince of *Mingrelia* lov'd her entirely, and that he would never conſent to ſurrender her to the King of *Imiretta*. And therefore an Expedient was found out to take her away under the pretence of Juſtice, which was this. The King of *Imiretta* had her Siſter with him; being at that time a Widow; and it was propos'd to her to make her Princeſs of *Mingrelia*, in ſtead of her that was ſo already, provided ſhe could but allure the Prince, and ſo order it, as that he ſhould be ſurpriz'd in her Bed. She being the Siſter of a King, Young, Cunning, and Handſom, with little or no trouble eaſily debauch'd a Young, Simple and Captive Prince. So that being both taken in Bed together, the Prince was forc'd to Marry her immediately, and at the ſame time the King of *Imiretta* eſpous'd the Princeſs of *Mingrelia*. Theſe two Marriages thus accompliſh'd, the *Mingrelian* had his Liberty, and was reſtor'd to his Country, after he had ſworn upon all the Images, never to repudiate his new Spouſe, nor to Marry any other, ſo long as ſhe liv'd.

But ſo ſoon as he was return'd into his Country, deſire of Revenge tranſporting him, he Challeng'd alike both the *Turk* and the *Perſian*. He ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Viceroy of *Georgia*, and the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè*, Complaining of the Invaſion which the King of *Imiretta* had made into his Country, and of his taking from him his Wife. The *Baſha* was at that time highly provok'd againſt the People of *Imiretta*, for their Treachery, Rebellion and Cruelty to the King which he had appointed for their Soveraign. The Prince of *Guriel* alſo, Brother to that Unfortunate Prince, loudly demanded Juſtice. And the Cruel *Darejan* inflam'd his Revenge with all her might;

might; and urg'd him to extend it to the utmoſt Rigour that ſuch deteſtable Inhumanities deſerv'd. Now ſhe was lovely, as I have already ſaid, and her Beauty ſtrangely reinforc'd her Arguments. Inſomuch that the *Baſha* promis'd to reſtore her to the Throne of *Imiretta*, together with her Husband, if ſhe could get him out of *Georgia* where he was a Priſ'ner, in the Cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of *Gori*; from whence the wily *Darejan* found a way to have him ſtoll'n and brought to *Akalzikè*. So ſoon as he was arriv'd, the *Baſha* took 'em both along with him in his March to *Imiretta*; where he ſackt and ruin'd after a moſt terrible manner all before him. Whereupon the King and Queen fled to a Fortreſs call'd *Ratchia*, ſeated in an inacceſſible part of the Mountains. After that, the *Baſha* reſtor'd *Darejan* and her Husband to the Throne, and caus'd all the Grandees, and all the People to ſwear Fealty to him; and ſo taking Hoſtages, he return'd with a great Number of Slaves; but little other Booty, in regard it had been no leſs then the third time in five Years that that poor Country had been pillag'd, plunder'd and ranſack'd by the *Perſians*, and their other Neighbours.

As for the wicked *Darejan*, ſhe was deſtin'd to be ruin'd by her exceſs of Confidence. One of her great Lords having lull'd her into a beſotted Credulity, had plung'd her, as I have already related, into one of the moſt miſerable Conditions that could befal a Woman of her Quality; and now another by the ſame means brought her to the moſt Tragick end in the World. This was the moſt perfidious Traytor and Murderer of the Prime Miniſter *Cotzia*, who was alſo call'd by the ſame Name. For the Murder he had committed had rais'd him to great Preferment. Now this Perſon never came near the *Baſha* to pay him his Homage, becauſe he had been of the Faction contrary to *Darejan*; and was therefore afraid of being ſacrific'd. However, he wrote to the Princeſs, as ſoon as the *Turks* were retreated, and ſent her word, that *Bacrat*, and they by whom the Prince ſtill ſuffer'd himſelf to be Govern'd, had put upon him ſo many ingrateful Slights and Affronts, that he would be their vow'd Enemy as long as he liv'd: That if ſhe would engage to reſtore him to the *Baſha*'s Favour, and to all his Lands that had been Confiſcated, and to inveſt him in the Eſtate of the High Steward of *Bacrat*'s Houſhold, he would deliver into her Hands both *Bacrat* and his Wife. All which ſhe promis'd to perform; and then the Traytor came and ſubmitted himſelf to her. At what time the *Princeſs* was

ſo over-haſty, that nothing would ſerve her but ſhe would preſently beſtow upon him all the Marks of Favour and Reconciliation, Friendſhip and Confidence, which are moſt uſual in that Country between Men and Women. She adopted him therefore, and gave him the end of her Nipple to ſuck. Which is a Cuſtom not only in *Mingrelia*, *Georgia* and *Imiretta*, but alſo in other the Neighbouring Countries, to adopt in that manner ſuch Perſons as they cannot unite to themſelves by Alliance. The Traytor having this Pledge of *Darejan*'s Faith, wrote to *Bacrat* to come with all his Party, and he would deliver both her and her Husband into their Hands, either alive or dead. Now the ſame Day that *Bacrat* was to appear, the perfidious *Cotzia* kept his Bed, pretended himſelf ſick, and ſent to *Darejan* to vouchſafe him the Honour of a Viſit, for that he had ſecret Intelligence to impart of that Importance, that he would not communicate to any but her ſelf. Thus wheedl'd, away ſhe went, attended only by ſome of her Women: but as ſhe was ſitting by the Traytor's Bed, certain Fellows hid in the Room, fell upon her, and ſeiz'd her Perſon, her Women in vain endeavouring to protect her. Yet there was one who took the *Princeſs* in her Arms, and run her up into a Corner of the Room, where ſhe ſtuck by her, till the Murderers ſtabb'd 'em both. With that *Cotzia* roſe, and went with his Gang, where *Darejan*'s Husband lodg'd; a poor blind Man, uncapable of making any Reſiſtance. Him therefore they ſeiz'd, and *Cotzia* order'd him to be bound and kept till *Bacrat* came. Who was no ſooner arriv'd, but he demanded the Priſ'ner, and hearing him approach, *Traytor*, ſaid he, *thou wert the Occaſion of putting out my Eyes, and I will tear out thy Heart.* And ſo ſaying, he order'd himſelf to be carry'd near the Priſ'ner, and then groping for his Breaſt, he gave him ſeveral Stabs with his Dagger. His Followers compleated the Murther by ripping open his Breaſt, and gave the poor Captive's Heart into the Hands of the bloody ſightleſs *Prince*, who for above an Hour held it in his Clutches, graſping and tearing it with an unheard-of Tranſport of Fury.

These Barbarous Tragedies happen'd in the Year 1657, from which time till the Year 1672, there fell out a Hunderd more in the ſame Countries, altogether as Infamous and Inhumane: and therefore I paſs 'em over in ſilence, as being Stories rather frightful then pleaſing to the Ear. I ſhall only add thus much, that the Traytor *Cotzia* was himſelf alſo Treacherouſly ſlain; and in a ſhort time after the Aſſaſſins themſelves

were alſo kill'd at the Battel of *Chicaris*, which is a great Village within ſight of *Scander*, a Fortreſs of *Imiretta*, where the Forces of that Country, and the Prince of *Mingrelia* met. By which we may find there is a Viſible Providence in the Modern Hiſtories of theſe Impious People; upon whom Heav'n ſtill inflicted ſuch ſevere and ſpeedy Juſtice: while the Murderers are always Aſſaſſinated, and with thoſe Circumſtances which plainly demonſtrate that God had a Hand in it, and made the one his Inſtruments to puniſh the other.

In the Year 1672, the *Baſha* of *Akalzike*, perceiving there was no end of Warring between thoſe two Petty Soveraigns of *Mingrelia* and *Imeretta*, neither by Accommodations nor Remonſtrances, nor by Commands or Threats, reſolv'd to exterminate 'em, and give their Country to others that better deſerv'd it. He had then in his Poſſeſſion the true and Lawful Heir of *Mingrelia*. For when *Vomeki Dadian* was advanc'd to the Throne of that Kingdom, the Wife of *Alexander* the Son of *Levan*, fearing leſt the Ambitious *Chilakite*, the Mother of *Vomeki* ſhould Murder *Alexander's* Son, ſhe fled and carry'd the Infant with her. This Princeſs was Siſter to the Prince of *Guriel*, who apprehenſive alſo leſt the *Chilakites* fury ſhould bring a War upon him, if he ſhould ſhelter the little Infant, adviz'd her to carry him to the *Baſha* of *Akalzike*. Which ſhe did; ſo that the young Prince was brought up in the City of *Akalzike*, under the Eye of the *Baſha* himſelf. Who never deſir'd him to change his Religion; believing it ſufficient to give him ſuch an Education as ſhould infuſe into him a deep Tincture of the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Turks*. Upon theſe conſiderations therefore the *Baſha* of *Akalzike* reſolv'd to ſettle this young Prince in *Mingrelia*; as well in regard the Principality belong'd to him as his Right, as for that he had ſome reaſon to hope that he would Govern it well, and root out thoſe abominable Cuſtoms that had over run it: and this was the reaſon of the coming of the *Turks* into *Mingrelia*. The Prince of *Guriel* alſo joyn'd with the *Baſha*, as being overjoy'd at the advancement of his Nephew, to the Soveraignty: for he was in hopes of a Thouſand Advantages from the ſucceſs of this Enterprize. Preſently the *Baſha* Thunder's into *Imiretta*, and makes himſelf Maſter of the Country; and of the Perſon of the King. But the Queen his Spouſe was not ſeiz'd. For her Biſhop *Janatel*, gave Fifteen Thouſand Crowns to the *Baſha* that he might have Liberty to carry her where

where he pleas'd; and that he might have the favour to preserve his own Lands and Tenements, from spoil and Ransack.

When the *Basha* came to *Cotatis*, he sent to the *Dadian*, which is the Title given to the Prince of *Mingrelia*, to come and pay him Homage. But the *Dadian*, understanding the Alteration of Government which he intended to make in *Mingrelia*, refus'd to obey him, and shut himself up in his Fortress of *Rucks*. His *Vizier Carzia* fled into *Lexicom*, which is a Principality in the Mountains inhabited by the *Sounes*, and from thence sent to the *Abca's* to succour *Dadian*. 'Tis true, they march'd into *Mingrelia*, but instead of assisting the Prince, they pillag'd all the Country in their March, and then retreated back again. As for the *Basha*, after he had stay'd a Month in vain, expecting the *Dadians* coming to pay him Homage, and receive his Orders, he sent his Army into *Mingrelia*. And the noise of the march of this Army it was, that oblig'd me to betake my self to flight.

The 27th before Day, the Superiour of the *Theatins* left us, and return'd home to his House to see if he could remove any thing of that Houshold Stuff and Provisions which remain'd behind. I would have been glad to have accompany'd him upon the same design; but he was gone two Hours before Day. But when he came to his House, he found it full of the *Basha's*, and the Prince of *Guriel's* avant-Couriers, who entertain'd him but very rudely with their Cudgels and Iron Maces. These Free-Booters would have had him open'd the Church, pretending he had hid his Goods in it. But the Superiour had warily thrown the Key among the Bushes when he first perciev'd the Souldiers, so that notwithstanding all the Violence they could offer him, he deny'd he had it, and would never discover where it was. At length the *Turks* having some Consideration for his Character, took from him a part of his Habits, and carry'd away only some slight things of the greatest Value they found in the House, not so much as meddling either with my Books or my Papers.

But the 29th at Night came a Gentleman of *Mingrelia* with a Party of Thirty Followers, and cut all to pieces. He uncover'd almost all my Chamber, believing I had hidd'n many Things in it. He carry'd away the Remainder of the Copper Ware, my Chests, and large Moveables; and in a word, whatever the *Turks* and I had left, as being of no great Value, and heavy for Carriage beside. This Tygre, as I said,

came

came by Night, and therefore for want of a Candle he ſet Fire on my Papers and Books, and tore off the Covers, becauſe they were Gilt, and mark'd with Coats of Arms. For I had cauſed my Books to be very curiouſly Bound at my departure from *Paris*. But they left me not ſo much as a Sheet of Paper.

The 30th in the Morning I had notice of my being Plunder'd, to my unſpeakable ſorrow. And in the Evening came a Turkiſh *Chiaux* to the Fortreſs where I was, to let us know that he came from the *Baſha*. *Sabatar* (for ſo was the Gentleman call'd to whom it belong'd, as I have already declar'd) went forth to receive the Meſſage. Which imported, that the *Baſha*'s Lieutenant who lay before the Fortreſs of *Rucks* admir'd, that he did not come and ſubmit himſelf to him, and pay him his Homage, ſince that *Mingrelia* belong'd to the *Grand Signior*; that the *Baſha* had order'd that they ſhould be civilly us'd, who joyn'd themſelves with the *Turks*; but that they ſhould be dealt with as Enemies, who refus'd to ſubmit: that if he intended to ſave his Eſtate, his Life, his Caſtle, and all that was in it, he ſhould make haſte to receive the *Baſha*'s Orders. To which *Sabatar* made Anſwer, that he acknowledg'd the *Baſha* for his Lord, and that in his Heart he was a *Turk* and not a *Mingrelian*; that he had reſolv'd to attend the *Baſha*, ſo ſoon as he underſtood that it was proper for him to attend his Lordſhip; and now that he underſtood that his Lieutenant lay before *Rucks*, he would go the next Morning to receive his Orders.

The 31ſt the Gentleman went with Thirty Men well Arm'd to wait upon the *Baſha*'s Lieutenant, carrying along with him a Preſent of Four Slaves, a Silver Cup, together with a Quantity of Silk, Wax and Vittles for Refreſhment: That Evening he arriv'd at the Camp, where he found ſeveral Lords of *Mingrelia*, who were come, as he was, to ſubmit themſelves for fear of being Beſieg'd, and of having their Caſtles and Lands plunder'd and demoliſh'd. The Lieutenant told him that the Orders which his Maſter had receiv'd from the *Grand Signior* his Maſter, were to deſtroy all the ſtrong places in *Mingrelia*, however that he would preſerve the Caſtles of thoſe Lords as preſerv'd themſelves in their Loyalty and Obedience. That the *Grand Signior* had taken away the Principality from Levan, who was at *Rucks*, and had confer'd it upon a Young Prince, who was bred up at *Akalziké*, and that he muſt owe Allegiance to him, and give one of his Children in Hoſtage for his Fidelity; and make a Preſent to the *Baſha*.

Now the Preſent which *Sabatar* agreed to make, was Ten Young Slaves of both Sexes, and Three Hunderd Crowns either in Silver or in Silk.

The Firſt of *October*, *Sabatar* return'd, and brought along with him a Protection from the *Turk*, for his Caſtle and for all his Lands. All that night he beſtirr'd himſelf to get ready the Preſent which he was to carry. To which purpoſe he ſignifi'd to all that were fled for Refuge to his Caſtle or Fortreſs, that the *Turks* had given him a Protection, for Twenty Five Slaves, and Eight Hunderd Crowns, which he muſt Levy upon thoſe that were retir'd under his ſecurity. So that from every Family that had Four Childern he took one: which was the moſt lamentable ſpectacle in the World, to ſee little Childern torn from the Arms of their Mothers, ty'd two and two together, and carry'd away to the *Turks*: For my own part I was tax'd at Twenty Crowns.

However, *Sabatar* did not carry any more to the *Baſha's* Lieutenant, then what they two had agreed between themſelves: the reſt he appropriated to himſelf. Nor could his Wives, his Childern and all the Caſtle forbear loud Cries of ſorrow when they ſaw his Young Son carry'd away among the reſt. For thoſe Childern which are given in Hoſtage to the *Turk*, are no leſs his Slaves: He never parts with 'em; as being uſually ſent to *Conſtantinople*, to encreaſe the Multitude of thoſe handſome young Childern that are bred up in the *Seraglio*. The *Baſha's* Lieutenant receiv'd the Preſent and the Hoſtage, and ſtill detain'd *Sabatar* with him nevertheleſs. He alſo ſummon'd the *Dadian* Three times to ſurrender, but the Prince refus'd. For his Fortreſs was well guarded by the *Souanes*, which his Vizier had ſent him, and who were more the Maſters of it then himſelf: beſides that the Vizier ſent him word every Day that he ſhould hold out, and that he would be ready in a ſhort time to pour down upon the Enemy. At laſt the *Turks* after they had ſtay'd about Five Days before *Rucks*, and got above Two Thouſand Slaves and much Booty, rais'd their Siege: for they had no great Guns, which was the reaſon they did not attack the Caſtle. They alſo carry'd along with 'em all the *Mingrelian* Lords that came to ſurrender themſelves, and had ſworn Allegiance to the new Prince. The *Catholicos* was among the number of thoſe that had taken the Oath. Whom the *Baſha* order'd to be ſent to the new Prince, and that they ſhould ſend in his name to demand of the *Abca's*, to demand the Princeſs his Daughter in Marriage.

It was thought that the coming of the *Turk* into *Mingrelia*, would have reſettl'd all things in order, and reſtor'd Peace and Tranquillity, by cauſing all Parties to lay down their Arms. But it did not ſo fall out: they only came and plunder'd the Country; but put it into more confuſion then it was before. For they divided it into two Parties; of which the one was engag'd by Oath and Hoſtages to the new Prince, the other ſtuck faſt to their depos'd Soveraign: Which Diviſion made every one betake themſelves to their Arms. Seeing therefore the Affairs of the Country in this miſerable condition ſo far from any Accommodation, I took a reſolution to get into *Georgia* by any manner of way, or whatever the hazard might be. For I ran thoſe Riſco's every Day in *Mingrelia*, that I expected nothing at length but to be utterly ruin'd. *Levan* threatn'd Ruine and Deſtruction to the Caſtles, Goods and Lands of the Lords who had ſurrender'd to the *Turks*: *Sabatar* was ſtill in Cuſtody: and his Sons that commanded in the Caſtle, were the greareſt Cut-throats and accompliſh'd Rogues in the World. I languiſh'd every Day with ſorrow and want. It was a Man's whole buſineſs to buy a handful of Grain, and a Pound of Vittles; and I ſuffer'd in my Oven all the Injuries of Weather, as if I had been in the open Field: the deſpair of my Servants went to my Heart; in a word, I was at the brink of Death. Which was that which induc'd me to venture all hazards to get my ſelf rid of *Mingrelia*, while I had ſtrength and Ability to do it. To that purpoſe I ſought every where for Guides; promis'd, entreated, lay'd down my Money, but nothing would do; there was no body that would be my Conductor. The Armies they ſaid, lay ſo thick upon the Roads of *Imiretta*, the Country between *Mingrelia* and *Georgia*, [illegible] neceſſity to paſs, that it was a meer [illegible] man was aſſur'd he could not eſcape [illegible] and theſe were all the Anſwers they [illegible] the fetching a Compaſs either over [illegible] the Sea Coaſt, but no body would

[illegible] to think how fearful the *Mingrelians* [illegible] undone; there is no Reward can [illegible] the Riſco of a known Danger, how [illegible] be. At length I was conſtrain'd to [illegible] and through *Turkey*, that is to ſay, to [illegible] Leagues. To that purpoſe I went [illegible] and ſmall Sea-Port, of which I have already

already ſpok'n. There I found a Felouque of the *Turks*; which I hir'd for *Gonia:* ſo that when I had giv'n Earneſt, I return'd to the *Theatins* Houſe, and to *Sabatar's* Caſtle, to prepare for my Voyage.

The Tenth of *November* early in the Morning I departed from the Caſtle, having agreed with my Comrade what ways I would take to recover him out of *Mingrelia*, if it pleas'd GOD to grant me a happy Voyage. I carry'd along with me Eight Thouſand Pounds in Jewels, and Eight Hunderd Piſtols in Gold, with the few ſmall Packs that were left me. The Jewels were hid in a Saddle contriv'd for that purpoſe, and in a Pillow: and I took a Servant along with me, the ſame whom I had redeem'd out of Slavery. This was a conceal'd Rogue; a Traytor whoſe Villany was not well diſcover'd by me. I was advis'd not to take him along with me for fear of ſome Impoſition, or ſome wicked Trick that his very Countenance told 'em he would play me; nor was I well reſolv'd with my ſelf to be troubl'd with him; but my Fortune would have it ſo, and I could not prevent it. But the Reaſons that prevail'd with me more then any other to take him, was, that he brook'd his bad Condition like one that was mad or in deſpair; and I was afraid leſt in one of his mad or drunk'n Fits (to which he was ſubject) he ſhould diſcover us in *Mingrelia.* Fryer *Zampi*, the Superiour of the *Theatins*, bore me Company as he had done all along. And the Lay-Brother undertook to Conduct me to *Anarghia.* The Superiour and I went afoot, becauſe we could not meet with more then one Horſe to be hir'd for Money, upon which I loaded my Goods, and let my Servant ride to look after 'em. The Lay-Brother was alſo a Horſeback, and it rain'd as hard as it could pour after two days; inſomuch that the Fryer had like to have been drown'd about a League from the Caſtle in a deep Ditch that overflow'd its Banks, into which his Horſe fell, and out of which with much ado we recover'd him full of Mire. I ſhall not relate the Hardſhips I endur'd both that and the following days: as being conſtrain'd to march afoot in a rainy ſeaſon through the Woods, full of Water and Mud, where I went for the moſt part up to the Knees; only in a word, that 'twas impoſſible for any Perſon to endure more then we did. For my own part I was quite ſpent: All that I had left was a remainder of Courage and Reſolution to do and ſuffer whatever befel me, to ſave thoſe Goods that were committed to my Care. In the Evening we arriv'd at [illegible] very

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very Skin; *Anarghia* being ſix Leagues from the Caſtle of *Sabatar.*

The 12th I was to have Embark'd, but was prevented by the News that was ſpread about of ſeveral Barks of the *Mingrelians* and *Abca's* that were Cruiſing upon the Coaſts of *Mingrelia.* Which was very true; for they had taken ſeveral Barks of the Country, and one among the reſt wherein I was concern'd. Yet the unſpeakable trouble which this delay gave me, did not proceed ſo much from its keeping me in continual Fears and Dangers, as that it ſeem'd to threaten me that I ſhould never get rid of 'em.

The 19th Father *Zampi* had Intelligence that the Day before, they had forc'd open the Church-Doors, taken away all that was in the Church, had open'd the Sepulcher, and carry'd all that one of the *Theatins*, who was left to look after the Houſe, had hid in the Tomb, and that there was nothing left ſtanding but the Wall. This News put me into a terrible fright, conſidering I had left above Seven Thouſand *Piſtols* buri'd in the Church. Upon which I diſpatch'd away a Meſſenger to my Comrade, thinking to have found him at the Caſtle; but he was already gone to the *Theatins* Reſidence, to know what courſe we ſhould take to repair ſo great a Misfortune, of which he had Notice as ſoon as my ſelf. But he wrote me word, That Thanks be to GOD they had not ſo much as touch'd our Money, having found it in the ſame place where we had buri'd it. VVhich good News wonderfully reviv'd my Spirits, looking upon ſo great a Favour of the Almighty as a ſign of his Attonement; ſo that I went to encourage the *Turks*, whoſe Feluke I had hir'd to ſet Sail with all ſpeed.

The 27th I departed from *Anarghia*, my Feluke being a Veſſel of good Burthen, wherein there were near Twenty Perſons, the one half Slaves, the reſt *Turks*, which I the rather permitted the Maſter to take in, that we might be the better able to defend our ſelves againſt the Rovers that infeſted the Coaſts. After an Hours Sailing, we got into the Main Sea: For the *Langur* which we left is very rapid, and runs with a furious Stream; and beſides, he muſt be a skilful Pilot that carries a laden Veſſel down that River, by reaſon of the many Flats, where they ſtick upon the Sands. I ſtaid all Day long near the Shoar at the requeſt of the Maſter of the Shallop, who expected two Slaves to be brought him that Evening.

While I tarry'd at *Anarghia*, I was invited to two Chriſtnings; whither I went to obſerve the manner of the *Mingrelian* Baptiſm; and found that Father *Zampi* had been very exact in his Relation. For the Ceremony was no otherwiſe then thus, perform'd in a Neighbours Houſe adjoyning to the Lodging where I lay. He ſent for the Prieſt about Ten a Clock in the Morning; who was no ſooner come, but he went into the Buttry where they kept the Wine, and ſate himſelf down upon a Bench without any other then his ordinary Habit, and then fell a reading in a Book that was half torn, about the bigneſs of a New Teſtament in *Octavo*. Not that the Child was brought to him when he began to read, for the Father and Godfather did not bring him till a quarter of an Hour after; and then appear'd a little Boy of about five Years of Age, at what time the Godfather brought alſo a little Searring Candle, and three Grains of Incenſe. The Candle the Godfather likewiſe lighted, and fix'd it to the Door of the Cellar, where though it was burnt out before the Child was Baptiz'd, they did not light up another; and as for the three Grains of Incenſe, they were ſtrew'd upon a few Embers, and ſmoak'd away. All this while the Prieſt read on, very faſt, and with a low Voice, and in ſuch a careleſs manner as if he never minded what he did. The Father and Godfather went to and agen all the time, and ſo did the Child, that did nothing but eat. At length after an Hours reading, there was a Bucket of warm Water got ready; into which after the Prieſt had pour'd about a Spoonful of Oyl of Walnuts, he bid the Godfather undreſs the Child: which was done, and the Child put naked into the Bucket; where, as he ſtood upon his Feet, the Godfather waſh'd his Body all over, and when he had well waſh'd him, the Prieſt took out of a Leather Pouch that hung at his Girdle as much *Myrone*, or Oyl of Unction, as came to the weight of a Pea, and gave it to the Godfather, who Anointed with it almoſt all the parts of the Childs Body; as the top of the Head, the Ears, Forehead, Noſe, Cheeks, Chin, Shoulders, Elbows, Back, Belly, Knees, and Feet: All which time the Prieſt read on ſtill; nor did he give over till the Godfather had again dreſt the Child. Which being done, the Father brought in Wine, Bread, and a piece of boyl'd Pork, and firſt gave the Child to eat, then preſented the Prieſt, the Godfather, the Gueſts, and all the Houſe: and then they all ſate down to the Table; nor was there hardly one that was not drunk before he went.

I have alſo ſeen Maſs perform'd in the ſame place: which is done with the ſame Careleſſneſs and Irreverence, and altogether as has been related in a Treatiſe of the *Mingrelian* Religion. And once it was my hap to ſee one very pleaſantly interrupted. For as I was flying with one of the *Theatins*, we paſs'd along before a Church where they were ſaying Maſs. At what time the Prieſt that ſaid it, underſtanding that we enquir'd the way of the People that ſtood at the Door, *Stay a little*, cry'd he from the Altar, *I'll come and tell ye.* Immediately after he came to the Door, muttering his Maſs between his Teeth, and after he had ask'd us whence we came and whither we went, he ſhew'd us the way, and ſo return'd to the Altar again.

The 29th betimes i' the Morning we put to Sea, the weather being clear and fair: and then we could diſcover the high Lands of *Trebiſond*, on the one ſide, and of the *Abca*'s on the other, and that very eaſily becauſe the *Black Sea* beginning to wind toward the *Abca*'s Coaſts, *Anarghia* ſtands far out in the circular circumference of thoſe Coaſts anſwering to *Trebiſond.*

The *Black-Sea* is 200 Leagues in length wanting Twelve or Fifteen, lying juſt Eaſt and Weſt. The broadeſt part, North and South, from the *Boſphorus* with *Boriſthenes*, is three degrees; which part is the Weſtern end of the Sea; the Oppoſite part not being above half ſo broad. The Water of this Sea ſeem'd to me leſs Clear, leſs Green, and leſs Salt, then the Water of the Ocean. Which proceeds as I am apt to believe from the great Rivers that empty themſelves into it; and for that it is ſhut up in its ſelf as it were in the bottom of a Sack, ſo that it ought to be more properly called a Lake then a Sea, like the *Caſpian Sea*; With which it agrees in this, that is common to both, that in neither of the two Seas there are any Iſlands. And therefore 'tis in vain to ſeek for the reaſon of its Denomination from the colour of the Water. The *Greeks* gave it its Name from the Dangerous Navigation dayly experienc'd by thoſe that ventur'd into it; by reaſon of the Tempeſts there more frequent and boiſtrous then in other Seas: *Axenos* ſignifying inhoſpitable, and that will not ſuffer any Perſon to come near it. The *Turks* therefore for the ſame reaſon call it *Cara Denguis*, or the *Furious Sea*. *Cara* which in the Turkiſh Language properly ſignifies *Black*, denoting alſo furious, dangerous, terrible, and ſerving uſually in that Idiom, for an Epithite given to thick Forreſts, rapid Rivers, and ſteep and rugged Mountains. Now the reaſon why the Storms are more

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Violent and Dangerous in that, then in other Seas, is firſt becauſe the Waters are contracted within a narrow Channel and have no Outlet: the *Boſphorus* not being to be accompted an Outlet by reaſon it is ſo very ſtreight. And therefore the Waters being Violently agitated by a Storm, and not knowing where to have Room, and being ſtrongly repell'd by the ſhoar, they Mount and rowle aloft, and beat againſt the Ship on every ſide with an Invincible ſwiftneſs and force. Secondly, becauſe there are few or no Roads in that Sea, which are ſhelter'd from the Wind, but where there is more danger then in the open Sea.

All the *Black-Sea* is under the Dominion of the *Grand Signior*; there is no Sailing there without his leave; ſo that there is no great fear of Pyrates, which in my Opinion are a greater danger then the Sea it ſelf.

All that Day we ſayl'd with a Contrary Wind, which was the reaſon we did not make above Six Leagues, however in the Evening we bore into a River call'd *Kelubel*, deeper and almoſt as broad as the *Langur*, but not ſo rapid.

The 30th Two Hours before Day we ſet ſail by the light of the Moon, and by Noon we made the River *Phaſis*, and bore up into it about a Mile to certain Houſes, where the Maſter of the *Feluke* was deſirous to unlade ſome of his Goods.

The River *Phaſis* takes its riſe out of Mount *Caucaſus*, call'd by the Turks *Fachs*; though as I obſerv'd, the People of the Country call it *Rione*. I ſaw it firſt at *Cotatis*, where it runs in a narrow Channel very ſwiftly, yet ſometimes ſo low, that it is eaſily fordable. But where it diſcharges it ſelf into the Sea, which is about Fourſcore and Ten Miles from *Cotatis*, there the Channel is about a Mile and Half Broad and Sixty Fadome deep: being ſwell'd before that, by ſeveral leſſer ſtreams that pour themſelves into it. The Water is very good to Drink, though ſomewhat Muddy, thick, and of a [illegible] colour; of which *Arrian* aſſerts the cauſe to be the Ea[illegible] is intermix'd with it. He farther adds, and other Au[illegible] ſo affirm the ſame, that all the Ships took in Water at [illegible] out of an Opinion that the River was ſacred, or believing it to be the beſt Water in the World. There are ſeveral ſmall Iſlands at the Mouth of the River, which appear very delightful, as being ſhaded with thick Woods. Upon the biggeſt of which to the Weſt, are to be ſeen the Ruins of a Fortreſs which *Sultan Murat* caus'd to be built in the Year 1578. For

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he had made an Attempt to Conquer all the Northern and Eaſtern Coaſts of the *Black-Sea*. But this Enterprize did not ſucceed according to his Deſign. For to that purpoſe he ſent his Galleys up the River *Phaſis*; but the King of *Imiretta* having laid conſiderable *Embuſcado*'s, where the River was narroweſt, *Murat*'s Galleys were defeated, one ſunk, and the reſt forc'd to fly. The Fortreſs of *Phaſis* was tak'n by the Army of the King of *Imiretta*, reinforc'd by the Prince's of *Mingrelia* and *Guriel*. The Caſtle was preſently demoliſh'd, wherein there were 25 Pieces of Cannon, which the King caus'd to be carry'd to his Caſtle of *Cotatis*, where they are now again in the Hands of the *Turks* by the late ſurrender of the Caſtle belonging to that place.

I fetch'd a Compaſs about the Iſland of *Phaſis*, to try whether I could diſcover any Remainders of the Temple of *Rhea*, which *Arrian* ſays was to be ſeen in his time: but I could not find the leaſt Footſtep of any ſuch thing. Yet Hiſtorians affirm, that it was ſtanding entire in the time of the *Grecian* Empire: and that it was Conſecrated to the Worſhip of Chriſt in the Reign of the Emperour *Zeno*. I ſought likewiſe for the great City call'd *Sebaſta*, which Geographers have plac'd at the Mouth of *Phaſis*; but not a Brick to be ſeen, no more then of the Ruines of *Colchis*. All that I obſerv'd conformable to what the Ancients have wrote concerning that part of the *Black-Sea*, is only this, That it abounds in Pheaſants. Of which there are ſome Authors, and among the reſt *Martial*, who ſay, That the *Argonauts* firſt brought thoſe Birds into *Greece*, where they had never been ſeen before, and that they gave 'em the Name of Pheaſants, or *Phaſiani*, as being taken upon the Banks of *Phaſis*. This River ſeparates *Mingrelia* from the Principality of *Guriel*, and the petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*. *Anarghia* is diſtant from it 36 Miles. All the Coaſt is a low Sandy Soyl, cover'd with Woods ſo thick, that a Man can hardly ſee ſix Paces among the Trees.

In the Evening I caus'd the Maſter to put to Sea, with a fair Gale; and at Midnight we Sail'd before a Haven call'd *Copoletta*, belonging to the Prince of *Guriel*.

The 30th after Noon, we arriv'd at *Goniè*, diſtant from *Phaſis* about 40 Miles; the Sea-Coaſt being all exceeding High-land, and Rocks, ſome cover'd with Wood, and others naked. It belongs to the Prince of *Guriel*, whoſe Territories extend to a River about half a Mile from *Goniè*.

Gonie is a large Caſtle, four-ſquare, built of hard and rough Stones of an extraordinary bulk; ſeated upon the Sea-ſide upon a Sandy Foundation. It has neither Trenches nor Fortifications; but only four Walls and two Gates, one that opens Eaſtward upon the Sea, and another to the North; Nor did I ſee any more then only two great Guns for its defence. Within there are about Thirty pitiful, low, ſmall, inconvenient Houſes, built only of Boards; And without, cloſe by it, ſtands a Village conſiſting of as many more Habitations. Almoſt all the Inhabitants Marriners; which is the reaſon that the Country is call'd *Lazi*; *Laz* in the Turkiſh Language properly ſignifying a *Seaman*: and Figuratively, a Clowniſh, Boariſh, Savage Fellow: Theſe *Lazi* are all *Mahumetans*.

There is a Cuſtom-Houſe at *Gonie*, which has the Reputation of being very Rude and Imperious; yet was not quite ſo cruel as they made me believe it was: and yet as it is ſevere enough to the People of the Country, ſo is it really a place that cuts the very Throats of the *Europeans*. They have no regard to the Quality of the Perſons, nor the Paſſports of the *Grand Signior*, nor for any Recommendations from the *Port*. 'Tis in vain therefore to expect any Relief from thence; They who Command in thoſe extream parts of the Empire believing themſelves at a diſtance remote enough from the reach of the *Grand Signior*.

So ſoon as the Felouke came to be Moor'd to the Key, my Servant leap'd aſhoar with a moſt extravagant Tranſport of Joy: he caſt up his Eyes to Heav'n, kiſs'd the Earth; he beſtow'd a Thouſand Curſes upon *Mingrelia*; but to the Country of the *Turks* he wiſh'd all the Happineſs imaginable. Preſently after, leaving me, he went into the Caſtle, at a time that I had more need of him then ever. And indeed I had a great Jealouſie that he was gone to diſcover as much as he thought he knew concerning me. For when the Officer of the Cuſtom-Houſe and the Deputy-Governor came to take Notice what was unladed out of the Felouke, and to demand the Cuſtoms, they preſently gave me to underſtand, that they knew I was an *European*, told me the Misfortunes which had befall'n me in *Mingrelia*, and the Deſign which I had to go to *Akalzikè*. Which ſurpriz'd me extreamly, perceiving ſo well that I was betray'd. Nevertheleſs I was not at all troubl'd at it; for GOD through his Mercy ſtill inſpir'd me with Reſolution. Beſides, I was ſure of one thing, that my Servant did not know particularly who I was. I had entertain'd him into my

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ſervice 'tis true; at *Conſtantinople*, and he had ſeen me frequently Viſit the *European* Ambaſſadors and Miniſters. and that I was honourably receiv'd, and that all the reſt of my time I ſpent in Writing and Reading; ſo that all he could gueſs from thence, was only that I might be ſome Perſon that Travell'd out of Curioſity. I had given him Inſtructions alſo to tell the *Turks* if they enquir'd, that I was a Merchant, and that being come into *Mingrelia* to buy Hawks, to carry into *Europe*, the People of the Country had Robb'd me of all I had, and that I was going to demand Juſtice from the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè*. And I kept conſtant to this Story, not knowing any better way to conceal my ſelf; beſides that I would not by any alteration of my Inſtructions, ſeem to take any notice to my Servant, that I was Jealous of his Infidelity. The Officer of the Cuſtom-Houſe ask'd me ſeveral Queſtions; to which I gave him ſatisfactory Anſwers: however he ſent to ſearch my Packs, but met with nothing: my Saddle indeed weigh'd ſomewhat heavy, which caus'd it to be ſuſpected; in regard that the Turkiſh Saddles are very light. Whereupon the Officers Poys'd it and felt every where; but not feeling any thing but Flocks and Hair, they ſuffer'd it to paſs.

As for my Eight Hunderd *Piſtols*, I carry'd the one half about me, the other was in a Portmantle lockt with a Padlock, with ſome other Trifles that were of no Value; but which I knew well enough, the *Turks* would be fingring, had they once but fix'd their Eyes upon 'em. True it is, that when I parted from *Mingrelia*, I had reſolv'd to have given that Cloak Bag to one of the Seamen, ſo ſoon as we ſhould land at *Copoletta*, a Neighbouring Port of which I have already ſpoken. For they never meddle with the Seamen's Packs, and very rarely ſearch the *Felouks* themſelves. But the Wind being fair, we never put in to that Port; which was the reaſon I did not do as I intended: for it would have been a piece of Imprudence to have done it publickly in the *Felouk* where there were ſo many Paſſengers.

The Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe therefore being inform'd of what I had, went into the *Felouk* and there finding the Cloak Bag, demanded whoſe it was, to which I preſently anſwer'd, that 'twas mine, but that there was nothing in it that pay'd Cuſtom. However, the Cuſtomer commanded me to open it: to which I reply'd, That I would willingly do it at his Houſe, but not a ſhoar before ſo many People. Thereupon the Officers carry'd me home, and the Deputy Gover-

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nor went along with him: where the *Deputy* took one *per Cent.* and the Officers of the Cuſtoms Five i' the Hunderd So that they took from me Twenty Two Piſtols in Gold, and what they thought fit beſides of the Trifles that were in the Cloak Bag, and among the reſt a ſmall pair of Piſtols, which were all the Arms I had: for which he pay'd me, 'tis true; but not above half the Value. Afterwards he invited me to lye at his Houſe, to which I anſwer'd, That ſure he did but laugh at me to offer me his Houſe, after he had unjuſtly made me pay Cuſtoms for the Gold and Silver which I had, that never pay'd any Duty's. To which he reply'd, That I was miſ-inform'd, and that he had done me no unjuſtice, for that at *Goniè* there was nothing exempted from paying the Cuſtom; and therefore as for offering me his Houſe it was out of kindneſs and favour that he did it. I return'd him Thanks, and told him, That ſince he was ſo forward as to offer me a kindneſs, there was one for which I ſhould for ever be oblig'd to thank him; that he would ſo far aſſiſt me with a Convenience, that I might get ſafe to *Akalzikè*; for it being known over all *Goniè* that I had a Bag of Gold, I had reaſon to fear being Murder'd in the Mountains, over which my Road lay, for the remainder of what I carry'd about me. That I was a Stranger, and without Weapons to defend my ſelf, he himſelf having tak'n from me all the Arms I had left me; and therefore that he would be pleas'd to lend me ſome Aſſiſtance. To which he anſwer'd, That I needed not to be in ſuch a Panick Fear, for that, Thanks be to GOD, I was now in the Country of the Faithful (the Epithet which the *Turks* aſſume to themſelves) where I had no reaſon to be afraid either of being Robb'd or Murder'd. That he would Warrant me my Life and my Goods; that I might carry my Bag of Gold upon my Head, and Travel without any danger. But as to what remain'd, becauſe the way to *Akalzikè* was very bad, the two firſt Days Journey being to be Travell'd a Foot, through the narrow and Craggy Paſſages of the Mountains, where no Horſe was able to paſs, he would appoint me the next Morning, ſuch as ſhould carry my Baggage, and conduct me for the firſt Days Journey; where likewiſe the firſt Guides ſhould be reliev'd by others, till I came to *Akalzikè*.

Having ſo ſaid, He offer'd me a Third time to come and ſpend the Night at his Houſe, and was very importunate with me; and I found afterwards that he did it ſincerely and for my Good. I wiſh to GOD I had perceiv'd his kindneſs, but

I foreſaw not the Danger that my Ill Fortune was preparing for me. I was fearful that the Cuſtomers Deſign in inviting me to his Houſe, was only that he might have an Opportunity to ſearch my Packs the more exactly; beſides, that I was deſperately afraid, leſt it ſhould come into his Head to ſearch my ſelf, having a large Bag of Gold and Pearls in ſeveral parts of my Cloaths.

It was almoſt Night when I took my leave of the Cuſtom-Houſe-Officer at his own Houſe; and my Servant had carry'd all my Baggage to the place where the People were gone to lodge that came along with me in the Veſſel; which was a pitiful Straw-loft, full of Holes in the Walls on every ſide, and no leſs naſty and ſtinking withal. There I receiv'd their Complements of Condolement, if I may ſo call 'em; and to ſay truth, unleſs it were my Servant, who had his ſhare of the Twenty Two *Piſtols*, all the reſt were ſorry for my loſs; and every one blam'd me for not giving my Bag to ſome-body that might have ſecur'd it for me. So that I was forc'd to act the part of one that was troubl'd and griev'd for what had happen'd, though in my Heart I was not a little glad I had ſcap'd ſo, and all I deſir'd was only to ſee the return of Day-light, that I might get rid of that Cut-throat place.

But while I was eating a Morſel of Bisket, in came a Janiſary to tell my Servant, that the Deputy-Governor would ſpeak with him: for the Commander of the Caſtle being abſent, the Deputy ſupply'd his place. Away went my Servant, and about an Hour after, the ſame Janiſary came for me likewiſe. I found the Deputy-Governor ſitting at the Table with my Servant, both very Drunk: and firſt of all he forc'd me to Eat and Drink whether I would or no: then he told me, That all the Chriſtians that belong'd to the Church who paſs'd through *Gonie*, were oblig'd to give his Maſter Two Hunderd *Ducats*, which makes about a Hunderd Pound; that I was one of thoſe Eccleſiaſticks, and therefore muſt pay ſo much Money. To which I anſwer'd, That I was a Merchant, and that he was miſ-inform'd, and that ſeeing the Officer of the Cuſtom-Houſe had let me go, he had nothing to do to take Cognizance who I was However, if there were any thing due to the Governor, that I would pay it the next Morning: and that the Night was no time to diſcourſe the Buſineſs: and having ſo ſaid, I was about to riſe and be gone. But I was ſtopp'd by two Janiſaries; at what time the Deputy-Governor caus'd me to ſit down again, and forc'd me to Drink very

hard; teizing me for two Hours together with a Thouſand Impertinencies: and among other things telling me, That all the Goods of the Chriſtians belong'd of Right to the Turks, that the *Malteſe*'s had tak'n two of his Brothers, and that for a Perſon of my Circumſtances Twenty *Piſtols* was ſufficient. I confeſs I found my ſelf but in a ſcurvy Condition, having to do with People that were Fuddl'd, and my Servant in ſtead of aſſiſting me, ſitting at the Table with my Judge, a Thouſand times more my Maſter, then I was his, as of right I ought to have been: yet though *I* perceiv'd his Treachery, *I* durſt not ſpeak a word, for fear of worſe that might befal me. *I* took him therefore aſide, and advis'd him not to loſe the Opportunity of making me more ſenſible then ever of that Fidelity wherewith he had ſerv'd me: that only he could reconcile the Buſineſs, and that therefore *I* gave him Power to offer Twenty Ducats for an Accommodation. My deſign by that counterfeit Confidence, which could do me no harm, was to bridle the Villany of the Traytor, and to prevent him from uſing Extremity. After that, *I* addreſs'd my ſelf to the Deputy-Governor with Intreaties, menacing Hints, and Remonſtrances that no body for the future would come near *Goniè*, when they ſhould underſtand that Paſſengers were us'd with ſo much Violence and Injuſtice. To which the Deputy-Governor anſwer'd laughing, That *Goniè* was none of his Livelyhood, that he had but a Year to tarry there, that he car'd not whether any body came thither or no after he was gone; then, let the Caſtle ſink if it would; and that he was all for the preſent Opportunities, without any regard of the future; and at length it came to that heighth, that the Deputy-Governor finding he could not oblige me to ſatisfie his Demands, ſent for my Baggage; which the Traytor of a Servant, my Man, was very officious to fetch. Preſently the Governor commanded me to take out the Gold; but *I* refus'd to obey him, and told him withal, That *I* would not give him a Farthing, let him do his worſt; for that *I* ow'd him nothing: that *I* could not withſtand his Violence, ſo that he might take what he pleas'd, but that *I* knew the way to have Satisfaction. Thereupon the Robber ſent for Chains and an Iron Collar, which did not a little daunt me, conſidering *I* had to do with Souldiers, whom the ſight of Gold and the Wine which they had drank to exceſs, render'd unlimited in their Actions. At the ſame time alſo, one of the Souldiers came to me, and whiſper'd me in the Ear, *The more ye peel Garlick, the ſtronger it ſmells.* As much

much as to ſay, The longer you delay to accommodate a wrangling Buſineſs, the more you intreague it. My Servant likewiſe pronounc'd Sentence againſt me for a Hunderd Ducats. To be ſhort, I gave 'em the Summ, and four more to the Janiſaries, who had perform'd the Office of Bayliffs. The Goods that I had about me, and at my Lodging, the place where I was, and a Hunderd other good Conſiderations made me then give way: whereas in another Condition, I ſhould never have ſubmitted to their Threats, nor fear'd their Chains, but have wreſted my ſelf out of their Clutches Scotfree, or elſe with very little loſs. For to ſhew that it was more then they could anſwer, the Deputy Governor, as I was about to tell out the Money, conſtrain'd me to ſwear upon the Goſpel, that I gave it him freely, and that I would not ſpeak a word of it to any perſon. Whereupon aroſe a freſh diſpute, and as hot as the former: for I was unwilling to ſwear, as being reſolv'd to have made a loud complaint, and deſirous withal to ſecure my ſelf for the future by the obſtinacy of my preſent Reſiſtance. But this ſame Highway-Man of a Governor abſolutely refus'd to take the Hunderd *Ducats*, but upon that Condition. And therefore there was no other way, but I muſt ſwear what he would have me in his preſence, and deſire him to accept the Money.

The next Day, betimes i' the Morning the under Officers of the Cuſtom-Houſe came to my miſerable Lodging, and watch'd me all along till I was ready to depart. They had order, it ſeems, to make a new Inquiſition into my Saddle, and to ſearch my Clothes. To that purpoſe they call'd my Man, and told him their Errand in the moſt Civil and Courteous Terms they could: and ſo they fell to ſearching the Saddle a ſecond time, I my ſelf trembling for Fear, all the while it was in their Hands. However they felt nothing that augmented their miſtruſt, only the weight amus'd 'em. Which when I perceiv'd to be the only thing that gravell'd 'em, I told 'em, I had made it ſo heavy, that it might ſerve me for a Pack Saddle upon occaſion; which was the reaſon it was ſo unweildy: and that evaſion it was that ſav'd me, and ſatisfi'd their Curioſity. After that, I found they had a mind to be ſearching my Cloathes; for they took me aſide one after another, and told me if I had any thing about me, which the Cuſtomer had not ſeen, that I ſhould make 'em a preſent, and they for their parts would never diſcover me. Friends, anſwer'd I, never ſeek for a far-fetch'd excuſe to ſearch me, but if you have a mind,

do

do it without any more ado. And with that I open'd my breaſt, and ſhew'd 'em my Pockets: by which Bravado I eſcap'd: for the Officers thought I would never have been ſo bold, had I been afraid of their groaping. Thereupon they forbore to ſearch me; but carry'd me to the Cuſtomer, to whom with feigned Tears in my Eyes, and Counterfeiting a profound trouble of mind, I acknowledg'd how that becauſe I did not lodge at his Houſe, I had been deſpoil'd of part of my Gold. I gave ye good advice, anſwer'd he, for I was afraid what would happen; and then he importun'd me to tell him how much they had tak'n, and who had done it, aſſuring me that *I* ſhould have Juſtice certainly done me: to which *I* reply'd, that they had threaten'd to kill me if *I* told. Which was very true, beſides that *I* had ſuch an Impatient deſire to be out of *Goniè*, that *I* had no mind to be commencing of Suits. Only *I* deſir'd the Cuſtomer to be as good as his word. Which he was, and appointed me two Men to carry my Baggage, and a *Turk* to accompany me to *Akalzikè*. He alſo order'd the two Men to bring a note back under my hand to aſſure him that *I* was ſafely arriv'd at my firſt Journeys end; and gave the *Turk* a Paſſport, in the form of an order, to make uſe of upon the Road. Which *I* thus Tranſlated from the Original.

> *Guards of the Highway, Provoſts, Judges, Bayliffs, conduct from Journeys end to Journeys end, to the Happy Gate of* Aſlan-Paſha, John *his Banker. Allow him for his Money Horſes and Men as many as he ſhall deſire. His Perſon and his Goods are a Truſt, which is given in Charge to the Inhabitants of all the places through which he ſhall paſs; for which they are to be anſwerable upon their Lives.*

The Cuſtomer, when he gave the Note to the *Turk* that was to be my Guide, told me, that he had made me to paſs for the *Baſha*'s Banker, and that *I* ſhould get a white Turbant for my ſelf and my Servant, that *I* might be the more reſpected. Which *I* did, and ſet forward about eight of the Clock in the Morning, tranſported with Joy to ſee my ſelf at Liberty out of ſuch a wicked and Dangerous Place in a Country of Freedom, where *I* had little or nothing to fear. *I* began then to breath a little, and to recollect and recompoſe my Spirits, having been for five Months in continual Tribulations, Anxieties and Agitations of Mind. Taxations, Shipwrack, Slavery, Wedlock, loſs of Goods, of Liberty and Life, where the

frightful *Idea's* that daily hover'd before my Eyes, beſides a thouſand other real Calamities that kept me all that time continually depreſs'd under the weight of my Misfortunes. But that Day I recover'd my ſelf, and with a pleaſure unexpreſſible, I felt my Heart to expatiate it ſelf, and reaſſume its peaceable Motions. I aſcended Mount *Caucaſus* with ſuch a nimbleneſs of Heels, that my Porters ſtood in Admiration: ſo nimble is the Man that has no burthen upon his Heart. And I may truly ſay without any Hyperbole's or Metaphors, that I was like one, from whoſe Shoulders they had remov'd a Mountain, ſo that me thought I could have flown i' the Air. We Travell'd four Leagues among Rocks; after which I ferry'd over, in a Boat, the River already mention'd that parts the Country of *Guriel* from the *Turks*.

The 3d I Travell'd five Leagues a Foot, three Men carrying my Luggage: and frequently we paſs'd by the Brinks of ſuch dreadful Precipices, that ſcar'd me to look down. We did nothing but Aſcend; ſo that in Five Leagues we made no more then two Miles of Level way.

The 4th I tarry'd in a Village inhabited by Turks and Chriſtians; where I arriv'd the Day before, in regard the Rain, Snow and Wind would not permit us to ſet forward any further.

I Travell'd the Fifth and Sixth, Eleven Leagues. 'Tis true, I had Horſes, but I dare be bold to ſay, I did not ride above Three Leagues of all that way; for I was forc'd to alight every foot: the way being ſo rugged and ſteep, that the Horſes could hardly keep their Feet.

The Seventh and Eighth, I travell'd 16 Leagues; up Hill and down Hill for the Four firſt Leagues; the next Eight were all a Smooth Road, but full of Turnings and Windings: and then we got to the Top of Mount *Caucaſus*: after which we Travell'd Four Leagues continually upon the Deſcent. Half way down the Hill were to be ſeen the Spires and Tops of the Ruins of ſeveral Caſtles and Churches; of which as the People ſaid, there had been a conſiderable number, till deſtroy'd by the *Turks*. The bottom of the Hill leads ye into a fair Valley Three Miles broad, Rich and Fertile, and full of Villages: being water'd by the River *Kur*, that runs through the middle of it.

'Tis known that *Aſia* is divided by a Chain of Mountains that run along from one end to the other, of which the higheſt parts were call'd *Taurus*, *Imaus* and *Caucaſus*. The firſt is that part which advances it ſelf to the fartheſt part of *Aſia*; and this Chain or Ridg is generally call'd *Taurus*. I ſay generally, becauſe that every part derives a particular Name from the Nation, to

which it adjoyns. The laſt part, which is the neareſt to *Europe*, lies between the *Black-Sea*, and the *Caſpian Sea*, between *Muſcovy* and *Turkey*. But theſe three Names are confuſedly made uſe of by many Authors, among the reſt, *Pliny* and *Q. Curtius*, who place *Caucaſus* in *India*. However *Strabo*, who reports this in his Geography, affirms that *Q. Curtius* did it to magnifie the wonders of *Alexander*'s Hiſtory, in regard that *Caucaſus* being the higheſt part of all Mount *Taurus*, and that which the Fables of the Poets have render'd moſt Famous, the Renown of his Hero became the greater, whom he makes to force his way over it with his Victorious Sword. And indeed I ſhould have thought it had been a fault in Geography, which *Q. Curtius* committed ignorantly, as when he brings *Ganges* from the South, and takes *Jaxartes* for the River *Tanais*. I ſay I ſhould take it for an Error, if I did not find him in his Sixth Book, putting the Mountain *Caucaſus* between *Hircania* and the River *Phaſis*.

But to return to the Deſcription of Mount *Caucaſus*, it is the higheſt Mountain, and moſt difficult to paſs over that ever I beheld. For it is full of Rocks and diſmal Precipices, through which there have been great endeavours us'd to make a hollow way. At the time when I paſs'd it, it was all cover'd with Snow, in many places above Ten Foot deep: ſo that my Guides oft-times were forc'd to make way with their ſhovels: for they had upon their Feet a ſort of Sandals proper to walk upon the Snow, which I never ſaw but in that Country, the bottom of it being made in the ſhape, and about the length of a Racket without a handle, but not ſo broad, the Network is alſo not ſo tight, and the Wood is altogether circular. Which prevents their ſinking into the Snow, for that it bears up the weight of the body, and keeps the Foot from ſinking above a Fingers Depth. They will alſo run with theſe ſort of Sandals very faſt, hardly leaving any print of their Feet, or any ſign which way they have gone, for that the Sandal has neither Toes nor Heels. The Top of Mount *Caucaſus* is perpetually cover'd with Snow, and for eight Leagues in the Road we travell'd in croſſing it, altogether uninhabited. So that I was forc'd to ſpend the whole Night in the Snow. Only I caus'd the Fellows to cut me down ſome Firr-Trees upon which *I* lay, after *I* had order'd 'em to make a good Fire. When *I* came to the Top of the Mountain, the People that were my Guides, made long Prayers to their Images, for their favor to keep the Wind from Riſing. For had the Wind been high, we had without doubt been all Buried in the Snow; for being looſe and ſmall as duſt, the Wind eaſily carries it away, and

fills the Air with it; but GOD be thanked there was no Wind. However, the Horſes would ſink ſo deep in many places, that I thought they would never get out: for my part *I* travell'd for the moſt part afoot, and ſecure enough: nor do *I* believe *I* rode above eight Leagues in croſſing over this hideous Mountain, which is ſix and thirty Leagues. *I* thought for the two laſt days, that *I* had been in the Clouds, not being able to ſee twenty Paces before me: beſides that the Firr-Trees that grow very thick all over the Mountain prevent any proſpect at a diſtance: only as *I* went down Hill, the Clouds roll'd under my Feet, as far as *I* could ſee, ſo that *I* could not but think my ſelf i' the Air, though *I* felt at the ſame time that *I* trod upon the Ground.

Mount *Caucaſus* till ye come to the very top is extreamly fertil in Honey, Wheat, and Gom, (of which I have ſpok'n in the Deſcription of *Mingrelia*) in Wine, in Fruits, in Pigs, and large Cattel. The Vines grow there about the Trees, and run up ſo high, that many times they are not able to climb up to gather the Grapes. Beſides, it was Vintage-time when I croſs'd the Mountain; and I found the Grape, the new and the old Wine, to be extreamly good, and ſo cheap withal in ſome parts, that you might buy 300 weight for a Crown: for the Country People not having Vent for it, left the Grapes to hang & rot upon the Branches, as not worth the gathering.

The Country People dwell in Wooden Huts: of which every Family has four or five; in the biggeſt of which they make a Fire, and ſit round about it. The Women grind the Corn, as they have occaſion for Bread; which they bake in round Stones a Foot or thereabouts in Diameter, and ſome two or three Fingers in depth. Theſe Stones they make very hot, put in the Dough, and then cover it with hot Aſhes, and live Coals over that: and in ſome places they bake it in the Embers only. To which purpoſe they ſweep the Hearth very clean, lay the Dough upon it, and then cover it with Aſhes and live Coals as before. Nevertheleſs the Cruſt is very white, and the Bread very good. They keep their Wine as they do in *Mingrelia*. I lodg'd every Night at ſome Countryman's Houſe or other, of whom *I* hir'd either Horſes or Porters. The *Turk* alſo, who was recommended to me, ſerv'd me very dextrouſly, and as well as the place would afford. They gave us Hens, Eggs, Pulſe, Wine, Bread, and overcloy'd us with Fruit. For every Neighbouring Houſe brought us a great Pitcher of Wine, a Pannier of Fruit, and a Basket of Bread for their ſhare of what we wanted. For which we never ask'd them what was to pay, nor would my Guide permit me to give 'em any Gratuity.

I fell on like a Wolf, not being able to ſatisfie my Hunger in leſs then two or three hours. For it is not to be imagin'd what an empty

Stomach

Stomach *I* had all the while that *I* was in *Mingrelia* for three months together, during all which time I could get no Bread, beſides that I was all the while under the ſcourge of Hunger, and in continual dread of ſome Miſchief or other. But now, thanks be to GOD, I liv'd in ſecurity and plenty, and from a deteſtable Country where I could not get Victles for Money, *I* was got into another Region where they gave me Meat and Drink for nothing: Nor is it poſſible for any Man, that has not undergone thoſe Extremities, to conceive the pleaſure of ſo happy a Change.

The Inhabitants of theſe Mountains are for the moſt part Chriſtians after the *Georgian* Ceremonies. They are very freſh Complexion'd, and I have ſeen very handſom Women among 'em. Beſides, they are infinitely better diſpoſition'd then the *Mingrelians*, and the other People of Mount *Caucaſus*, that are not under the Dominion of the *Turks*.

The ninth *I* travell'd five Leagues through a Plain, of which *I* have already ſpok'n; the Soyl of which is very proper for Tillage: and upon the Hills that ſurround it great Numbers of Cattel graze. In the Evening *I* arriv'd at *Akalzikè*.

Akalzikè is a Fortreſs built upon Mount *Caucaſus*, ſeated in a hollow place, among twenty Hillocks or thereabouts, from whence the Caſtle might be eaſily batter'd on every ſide, though fortifi'd with double Walls, and flanqu'd with Towers, both built with Battlements after the Ancient Manner. Adjoyning to this Fortreſs, which is defended with only a few great Guns, ſtand upon the Neighbouring Hillocks aforemention'd a large Town, conſiſting of about 400 Houſes all new, and which ſeem to have been but lately built: ſo that there is nothing of Antiquity to be ſeen, but two *Armenian* Churches. The Town is Peopl'd with *Turks*, *Armenians*, *Georgians*, *Greeks* and *Jews*; the *Chriſtians* having their Churches, and the *Jews* a Synagogue. There is alſo in it an Inn newly built of Wood, as are all the reſt of the Houſes in that place. The River *Kur* runs along by it, which derives it Head from the Mountain *Caucaſus*, and was call'd anciently *Cyrus*, and by ſome *Corus*. *Strabo* places the Head of it in *Armenia*, *Ptolomy* in *Colchis*; *Pliny* will have it ſpring from the Mountains of *Tartary*, which are beyond *Colchis*, which he calls *Coraxicie*, becauſe of the River *Corax* that ſprings from thence, and diſcharges it ſelf into the *Black-Sea*. Which Opinions ſeeming ſo various may nevertheleſs be true, and come all to one and the ſame thing. For that *Armenia* has formerly included *Colchis*; and becauſe *Colchis* formerly was a great Kingdom, as I have already obſerv'd. The *Baſha* of *Akalzikè* lodges in the Fortreſs, and the Principal Officers and Souldiers quarter in the adjacent Villages. This

This Fortreſs was built by the *Georgians*, from whom the *Turks* took it toward the end of the laſt Age.

The 13th about Two a Clock in the Morning I parted from *Akalzikè*, travailing directly Eaſtward. At the end of three Leagues the Plain of *Akalzikè* ſtreightens, to the breadth of half a League, having the Mountains on both ſides. In that part ſtands a Caſtle built by the *Turks* upon a Rock, on the right ſide of the River *Kur*. This Rock below is encompaſs'd with a double Wall; and round about it lies a little Village like *Akalzikè*, which takes up all the Ground between the Fortreſs and the oppoſite Mountain; and is call'd *Usker*; having a Gariſon and a Cuſtom-Houſe under the Command of a *Sanziac*. I was in great fear of being there ſtopp'd and examin'd, but Thanks be to GOD, they let me paſs, without ſaying a word to me. For my Guide was born at *Gory* a City of *Georgia*. So that upon his Anſwer, to the Captain of the Guard, who ask'd him, What Countryman he was? That he was a *Georgian* of *Gory*, the Captain let him paſs with all his Train without any farther Examination. The reaſon is, for that the *Kaan* of *Georgia* and the *Baſha* of *Akalzikè* hold a very good Correſpondence together, which makes the *Turks* ſo kind to the *Georgians*. Two Leagues beyond *Usker* we croſs'd a Mountain, which parts on this ſide *Perſia* from *Turkey*. We travell'd along the Brow of this Mountain after we had croſs'd it. There are ſeveral Villages ſeated on the top of it: the River *Kur* running below through the Vale, where in ſeveral parts are to be ſeen the Ruines of Caſtles, Fortreſſes and Churches; the Footſteps of the Grandeur of the *Georgians*, and of the *Turkiſh* and *Perſian* Conqueſts. After we had travell'd ten Leagues, till it was Night, we ſtopp'd at a little Village.

The 14th we travell'd not above four Leagues, the way being very rugged in thoſe Mountains, where you meet with ſeveral narrow Paths and cloſe Paſſages, where you cannot force your way; together with the Ruines of many Fortreſſes. We ſtopp'd in the Plain of *Surham*, at a great Town near the Fortreſs, which is call'd by the ſame Name. It is a very lovely Plain, full of Copſes, Villages, Hillocks, Houſes of Pleaſure, and little Caſtles belonging to the *Georgian* Lords. The Country is all over well Till'd; and in a word, it is a very delightful Spot of Ground.

The 15th I travell'd ten Leagues, nine through the Plain, and the other at the paſſage of a Mountain ſomewhat high,

which parts it from *Gory*. I ſaw nothing on every ſide but fair Villages, lovely Fields well Manur'd, and every where the Ground very fertile. We left upon the right Hand before we aſcended the Mountain, a great City lying almoſt all in Ruines, as not containing above Five Hunderd Houſes inhabited, whereas formerly, by report it contain'd above Twelve Thouſand. However, there belongs to it a Biſhop and a great Church, built before the *Georgians* were reduc'd under Subjection. Night overtook me upon the Deſcent of the Mountain, before I arriv'd at *Gory*. I went directly to the Reſidence of the *Italian Capuchins*, Miſſionaries of the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*; to whom I had Letters of Recommendation. Not above three Years ago they had a Dwelling at *Cotatis*, and then they thought alſo to have ſpread themſelves into *Mingrelia*, and to have ſettl'd there. But the Continual Wars in that Country, and the Robberies perpetually there committed, the King either not being able, or not caring to prevent 'em, conſtrain'd 'em to retire back into *Georgia*. So that the Opportunity of meeting with 'em was very acceptable to me; in regard they were able to give me what Advice and Aſſiſtance I ſtood in need of. For that reaſon I preſently made my ſelf known to 'em; and told 'em, That the King of *Perſia* had ſent me into *France* to do him particular Services; that I had his Orders, and a Command directed to all the Governors of the Empire to give me Reſpect, and to ſerve me upon all Occaſions, and with all Conveniencies I ſhould ſtand in need of. Afterwards I acquainted 'em, That having choſen to return into *Perſia* by the *Black-Sea*, and ſo through *Mingrelia*, I had been ſurpriz'd by the Wars in that Country, and had undergone a Thouſand Hardſhips; ſo that not finding any way ſecurely to bring along with me thoſe things which I had brought for the King, I had left 'em in the Cuſtody of my Comrade, and was come into *Georgia* to deſire Aſſiſtance; and therefore I moſt affectionately beſought 'em to give me the beſt Advice they could, and to take that Compaſſion of my Hardſhips and Troubles, to which Charity and other Conſiderations oblig'd 'em.

Upon which the Good Fathers were concern'd for my Misfortunes, the hazards I had run, and for the Perſon I had left in *Mingrelia*. And they aſſur'd me to do for me what ever lay in their Power ſo ſoon as they ſhould have permiſſion from their General; for that they had no Power to act without firſt conſulting him, and without his Approbation. That he was

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at *Trifflis*, the capital City of *Georgia*, two ſmall days journey diſtant, and that my beſt way would be to go and waite upon him. And indeed they gave me ſo many reaſons to conſtrain me to go; that I reſolv'd it without any more to do, and to that purpoſe hir'd Horſes forthwith. The Superiour alſo order'd a Lay-Brother, whoſe Name was *Angelo* of *Viterbo*, to get himſelf ready to bear me Company.

This Lay-Brother was a Perſon of Honeſty and Integrity, and both an able Phyſitian and Surgeon. His Dexterity and the good luck he had in *Georgia* and *Imiretta*, to cure ſeveral Diſeaſes and Wounds which were thought to be incurable, had rais'd him to a high Value and Eſteem over all the Country. He underſtood the Language very well of all thoſe parts, as having travell'd 'em from one end to the other; beſides that he was a Perſon of Courage, Patience, Humility and ſound Judgment. He was the moſt pleaſant and facetious Company in the World, and after I had teſtifi'd to him, that his Society would be of great advantage to me, and a great comfort to me in my return to *Mingrelia*, he told me, that I had no more to do then to requeſt the Superiors leave, and he would willingly go along with me.

The 16th we departed from *Gory* with this honeſt Father, and rode Seven Leagues for the moſt part upon the Banks of the River *Kurr*. The road was very delightful, through fertile Plains, where there was a great number of Villages. Among the reſt there is one City call'd *Cali-Cala* about Four Leagues from *Gory*; that lies almoſt in Ruins, through the midſt of which we are oblig'd to paſs.

The 17th I travell'd ſomewhat more then Six Leagues in a level Road, but ſomewhat Stony in ſome parts. By that time we got half way, we came right againſt the Metropolitan Church of *Georgia*, ſeated upon the Banks of *Kur*. One half of which lies in Ruines, the other ſeems to be entire, and a very fair ſtructure. They tell us, that there is within it one part of the Crown of Thorns, a piece of the Tunick, and a piece of the Prophet *Elia*'s Garment. I did not ſee the Reliques my ſelf, but the *Capuchins* aſſur'd me, they had ſeen 'em ſeveral times. Toward the Evening I arriv'd at *Trifflis*, for the Snow that fell very thick all the Day, hinderd me from getting thither ſooner: at what time the Lay-Brother who accompany'd me, conducted me to the Houſe where the *Capuchins* lay. I had no time to loſe, ſo that as ſoon as I came, I acquainted the Superiour with the reaſon of my coming; which

which my Letters of Recommendation gave him likewiſe to underſtand. And indeed my main buſineſs was to let 'em know the danger in which my goods were, that I had left in *Mingrelia*, and of what importance it was for me to run all hazards to get 'em ſafe from thence. I told the Superiour that there were in my opinion two ſeveral ways to accomplish my deſign, both ſafe in ſome reſpects, but hazardous in others. The firſt was to make my Addreſſes to the Prince of *Georgia*, to ſhew him the Orders of the King his Maſter, and to deſire his Aſſiſtance to fetch from *Mingrelia* what I had got for his Majeſties Uſe. The Second was to go privately into the Country, without diſcovering my ſelf, or telling any perſon what I went about. Nor would I diſcover to the Superiour my Approbation of the Second way for fear of preventing his Judgment. He deſir'd ſome time to conſider before he gave me his advice, and requeſted me withal to acquaint the reſt of the Fryers with what I had imparted to him, for that they moſt part of them having been in *Mingrelia* and *Imiretta*, might give farther light as to the management of my Affairs, and promis'd me he would enjoyn 'em Secrecy under forfeiture of the Holy Obedience. Thereupon I ſatisfi'd the Superiour, and gave the ſame Relation to the reſt of the Monks as I had done to him, conjuring 'em to give me their beſt advice, and all the Aſſiſtance they could in the Misfortune that was befall'n me.

The 18th in the afternoon the Superiour carry'd me into his Chamber, together with the reſt of the Monks, where he lay'd before me all the Reflections that he had made upon my buſineſs, and all the thoughts that had come into his Head concerning it: and the Monks alſo did the ſame thing. They almoſt all agreed to try the private way, without making my ſelf known, which was, in a word, to go ſecretly into *Mingrelia*. They told me that if I imparted my Buſineſs to the Prince of *Georgia*, he would certainly give me all neceſſary Aſſiſtance, that he would ſend People along with me that would bring away all my goods, in regard he was very much fear'd and reſpected both in that Country and *Imiretta*. But this would be to make a great Noiſe, which perhaps might prove my Ruin, if they ſhould wait for me to Murder me in my return and rob me of all I had; for that the Country through which I was to paſs, was all a Country of Murderers and Robbers the moſt reſolute in the World. Beſides that the *Georgians* were very perfidious and wicked: and therefore I had great reaſon to look well to my ſelf; in regard it was not many years ſince

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that a Patriarch of *Moſcovy*, travelling through *Georgia*, had been ſtrip'd of all; in which Fact it was thought the Prince of *Georgia* had a Hand, to make himſelf Maſter of the Wealth which he carry'd along with him. Beſides that, I was alſo to conſider, that though the Prince of *Georgia* ſhould abſolutely obey the Kings Commands, and ſuppoſing he ſhould be real and ſincere, yet he would expect large Preſents; and that it would be impoſſible to ſatisfie him and his Retinue, who were wonderful hungry and ſharp for Perſons of their Condition.

I was overjoy'd to find that the *Capuchins* concurr'd ſo exactly with my Judgment, and thought the very ſame Thoughts which I did: ſo that it was at laſt concluded that I ſhould depart privately with my Companion Fryer *Angelo*. That I ſhould pretend to be a *Theatin*, who had been ſent by thoſe of *Colchis*, who were by War reduc'd to utmoſt Miſery, to beg relief from the *Capuchins*; who had order'd along with me one of their Society to find 'em out, and bring 'em away. Which being thus determin'd, I provided for my Journey; and to that purpoſe I took out all the Jewels, which I had hid in my Saddle, and my Pillow, and having put 'em into a little Trunk that I carry'd about me, I deliver'd 'em to the Cuſtody of the Superiour. And now we were at a great loſs for Horſes, for that no body would venture their Goods into *Mingrelia*; but at length by the power of Money we obtain'd two Guides and their Horſes; giving ſecurity both for the Horſes and the Furniture.

The 20th I ſet forward with Fryer *Angelo* and a *Georgian*, who was a Servant of the *Capuchins*, a Native of *Cotatis*, and who had a Thouſand times travell'd *Colchis* and the parts thereabout, and whom the Superiour ſent along with me, to ſerve me upon all Occaſions where I ſhould have need of a Truſty Perſon. And thus we were five Men, with four Horſes. Upon two of which rode Fryer *Angelo* and my ſelf; the other two carry'd our Proviſions: and all along we gave it out that we were ſent to the *Theatins* of *Mingrelia*. As for my Lacquey, I had diſmiſs'd him, before I went to *Teflis*. This Raſcal had plaid me a Thouſand Roguiſh Tricks, and had once endeavour'd to have ruin'd me; and I have already related how he ſerv'd me at *Gonia*. The *Capuchins* adviſ'd me to have him ſent to Priſon till my return, and then to proſecute him: But the deep ſenſe I had of GOD's Favour towards me, enclin'd me to pardon him altogether. I fear'd to provoke the Wrath of Heaven, ſhould I at a time that Heaven was ſo merciful to

me, have preſum'd to ſeek the Extremities of Juſtice and Rigour. And therefore I paid the wicked Raſcal for all the time that he had ſerv'd me, and let him go, after I had fully diſcover'd all the Rogueries and Miſchievous Qualities that I knew of him, and had given him good Advice to mend his Manners. But my Kindneſs wrought nothing upon him: the Fellow was mad that I had diſmiſs'd him, and gave me thoſe Teſtimonies of his Diſcontent, that were enough to forewarn me of ſome fatal Conſequence of his Revenge. So that I could have found in my Heart to have laid him in Irons: and had I ſaid the leaſt word, the *Capuchins* would have done it in the Twinkling of an Eye, as being in great Credit at *Teflis*. But I forbore, prevented by that Fate which Governs all Things. I was wholly inclin'd to pity; for I expected and deſir'd it too much my ſelf, not to ſhew it to another: and it was no more then what ſeem'd acceptable to GOD. And we ſhall ſee hereafter how he ſhew'd himſelf pleas'd with what I had done; by delivering me from a Dangerous Snare which the Traytor had laid for me.

I return'd to *Gory* the 21ſt.

The 22d we parted thence, and lay ſix Leagues from *Gory*, at a Village upon the Road to *Akalzikè*, which I had Rid in my firſt Travels in thoſe parts.

The 23d we departed by break of Day, and preſently left the Road of *Akalzikè* upon the Left-hand. At Noon we arriv'd at a ſmall Village call'd *Aly*; lying nine Leagues from *Gory*, and ſeated among the Mountains. Two Leagues beyond that, we paſs'd a Streight, which is fenc'd with a great Gate of Carpenters Work, and ſeparates *Georgia* from the Kingdom of *Imiretta*; from whence we rode one League farther, and ſtopp'd at a little Village.

The 24th we travell'd ſeven Leagues in the Mountains; which were full of Snow that fell in great Flakes: the Mountains themſelves, which are a part of Mount *Caucaſus*, being cover'd with very high Trees. There we thought we ſhould have loſt our ſelves: for the Snow being very deep, cover'd all the Paths and Tracks, that we could not ſee our way: but at length we came to a Village call'd *Colbaure*, where we lay. This Village conſiſts of about Two Hunderd Houſes, all in a direct line, and ſo far diſtant one from another, that it is above three Miles from the firſt to the laſt.

The 25th we travell'd not above nine Miles, the bad Weather, the Snow, Cold, and Obſcurity of the Air in thoſe high

Mountains hindring us from going any farther: however, at laſt we lodg'd at a Village containing about thirty Houſes.

The 26th, the Air clear'd up, it had done Snowing, nor was it ſo bitter Cold: ſo that we travell'd Eighteen Miles among the Mountains cover'd with thick Woods. Yet the Road was indifferent, in regard the Aſcents and Deſcents were not very ſteep. And we lay at a ſmall Village by the ſide of a great River.

The 27th we Ferry'd over the River, and travell'd Three Leagues in a Country like that which we had paſs'd the Days before. And deſcending the Mountain we came into a large and fair plain extending as far as we could ſee; and lodg'd at a Village call'd *Seſano*. This Valley is almoſt a League broad from one end to the other; and it is very fertile and very pleaſant, as being water'd with ſeveral Streams; extending it ſelf as far as *Mingrelia*; and being the moſt pleaſant part of all *Imiretta*. The Mountains with which it is ſurrounded are cover'd with Wood and Villages: for the greateſt part of the Mountains are till'd; and full of Vineyards. In this Valley we found the Air to be as warm as if it had been Spring, and very little Snow.

Seſano lay near to a Caſtle belonging to an Ancient Lady, who was Aunt to the King of *Imiretta*, who lay ſick at the time that we arriv'd there. Who hearing that there was a *Capuchin* come to the Village, ſent for him, to diſcourſe with him. For in that Country, they look upon all the Miſſionaries to be Phyſicians. Nor was the Fryer unwilling to viſit her, hoping to procure ſome aſſiſtance from her in our deſign. But two Hours after he had left me, I was ſurpriz'd to be overtaken by another *Capuchin* with a Horſe and a Guide. The cauſe of whoſe following me ſo cloſe was, to give me Intelligence, that the Lacquey which I had diſmiſs'd was come from *Teſſlis* to *Gory*, where he had diſcover'd all that he knew of my buſineſs, ſwearing to ruin me, and that he was gone, no body knew which way. Which ſurpriz'd me very much. For I miſtruſted ſome ſuch thing. I deſir'd the *Capuchin* therefore to tarry with me; gave him a Thouſand Thanks, and highly applauded the great Zeal and Affection of the Society toward me, which they had teſtifi'd by ſuch an evident and Generous Demonſtration: and indeed they could not have given me more apparent tok'ns of their kindneſs.

The 28th we travell'd Five Leagues in the Plain already mention'd; which is very full of Villages and Woods, and

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the ſoyl ſo extreamly fat, that our Horſes had much a do to poach along. After we had travell'd Six Miles, we left the Fortreſs of *Scander* upon the right Hand. The People of the Country call it *Scanda*, and affirm that *Alexander* the Great built it. For the Eaſtern People call that Victorious Prince by the Name of *Scander*. They tell ye farther that he built Seventeen Places more which he call'd by the ſame Name. And perhaps this might be one of the Seventeen, and the ſame which is mention'd by *Q. Curtius* in his Seventh Book. Which I am inclin'd to believe by its Situation, for it is ſeated at the foot of a Mountain. It is now of no force; conſiſting only of two ſquare Towers, without any Wall, with ſome Lodgings round about; nor does it's Antiquity ſeem to exceed about 300 Years.

About a League from *Scander* we paſs'd through *Chicaris*, a Village conſiſting of about Fifty Houſes. It goes for a City in *Imiretta*, though it have neither Walls, nor any thing more remarkable then any other Villages: we put in, and lay at a place, a League from thence.

The 29th and 30th we ſtay'd there. For our Guides would go no farther. The news of the Wars of which all the Travellers upon the Road gave us Intelligence, melted their Hearts i' their Bellies. They cry'd out we ſhould carry 'em to certain Death or Slavery, and indeed they gave us a great deal of trouble. Which I endur'd with as much Patience, and exhorted my two *Capuchins* to the ſame. I lay'd before 'em, that I had let 'em underſtand at my departure from *Teflis*, that it was impoſſible to accompliſh what I had undertaken without a great deal of Courage and Patience, to vanquiſh all the obſtacles which we ſhould infallibly meet with. That we were to manage our People gently and mildly, and to win 'em by fair means and large promiſes. That when we had once got 'em into *Mingrelia* and that they could not go back, the care of their own ſafety would make 'em do what we pleas'd. Thereupon we call'd the two Guides, and the *Georgian* which the Superiour had recommended to me, and told 'em that there was no danger, that we had good Intelligence and Inſtructions, that we had Lives and Goods to preſerve as well as they; and that we had given 'em ſecurity as well for their Lives as their Perſons. To which one in behalf of the reſt made anſwer, that we ſhould give 'em a Writing, wherein we ſhould engage to redeem 'em, if they were tak'n Slaves in that Journy, or elſe to give Sixſcore Crowns to their Wives, if they ſhould

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die. To which I willingly agreed, and made 'em large promiſes beſides. Which put 'em into a good humour to go on.

The 31ſt we ſet forward; though it were bad Weather, and very bad Way. Nevertheleſs we croſs'd three very broad and rapid Rivers, and at length arriv'd at *Cotatis*. Where we lay at the Houſe of Biſhop *Janarell*; who was not at home, however we were well entertain'd. For his Officers were acquainted with Fryer *Angelo*, and knew that their Maſter had a great kindneſs for him.

Cotatis is a Town built at the Foot of a Hill, by the ſide of the River *Phaſis*, conſiſting of about 200 Houſes. Thoſe of the Grandees, and the King's Palace ſtand at a diſtance round about. The Town has neither Fortifications nor Walls, ſaving where it is enclos'd by the River and the Mountain. On the other ſide of the River over againſt the Town, upon the top of a Hill higher then that under which the Town is built, ſtands the Fortreſs of *Cotatis*, of which I have ſpok'n in my Relations of the laſt Revolutions in *Imiretta*. I did not go into it, but I ſaw it plainly from the oppoſite Hill. It has ſeveral Towers, a Dungeon, and a double Wall that appears very high and ſtrong.

When I came to *Cotatis*, I enquir'd what News. And the trueſt that I met with, and which every one aſſur'd us, was, That the new Prince of *Mingrelia*, and the Prince of *Guriel* were retir'd, finding that the *Turks* would keep the Field no longer; that the greateſt part of the Gentry, who had giv'n their Oaths, had forſak'n 'em, and that the *Vizier* of *Dadian* was preparing to fall down from the Mountains with an Army. That as ſoon as the *Vizier* had intelligence of the Retreat of the two Princes and the *Turks*, he had ſent 800 Men to *Dadian*, had writ to him to quit the Fortreſs, and to raiſe what Men he could, that he had proclaim'd a free Pardon to all thoſe that would come and joyn with him; laſtly, that he was come to *Cotatis*, where the King of *Imiretta* had joyn'd him, with the Nobility of his Country; and that they were march'd together in a Body, with a reſolution to fall into the Territories of the Prince of *Guriel*. Which was that, they all moſt earneſtly deſir'd, for that he had been the Occaſion of the Incurſion of the *Turks*, and of all the ſpoil that had been committed during the War. For this reaſon the Armies had croſs'd the *Phaſis* Three Days before, ſo that the opportunity fa-

vour'd me, in regard there was no fear of meeting with any Soldiers.

The 1ſt of *Jan.* 1673. I ſtay'd at *Cotatis* to perform the Duties of Devotion. But as we were at dinner, my two *Capuchins* and I, with my two Guides and my *Armenian*, at the ſame table, according to the cuſtom of the Country, where Maſters and Servants eat all together, I ſaw that Raſcal of a Lacquey, of whom I have already made mention, enter the Room, together with an *Armenian* of *Akalzikè* and a Prieſt of *Cotatis*, who came along to ſhew 'em the Houſe. However I was not very much ſurpriz'd to ſee him. For it was a thing which I daily had in my thoughts, conſidering the reaſon I had to be jealous of the Rogue; nevertheleſs I made no ſhew of my fears: yet I could not but believe he was turn'd *Turk*, ſeeing a white Turbant upon his Head. The Rogue enter'd the Room with a wild and furious Aſpect, and ſate him down among my Servants, without ſo much as ſaying, *By your leave.* Which affront provok'd me to that degree, that I ask'd him, *Wherefore he came in ſuch a fury?* He anſwer'd, *That he came from* Akalzikè, *and that he had perform'd the Journey in two Days.* 'Tis the worſt way in the World, ſaid I; beſides that the Mountains are all cover'd with Snow, like thoſe that we paſt, when we came from *Gonia*. You'll find it true, reply'd the Fellow, for you muſt go along with me to *Akalzikè*: I have Orders to carry you thither. That may be, reply'd I, if thou haſt a greater Power to force me, then I have to hinder thee. For I have nothing to do at *Akalzikè*, neither will I go thither. Boy, ſaid I, thou art ill advis'd; forbear to give thy ſelf the trouble to do me a Miſchief; for GOD will never ſuffer thy Deſigns to proſper to my harm. I paid thee at *Tefflis* all thou couldſt demand: if thou art not ſatisfi'd, ſay what 'tis thou requir'ſt more.

I thus diſcours'd him, to try whether I could reduce him to Reaſon. To which he anſwer'd, That *Tefflis* was a Place where there is no Juſtice to be had, but that at *Akalzikè* he ſhould have Right done him. I reply'd, That without going ſo far, for ſo ſlight a Matter, he might find People enough at *Cotatis* able to decide the difference. All which I ſpoke in the mildeſt Terms imaginable: which nothing mov'd this Vagabond, who turning to his Companion, bid him go and fetch the *Turks*. The Fellow ran out preſently, but this was only a Trick to ſcare me; for I found afterwards, there were no *Turks* that tarry'd till they were ſent for. However, I was extreamly

extreamly terrifi'd, and gave my ſelf over for loſt. All this while the Prieſt of *Cotatis* was ignorant of what paſt, for I ſpake Turkiſh, which he did not underſtand; and therefore he ask'd Fryer *Angelo* what was the Occaſion of the Conteſt; who as ſoon as he knew, which was ſoon after, inform'd the Prieſt. I order'd Fryer *Angelo* to tell him what I had offer'd the Scoundrel to releaſe me of his Pretenſions, that Perſons of Quality might judge of it, and of the Malice of the Rogue that would force me to *Akalzikè*.

The Prieſt and ſeveral *Georgians* running in upon the noiſe that we made, took my part as to the Offer I had made, and deſir'd the miſerable fellow to take it; but the more they preſs'd him, the more Inſolent he grew, and the more audacious in his Threats. Which inflam'd me to that degree, that I was almoſt beſides my ſelf. *Traytor*, ſaid I, *Then 'tis only thy own Wickedneſs puts thee upon this: I tell thee again, that by the help of God, no Man ſhall carry me to* Akalzike, and ſo ſaying, I flew upon him with my Sword in my Hand; but my Arms were held, while the Perfidious Rogue, to whom I intended the miſchief, betook himſelf to flight, trembling and in great Diſorder. After which I did not think my ſelf ſafe, but was willing to have made my eſcape. But *Janarell*'s Steward ſtay'd me, giving me full aſſurance, that I ſhould receive no Injury in his Maſters Houſe, and that no *Turks* would come to meddle with me. Thereupon I advis'd with my two *Capuchins* what courſe to take, the Reſult of which was, that Fryer *Angelo* the next Morning ſhould continue his Journey for *Mingrelia*, and that Father *Juſtin* of *Legorn*, for that was the Name of the *Capuchin* who was ſent after me, as I have ſaid, and I, ſhould tarry together. But the Principal Reaſon was, becauſe we could neither buy nor hire Horſes: and we knew we ſhould meet with none in *Mingrelia*; which oblig'd us to tarry and ſend away the Horſes empty, for my Companion to make uſe of.

The 2d. Fryer *Angelo* ſet forward with the Horſes and the Men which we had hir'd at *Tefflis*. And I return'd to *Chicaris*, Eight Leagues diſtant from *Cotatis*, together with Father *Juſtin*. We made choice of this place to ſtay and expect the ſucceſs of Fryer *Angelo*'s Journey, becauſe it was juſt oppoſite to *Janarell*'s Country-Houſe, where he was with the Queen; from whom we might have aſſiſtance if occaſion requir'd.

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The 5th the Biſhop and the Princeſs ſent for us to come to his Houſe. Thither we therefore went, and din'd with 'em that Day, as we did ſeveral other times, that we made our Viſits. The Queen was a very beautiful Perſon, as I have ſaid, but her Demeanor ſpoil'd all, free even to Impudence. Her Actions and Diſcourſe were all obſcene, without any reſtraint upon her ſelf. Leudneſs appear'd in every thing ſhe ſaid; which is no Vice, nor any Scandal in her Country, where Diſſoluteneſs is an Evil ſo common. Her Biſhop *Janarell* devour'd her with his Eyes. Never was unchaſte Love, more open and leſs reſerv'd. There was no need of more then looking upon the two Lovers, to give an eaſie gueſs at their Familiarity together. The Queen of *Imiretta* is ſerv'd like the Princeſs of *Mingrelia*; only her Table is not ſo well furniſh'd with Plate, but her Train is not ſo mean by much.

The 8th a Gentleman whom the King of *Imiretta* had ſent to *Tefflis*, arriv'd at *Janarell*'s Houſe; and gave the Queen an account of his Negotiation. He was ſent to borrow 800 Crowns, upon the Royal Crown which they offer'd to pawn: the Crown being ſet with Pretious Stones, and might be worth Four Thouſand *Piſtols*. Yet no body would lend any Money upon it. But the Prince of *Georgia* underſtanding the need which the King and Queen of *Imiretta* had of the Money, ſent 'em a Preſent; to the King, three Horſes, a quantity of Arms, and a Thouſand Crowns in Silver; to the Queen ſeveral Pieces of Tiſſue, Sattins and Taffata's, and Five Hunderd Crowns. And the reaſon why the *Georgian* Prince was ſo kind, was to keep their Majeſties ſtedfaſt in their Reſolutions to adopt one of his Sons.

The 12th I went to wait upon the King: who was brought back from the Army by reaſon he was fallen Sick. He did us a great deal of Honour, ſhew'd us Extraordinary Kindneſs, made us ſit down by him, and diſcours'd us with much Familiarity. He complain'd to Father *Juſtin*, for that he and his Companions had quitted *Cotatis*. Which the Father excus'd by alleadging the occaſion of their Removal to have been the continual Wars, by which they had ſuffer'd very much. I am ſorry for it, reply'd the King, but I cannot help it; for I am a poor Blind Man, and they make me do what they pleaſe themſelves. I dare not diſcover my ſelf to any one whatever, I miſtruſt all the World; and yet I ſurrender my ſelf to all, not daring to offend any Body, for fear of being Aſſaſſinated by every Body. This poor Prince is young, and well ſhap'd;

and well ſhap'd; and he always wears a Handkercher over the upper part of his Face, to wipe up the Rhume that diſtils from the holes of his Eyes, and to hide ſuch a hideous ſight from thoſe that come to viſit him. He is of a mild Diſpoſition, and a great Lover of Jeſts and Drollery. He told Father *Juſtin*, He ſhould do well to Marry in his Country. To which Father *Juſtin* made anſwer, That he could not Marry, as being under the ſame Vow with the Biſhops and Monks of *Imiretta*. *How!* ſaid he, interrupting Father *Juſtin*, and burſting out into a great laughter, *our Biſhops and Monks have every one nine apiece, beſides thoſe of their Neighbours.*

The 16th by break of Day I was to my great ſatisfaction wak'nd by my Comrade that came along with me to *Mingrelia*. Who told me, That Fryer *Angelo*, together with the Men and Horſes which I had ſent, were arriv'd the ninth at *Sippias*; where they were extraordinarily troubl'd, and almoſt at their Wits end, becauſe they had heard no News of me ſince my departure, and for that they could not either for Love or Money get any Horſes to carry 'em into *Georgia*. That underſtanding my happy arrival at *Tefflis*, and that I ſtaid near *Cotatis* in expectation of him, he was overjoy'd, and that he forthwith prepar'd himſelf for his Journey, having taken out of the Earth, the Woods, and from between the Tiles of the Houſe the one half of what they had hid there. That he had ſtaid till the 'leventh day, to the end he might reſt his Horſes; leaving one of the moſt faithful of our Servants to take care of the reſt, which they durſt not remove, for fear of endangering all at one venture. And after he had told me thus far, Ne'er trouble your ſelf, ſaid he at length, at what I have told ye; GOD be thanked all's ſafe and well. And then proceeding,

Saturday the 14th, ſaid he, we came ſafe and well to *Cotatis* about eight in the Evening: at what time Fryer *Angelo* carry'd me to *Janatelle's*. By the way, I never heard, ſaid he, till yeſterday, how your Servant that you diſmiſs'd, came to threaten ye the firſt day of the Year as he did, for had I known it, I ſhould ne're have ſtopp'd at *Cotatis*. But then, neither Fryer *Angelo* nor any of our People thinking more of it, deſir'd me upon *Sunday* Morning, that they might ſtay till Noon, and refreſh themſelves a little. To which I conſented, and bid 'em get a good Dinner. But as I ſate at Table, I ſaw the Rogue of a Lacquey come into the Room with Twenty Armed Janizaries. Where's my Maſter? Cry'd the Young

Ragamuffin, he would have Murder'd me, but I'll do his Buſineſs for him now. And ſo ſaying, he lookt about the Room for yee, and not finding yee there, he went into your Chamber, thinking you had hid up your ſelf. I follow'd him, and throwing my ſelf at his Feet, What have I done to yee, that you ſhould go about to ruine me? If my Comrade have miſ-us'd yee, or not pay'd yee to your content, that's no fault of mine; make your demands, and you ſhall have it without more ado, only ſend away theſe *Turks* that you have brought along with yee. It ſhall be done, reply'd the Young Traytor, I'll go and diſmiſs the *Turks*, and come again preſently.

And ſo ſaying, he went back into the Hall, pointing to Fryer *Angelo*, There, ſaid he to the Janiſaries, take that Man, and carry him to the Commander of the Fortreſs; and ſo at the ſame time the poor Fryer was ſeiz'd and carry'd away. The Janiſaries look'd up and down to ſee what Booty they could find; and preſently they ſnatch'd up our Felts that ſerv'd us for Cloaks: they did not ſo much as meet with any of my Arms; and which was a more ſignal mark of GOD's Providence, they miſt the Bags which I brought along with me, where were above Fifty Thouſand Crowns in Gold and Jewels. As ſoon as the Janiſaries had left the Houſe, I ſent a Man after Fryer *Angelo*, and conjur'd the Carriers to let us make our eſcape with all ſpeed. So that we Saddl'd and Loaded our Horſes forthwith, and betook our ſelves to flight with all the haſte we could. Thus GOD aſſiſted me, and by his Grace and Favour *I* am at length got hither, with all that *I* was entruſted with in *Mingrelia*. For what the Janiſaries took was hardly worth two *Piſtols*.

I might here endeavour to expreſs the Joy and Satisfaction which *I* receiv'd upon the rehearſal of theſe happy Tydings, but they are only to be imagin'd, nor is it that which the Reader deſires to know. Father *Juſtin* went preſently to the Queen and *Janatelle*, to make his complaints of what the *Turks* had done in his Houſe, and to deſire him to labour for the Liberty of Fryer *Angelo*: and about Noon the Father return'd and aſſur'd us, that they had ſent two Gentlemen to that purpoſe, to the Commander of the Fortreſs. For my part *I* would have been gone preſently, ſuch was my dread of the *Turks*, though without any ground: but there was a neceſſity for us to let our Horſes reſt. In the mean time, in the Afternoon my Comrade hir'd other Horſes to return into *Mingrelia*, and fetch what was left behind; while *I* prepar'd to ſet forward for *Tefflis*, with that which he had already brought.

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The 17th my Comrade and I parted, taking each our ſeveral Roads: he for *Mingrelia*, with Five Men and Four Horſes; I for *Tefflis*, with Father *Juſtin*, Three Men and Three Horſes.

The 22th at Night, I arriv'd at *Gori*; where I ſtay'd two Days to change Gold, as well to aſſiſt Father *Juſtin* to make preparations for his return to *Cotatis*, whither he was to carry my Comrade Money, and to accompany him from thence to *Tefflis*, as to get Fryer *Angelo* ſet at Liberty, if he ſhould be detain'd a Priſoner.

To which purpoſe, Father *Juſtin* departed the 25th in the Morning for *Cotatis*, and I at the ſame time ſet forward for *Tefflis*. Where I arriv'd thanks be to GOD the 26th in the Afternoon, with the *Capuchin* Fryer which the Superiour of *Gori* had lent me, as not being willing to leave me without Company.

The 6th of *February* in the Evening, my Comrade arriv'd at *Tefflis*, with the Servants which I had left in *Colchis*, a *Theatin Fryer* and Father *Angelo*. After I had embrac'd 'em all, Fryer *Angelo* took me aſide, to give me an accompt of the Series of the whole Adventure. You know, ſaid he, after what manner your perfidious Lacquey caus'd me to be apprehended by the Janiſaries, who were ſent by the Commander of the Fortreſs to ſeize me. For the Raſcal had told the Commander how that you ow'd him Three Hunderd Crowns; that you were an Ambaſſador; that you had been in *Mingrelia* to fetch away a vaſt Treaſure, which you had left there; and that by the ſeizure of your Perſon, he would meet with a purchaſe that would enrich him for ever. This Traytor preſs'd the Janiſaries, who carry'd me to the Fortreſs to bind me, and uſe me ſeverely; but they had a greater reſpect and veneration for my habit: and beſide there was among 'em an *Italian Renegado* who caus'd 'em to be very civil. I march'd along as ſlowly as poſſibly I could, and kept the Raſcals in diſcourſe, to the end I might give your Comrade the more leiſure to make his eſcape; for I made no queſtion but he would take that courſe. When they brought me before the Commander, he ask'd the Varlet who had caus'd me to be apprehended, whether I was his Maſter, who anſwer'd, No; for that he could not find his Maſter; but that aſſuredly I knew where he was. I reply'd, I knew not where you were, only that when I left yee, you had a deſign to go for *Tefflis*. The Commander ask'd me afterwards, ſeveral Queſtions concerning your Quali-

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ty; and told me that I muſt pay the Three Hunderd Crowns, which it was ſaid you ow'd the fellow. To which I anſwer'd, That you were no more then a poor Perſon in Holy Orders, who had undertaken to give me Intelligence of the Miſerable Condition of thoſe in *Mingrelia*. Which when I underſtood, I went to give 'em a Viſit; that I was no farther acquainted with your concerns; and that as for Money I had none. And that the People in *Cotatis*, from the Prince to the meaneſt of his Subjects, well knew, that I was a Perſon that made a profeſſion of Poverty.

Upon this, the Commander order'd me to be ſearch'd, and they found the Girdle which you had ſent me to wear, where there was no more then only Six Pound, for by a wonderful Providence of God, your Comrade had not given me any Jewels to quilt into it, according to your appointment. Thereupon the Commander finding no more then that inconſiderable Sum, ſaid he to the Lacquey, Where is all the Treaſure, ye Rogue, with which thou haſt fill'd my Head? bring'ſt thou me hither this poor Fellow to jeer me? Thou art a cheating Raſcal, and I'll have thee Drubb'd to Death. Sir, anſwer'd the Varlet, trembling for fear, The Wealth is in the Cuſtody of my Maſter's Comrade, that lies at *Janatelle's*. Dog, as thou art, reply'd the Commander, Why didſt not bring him hither? And ſo ſaying, He ſent him back with the ſame Janiſaries that had guarded me to the Fortreſs, and commanded 'em expreſly to bring away your Comrade: and indeed I was afraid they would have met with him; but I was overjoy'd, when the Janiſaries return'd and told the Commander, that the Perſon had made his eſcape. Which made him vent his Rage upon the La quey, who was in a ſtrange Agony, between Fear and Madneſs: at what time he began to open his Eyes, and to perceive that GOD had confounded his Malice, by his miſſing your Comrade with all that he carry'd under his care. Thereupon I gave an accompt to the Commander of all the Villanies, and wicked Tricks which the Raſcal had committed in your Service, and how liberal and kind you had been to him nevertheleſs, in paying him his Wages.

That Evening the Commander invited me to ſup with him at his own Table; for he underſtood I was a Phyſitian, and preſently fanci'd himſelf to be ill. So that I made him up ſome Medecins, as well for himſelf, as for ſome of the Souldiers that were in the Fortreſs. He order'd an Italian *Renegado* to be my Guards, at what time your Lacquey would have had him

laid me in Irons for fear I ſhould make my eſcape. For the Raſcal ſtudy'd a Thouſand Tricks to do me a Miſchief. But the next Day the Queen and *Janatelle* ſent two Gentlemen to the Commander to demand my Freedom, as being their Phyſitian, and the King's alſo: and about Noon there came two Gentlemen more from a great Lord of the Country, whoſe Wife lay ſick; and he had been inform'd, that I was a Priſoner in the Fortreſs for Debt. Thereupon he ſent to the Commander of the Fortreſs, to releaſe me, and he would pay my Debt: but alas, there was nothing more clear then that I ow'd nothing. However, I muſt give Twenty Five Crowns to the Commander; which being paid, I was ſet at Liberty, notwithſtanding the Noiſe and Clamour of the Lacquey, who preſs'd that I might not be releas'd, and told the Commander, That there would be a Thouſand Crowns giv'n to purchaſe my Liberty, rather then let me lie. So ſoon as I was free, they carry'd me to the Lords Houſe, to whom I was beholding for my Liberty; from whence I ſent to *Chicaris* to know what News: by the return of which Meſſage, I underſtood that you were gone to *Tefflis*, and your Comrade was return'd to *Mingrelia*. Some few Days after Father *Juſtin* arriv'd at *Chicaris*, and underſtanding there where I was, he came to me; and then having repaid the Twenty Five Crowns which the Lord had disburs'd for my Deliverance out of Priſon, we return'd to *Chicaris*. Where in two Days your Comrade arriv'd with all that was left behind of yours in *Mingrelia*: who told us what Road he had tak'n to miſs *Cotatis*. To which purpoſe he had Ferry'd over the *Phaſis* ſix Leagues from that City; at what time the Ferryman told him, That the Rogue who had laid ſo many Snares for us, had giv'n two Crowns to give him Intelligence of your Comrade's Paſſage: and that the Villain was under the Guard of four Janiſaries, who had order not to let him eſcape: for that the Commander was reſolv'd to make him perform what he had promis'd him. And thus you ſee, ſaid he, that hitherto all things have luckily ſucceeded, and that GOD has confounded that Villain in his Wickedneſs, whoſe Juſtice queſtionleſs will not permit him to eſcape the Clutches of the Turkiſh Commander, without receiving ſome Puniſhment.

It was now late; nevertheleſs my Comrade and I could not go to Supper, till we had diſcours'd of the happy Iſſue of our Labour, and of all our Misfortunes, of which, what I have recounted, is but a part of the Truth; nor till we had breath'd

out to GOD our Ardent Thankſgivings for his Infinite Goodneſs, his Omnipotent, and his Miraculous Deliverance: For we expected no ſuch thing, when we were in Tribulation. And indeed, who could have hop'd to have ſav'd all, when we were in ſuch imminent danger of loſing all? The next Day following we caſt up the Accompts of our Loſſes in this Diſaſtrous Journey, and found that it did not amount to more then above one *per Cent.* of all that we had ſav'd, and fortunately brought to *Tefflis*, without any thing being either broken or ſpoil'd.

GEORGIA, I mean all the Country ſo call'd which is under the *Perſian* Juriſdiction, borders at this day to the Eaſt upon *Circaſſia* and *Moſcovy*; to the Weſt upon *Armenia* the *Leſs*; to the South upon *Armenia* the *Greater*; to the North upon the *Black-Sea*, and that part of *Colchis* which is call'd *Imiretta*, which in my Opinion is all that Country which the Ancients nam'd *Iberia*. *Georgia* extended formerly from *Tauris* and *Erzerum* to the River *Tanais*, and was call'd *Albania*, being bounded, as I have deſcrib'd it. It is a Country very full of Wood, and very Mountainous, that encloſe a greater Number of pleaſant Plains that run out in length, but are not proportionable in breadth: only the middle of *Georgia* is more even and level then the reſt: And the River *Kur*, which moſt Geographers call *Cyrus*, runs through the midſt of it. It takes its riſe in the Mountain *Caucaſus*, a Day and a half's Journey from *Akalzikè*, as has been ſaid; and empties it ſelf into the *Caſpian* Sea.

I have ſeen ſome old *Perſian* Geographies, that place *Georgia* in the Greater *Armenia*. The Moderns make a particular Province of it, which they call *Gorgiſtan*, and divide into four parts; *Imiretta*, of which we have ſpoken; the Country of *Guriel*, wherein is comprehended all that is under the Government of *Akalzikè*; the Kingdom of *Caket*, which extends it ſelf very far into Mount *Caucaſus*, and is properly the Ancient *Iberia*; and *Carthuel*, which is the Eaſtern *Georgia*, and which the Ancient Geographers call the *Aſiatick Albania*. The Kingdoms of *Caket* and *Carthuel* are under the *Perſian* Dominion: and this is that which the *Perſians* call *Gurgiſtan*: but the *Georgians* give it no other Name then that of *Carthueli*. Which is no new Name, as being to be found in the Writings of ſeveral Ancient Authors, although ſomewhat corrupted; eſpecially St *Epiphanias*, who ſpeaking of theſe People, calls 'em *Cardians*. It's reported that the *Grecians* were the firſt who gave

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'em the Name of *Georgians* from the word *Georgoi*, which ſignifies Husbandmen. Though others will have this Name to derive it ſelf from that of St. *George*, the Patron Saint of all the Chriſtians of the Greek Church.

There are very few Cities in all *Georgia*, as has been obſerv'd: though there has been many more formerly in the Kingdom of *Caket*. But now they lie all in Ruines unleſs one which is alſo call'd *Kaket*. And I heard ſay, while I ſtay'd at *Tefflis*, that theſe Cities were very large and ſumptuouſly Built, as may be well enough conjectur'd, as well by that which is not as yet altogether deſtroy'd, as by the ruines themſelves. Now theſe Northern Inhabitants of Mount *Caucaſus*, thoſe *Alans*, *Suans*, *Huns* and other Nations ſo greatly fam'd for their ſtrength and Courage, and by the Report of many People, another Nation of the *Amazons*, were they that continually harraſs'd and tanſackt this little Kingdom of *Kaket*. The *Amazons* lay bordering upon it above, to the North. Wherein as well the Ancient as Modern Geographers agree. *Ptolomy* fixes their Country in the *Aſiatic Sarmatia*, which is now call'd *Tartary*, to the Weſt of *Volga*, between the River and the *Hippic* Mountains: and there it is that the Northern part of the Kingdom of *Kaket* exactly lies. *Quintus Curtius* ſays alſo to the ſame effect, that the Kingdom of *Thaleſtris* was near to the River *Phaſis*. And *Strabo* is of the ſame opinion, ſpeaking of the Expeditions of *Pompey* and *Canidius*. I confeſs, I never ſaw any Perſon in *Georgia* who had been in the Country of the *Amazons*; but I have heard many of 'em tell Stories of thoſe People. And they ſhew'd me in the Prince's Palace, a large Female habit of a courſe Woollen Stuff, and peculiar for its Faſhion and Shape, which they ſaid was the Garment of an *Amazon*, that was ſlain near *Caket* in the laſt Wars. Shortly we may hear farther news of theſe Famous Warriours; for the *Capuchins* of *Tefflis* told me, they would ſend two Miſſionaries into their Country: the Congregation having order'd that they ſhould be diſpatch'd thither. I had once a long diſcourſe with the Prince of *Georgia*'s Son upon this Subject; at what time, among other things he told me, that Five Days Journey beyond *Caket* toward the North, there liv'd a Numerous People, of whom they had no knowledge at all; who were continually at War with the *Tartars*, which they call *Calmac*, and the ſame with thoſe which we call *Calmouqus*: that the ſeveral People that inhabit Mount *Caucaſus* are continually at Wars one with another; and that it ſignifies nothing

thing to make any Peace or Truce with 'em, as being a ſort of Savages, that have neither Religion, Government nor Laws. Therefore they that lie next to *Caket* make frequent Inroads into the Country: which obliges the *Viceroy*, who is the Eldeſt Son of the Prince of *Georgia*, to be always ready in Arms to repel thoſe Barbarians.

Upon the Information which I gave the Young Prince, of what the *Greek* and *Roman* Hiſtorians related concerning the *Amazons*, after I had diſcours'd for ſome time upon that occaſion, his opinion was, that they were ſome particular People among the wandring *Scythians*, as the *Turcomans*, and *Arabs*, who ſubmitted themſelves to the Soveraignty of Women, like the *Achineſes*; that thoſe Queens made uſe of Perſons of their own Sex to ſerve 'em, and to follow 'em where-ever they went. And as for their riding a Horſeback like Men, it is eaſily apprehended and as eaſie to be credited, and that they alſo were Arm'd. For in the Eaſtern Countries, all Women beſtride their Horſes like Men: and ſome of 'em mount their Horſes and ride 'em as well, beſides that the Princeſſes alſo wear Daggers at their ſides. But as for the Mutilation of their Breaſts, and other particulars reported of the *Amazons*, we reject 'em, and rank 'em among the Fables, with which the leaſing *Greeks* had the Impudence to fill their Hiſtories, according to the Sarcaſm of the Latin Poet.

The Province of *Carthuel* contains no more then Four Cities, *Gory*, *Suram*, *Aly* and *Tefflis*. *Gory* is a ſmall City, ſeated in a Plain between two Mountains upon the Bank of the River *Curr*, at the Foot of a Hillock, upon which there is a Fortreſs Built which is Gariſon'd by Native *Perſians*. It was Built in the laſt *Gurgiſtan* Wars, about Forty Years ſince by *Ruſtan Can*, General of the *Perſian* Army: and an *Auſtin Monk*, who was then at *Gory* drew the draught of it. However the Fortreſs is a place that is not able to make any great defence; its principal ſtrength conſiſting in its Situation, having a Hunderd Men within it: Nor is the City that lies under it but very ſmall, the Houſes and Market Places being all Built of Earth. The Inhabitants however, are all very Rich and Wealthy. And it is very well ſtor'd with all things neceſſary for Human ſupport at a cheap rate.

Suram is indeed no more then a Town not above half as big as the City of *Gory*; but the Fortreſs adjoyning is large and well Built, having within it a Hunderd Men in Gariſon. Near to *Suram* is the Country call'd *Semaſhè*. Which in the

Georgian

Georgian Language ſignifies *Three Caſtles*. The People of this Country boaſt, That *Noah* dwelt in this Country after he came out of the *Ark*, and that his three Sons built 'em every one a Caſtle. I ſay nothing here of *Aly*, becauſe I have ſpok'n of it in another place.

The Temper of the Air is very kindly in *Georgia*; being very dry, cold in the Winter, and hot in the Summer. Their fair Weather does not begin till *May*, but it laſts till the end of *November*. The Soyl muſt be well water'd, or elſe it proves very barren; but that care tak'n, it produces all ſorts of Grain, Herbs and Fruits in abundance. *Georgia* is therefore as fertile a Country as any can be imagin'd, where a Man may live both deliciouſly and very cheap. Their Bread is as good as any in the World: their Fruit is delicious and of all ſorts. Neither is there any part of *Europe* that produces fairer Pears and Apples, or better taſted, nor does any part of *Aſia* bring forth more delicious Pomegranates. Cattel are very plentiful and very good, as well the larger ſort as the leſſer. Their Fowl of all ſorts is incomparable, eſpecially their Wild-Fowl: Their Boars-Fleſh is as plentiful and as good as any in *Colchis*. The Common People live upon nothing elſe but young Porkers; of which there are abundance in all parts of the Country: and indeed there is no better Food in the World, then this Meat: beſide that the People of the Country aſſure us, that it never offends the Stomach, let 'em eat never ſo much. Which I believe to be true; for though I eat of it almoſt every Meal, yet it never did me harm. The *Caſpian* Sea, which is next to *Georgia*, and the *Kurr*, that runs quite through it, ſupplies it with all ſorts of ſalt and freſh Fiſh; ſo that we may truly ſay That there is no Country where a Man may have an Opportunity to fare better then in this.

And with the ſame boldneſs we may aſſert, That there is no Country where they drink more or better Wine. The Vines grow about the Trees as in *Colchis*: and they daily tranſport great Quantities of Wine into *Media*, *Armenia*, and to *Iſpahan* for the Kings Table. As much as a Horſe can carry, which is 300 weight, coſts no more then Twelve Shillings: I ſpeak of their beſt Wine; for the common ſort is cheaper by half: and all other Proviſions are at a proportionable rate. The Country of *Georgia* alſo produces a great Quantity of Silk; tho not ſo much by half as moſt Travellers report: But the People of the Country know not how to weave it, and therefore they

carry it into *Turkey*, to *Erzerum*, and the parts adjoyning, where they drive a great Trade.

The Complexion of the *Georgians* is the moſt beautiful in all the Eaſt; and I can ſafely ſay, That I never ſaw an ill-favour'd Countenance in all that Country, either of the one or other Sex: but I have ſeen thoſe that have had Angels Faces; Nature having beſtow'd upon the Women of that Country Graces and Features, which are not other where to be ſeen: So that 'tis impoſſible to behold 'em without falling in Love. More Charming Countenances, nor more Lovely Statures and Proportions cannot be Pencill'd forth by all the Art of Man, then thoſe of the *Georgian* Women. They are Tall, clear Limb'd, Plump and Full, but not over Fat, and extreamly Slender in the Waſte: Let 'em have never ſo few Cloaths on, you ſhall not ſee their Hips. That which ſpoils all is this, that they all Paint, as well the Lovely as leſs Beautiful. For they make uſe of Paint in ſtead of other Ornaments: Nevertheleſs when they Dreſs themſelves, they Deck themſelves in Sumptuous Habits and Jewels as our Women do.

The *Georgians* alſo are Naturally very Witty. Nor would there be more Learned Men, or more Ingenious Maſters in the World, were they but improv'd by the Knowledge of Arts and Sciences: but their Education is ſo mean and paltry, that having nothing but bad Examples before their Eyes, thoſe Parts of theirs are altogether drown'd in Vice and Ignorance. VVhich is the reaſon that they are generally Cheats and Knaves, perfidious, treacherous, ingrateful and proud. Impudent beyond Imagination to deny their own VVords, and their very Deeds; to ſet afoot and maintain Falſhood; to demand more then is their Due; to counterfeit Deeds and forge Lyes. They are irreconcileable in their Enmities, and never forgive. True it is, they are not eaſily provok'd; nor do they readily admit thoſe Hatreds which they preſerve inviolably when once conceiv'd. And beſides theſe Vices of the Mind, no Men are more addicted to their ſenſual Pleaſures and Beſtial Voluptuouſneſs; that is to ſay, to Drunkenneſs and Luxury. In which filthy Divertiſements, they plunge themſelves with ſo much the more freedom, becauſe they are ſo common, and not lookt upon as ſcandalous in *Georgia*. The Church-men will be as drunk as others, and keep Female Slaves in their Houſes, to make uſe of in ſtead of Concubines: at which no body is offended, as being no more then what is generally practis'd, and as it were authoriz'd by Cuſtom. In ſo much that the Superiour

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of the *Capuchins* aſſur'd me, That he had heard the *Catholicos*, or *Patriarch* of *Georgia* ſay, That he who was not abſolutely drunk at great Feſtivals, ſuch as *Eaſter* and *Chriſtmas*, could not be a good Chriſtian, and deſerv'd to be Excommunicated. Beſides this, the *Georgians* are likewiſe very great Uſurers: They never lend any Money without a Pawn, and the loweſt Intereſt which they take is Two in the Hunderd for a Month.

Neither are the Women leſs Vicious and Wicked then the Men. They have an Extraordinary Addiction to the Male Sex; and certainly contribute more then they, to that Torrent of Uncleanneſs which overflows all the Country. On the other ſide, the *Georgians* are Civil and Courteous, and more then that, they are Grave and Moderate. Their Manners and Cuſtoms are a Mixture of the ſeveral Cuſtoms of the Nations that lie round about 'em. Which proceeds, as I believe from their Commerce and Dealings with Variety of People, and the Liberty allow'd in *Georgia*, to obſerve their own Religion and Cuſtoms, and to defend 'em in their diſcourſe. You ſhall meet here in this Country with *Armenians*, *Greeks*, *Jews*, *Turks*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, *Tartars*, *Muſcovites* and *Europeans*; and the *Armenians* are ſo numerous, that they exceed the *Georgians*. They are alſo more Wealthy, and for the moſt part ſupply all the ſmall Offices and mean Employments. But the *Georgians* are ſtouter, more Haughty, more Vain, and more Pompous. Which difference between their Inclinations, their Manners and their Belief, has caus'd a very great Enmity between 'em. They mutually hate one another, and never Marry into one anothers Families. Particularly the *Georgians* contemn the *Armenians* with a more then ordinary Scorn; and look upon 'em much about the ſame Rate as we do the *Jews* in *Europe*. The *Georgian* Habit reſembles very much the *Polonian* Garb, their Bonnets being like to theirs. Their Veſts are open before all down the Breaſt, and faſten'd with Buttons and Loops. Their Hoſe and Shooes are like thoſe of the *Perſians*. And for the Womens habit it is altogether *Perſian*.

The Houſes of the Grandees, and all their Public Edifices, are Built according to the *Perſian* Models: nor is Building at all expenſive, as having Wood, Stone, Lime and Plaiſter in great Abundance; they alſo imitate the *Perſians* in ſitting at their Tables, in their Beds, and manner of Dyet.

The Nobility exerciſe a more then Tyrannical Power over their Subjects; far worſe then in *Colchis*. They will make their

Peaſants

Peaſants labour whole Months together, and as much as they pleaſe without allowing 'em either Food or Wages. They challenge a Right over the Eſtates Liberty and Lives of their Vaſſals: they take their Childern and ſell 'em, or elſe make Slaves of 'em themſelves. But they very ſeldom ſell any of the Rabble above Twenty Years of Age, eſpecially Women.

The Belief of the *Georgians* is like that of the *Mingrelians*; as having been converted to the Faith both at the ſame time, in the Fourth Age, and by the ſame means of an *Iberian* Woman, who was converted her ſelf to Chriſtianity at *Conſtantinople*. But ſince that, both the one and the other have loſt all ſence of Chriſtianity; ſo that as I have ſaid of the *Mingrelians*; they have nothing remaining of Chriſtianity but the Name. So is it as true that the *Georgians* neither obſerve or know the leaſt precept of the Law of Jeſus Chriſt. Nevertheleſs the *Georgians* more ſtrictly obſerve their Faſts, and make longer Prayers. VVhile I was at *Tefflis*, the Miſſionaries ſent to *Rome* a Relation of the State of their Miſſion, which they ſhew'd me; wherein I found one very pleaſant paſſage, which I ſhall ſet down among the reſt as not being either unſeaſonable or impertinent. There was a VVoman at *Gory*, who having led a very ill Life, at length fell dangerouſly ill, inſomuch that ſhe thought ſhe ſhould die. VVhereupon ſhe ſent for a Prieſt, and made her Confeſſion, diſcover'd to him all her Leud Pranks, and made him great Proteſtations, that if ſhe recover'd, ſhe would never admit of any other Man but her Husband. To whom, the Prieſt, *Madam*, ſaid he, *I know yee too well, to believe yee: it will be impoſſible for yee to leave off the Company of your* Gallants. *My requeſt therefore is, that you will entertain no more then Two or Three, which I will allow yee to do upon that Condition, which I ſhall impoſe upon yee.* But the VVoman diſdaining the Propoſal of her Confeſſor, put him out of her Houſe and ſending for a *Capuchin*, told him the whole Story, and afterwards made her Confeſſion to him. The ſame Relation adds, that the Prieſts enjoyn their Penitents that confeſs the taking of another Bodies Goods, to bring the Goods to Them, and not to reſtore 'em to the Right Owners; ſo that Reſtitution is never made.

There are ſeveral Biſhops in *Georgia*, an *Archbiſhop* and a *Patriarch*, whom they call *Catholicos*. Whoſe preferments when Vacant are ſupply'd by the Prince though a *Mahometan*, who generally prefers his kindred and Relations: ſo that the Preſent *Patriarch* is his Brother. As for the Churches in

Georgia, they are ſomething more cleanly kept then thoſe in *Mingrelia*. And in the Cities you ſhall ſee ſome that are very decent, though they are altogether as naſty in the Country. The *Georgians*, as all the other Chriſtians that ſurround 'em to the North and Weſt, have a ſtrange humour to build all their Churches upon high Mountains, in remote and almoſt inacceſſible Places. Where they view 'em, and bow to 'em at the diſtance of three or four Leagues: but ſeldom or never go into 'em; and we may boldly aſſert, that the moſt part of 'em are hardly open'd once in Ten Years. They erect 'em, and then leave 'em to the Injuries of the Weather, and for the Birds and Fowls of the Air to build their Neſts in. I could never find out the Reaſon of this Extravagance, the Anſwers of all Perſons of whom I enquir'd, being altogether as extravagant: *'Tis the Cuſtom.* The *Georgians* however are fully perſwaded, that whatever Sins they have committed, they ſhall obtain Pardon by building a little Church. Though for my part I am apt to believe they build 'em in ſuch remote and inacceſſible Places, to avoid the Charges of Adorning and Repairing of 'em.

And now I come to the Relations and Hiſtories of the Conqueſt of *Georgia* by the *Perſians*, which are ſo numerous, that I ſhould have been ſilent in this particular, if thoſe Authors had agreed among themſelves, or if I had found they had been rightly inform'd. Briefly therefore, here is that which I have met with in the Stories of *Perſia* themſelves.

Iſhmael the Great, (whom our Hiſtorians have Sirnam'd the *Sophy*) after he had ſubdu'd the Countries that lie to the Weſt of the *Caſpian* Sea, of *Media* and part of *Armenia*, and that he had expell'd the *Turks* out of all theſe Places, made War alſo upon the *Georgians*, though they had ſent him numerous Succors at the beginning of his Reign. The event of which War was ſucceſsful to him, as having reduc'd 'em to pay him Tribute, and give him Hoſtages. Now *Georgia*, as well as the Kingdoms of *Kaket* and *Carthuel*, had ſeveral Petty Kings, call'd *Eriſtares*, Feudataries, and always at Wars one with another. Which was the Reaſon, or at leaſt the Means that moſt contributed to the Ruine of the *Georgians*. They pay'd their Tribute during all the Reign of *Iſhmael*, and his Succeſſor *Tahmas*, who was a Prince of great Courage, and fortunate in War. During his Reign *Luarzab* rul'd in that part of *Georgia* which is call'd *Carthuel*, and is as I have ſaid the Eaſtern *Georgia*, and borders upon *Perſia* Eaſtward. This

King left two Sons behind him, between whom he divided his Kingdom; *Simon* the Eldeſt, and *David* the Younger. But being both ill ſatisfi'd with their Diviſion, they made War one upon another, and in thoſe Wars both deſir'd *Tahmas* to aſſiſt 'em. The Younger Brother was beforehand with *Simon*. To whom *Tahmas* return'd for anſwer, That he would put him in poſſeſſion of all his Fathers Dominions, if he would turn *Mahometan*. *David* accepted the Condition, embrac'd the *Mahometan* Religion, and went and ſurrender'd himſelf to the *Perſian* Army, which was already enter'd his Dominions, to the Number of Thirty Thouſand Horſe; upon which he was preſently ſent to *Tahmas*, who lay then at *Casbin*. So ſoon as he had got the *Georgian* Prince in his Clutches, he wrote to *Simon* to the ſame effect as he had written to his Brother, that is to ſay, That he ſhould quit his Religion, and come to him, if he intended to enjoy the Kingdom of his Anceſtors.

Simon, finding the *Perſian* Army preſſing too ſeverely upon him, ſurrender'd his Perſon, but would not abjure his Religion. But *Tahmas*, being now Maſter of both the Princes, and of the Country of *Georgia*, ſent the Eldeſt Brother Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Genghè* near the *Caſpian* Sea; and made the other Governour of *Georgia*, changing his Name from *David* to *Daoud-Can*, which denoted him to be of the *Mahometan* Profeſſion. Which done, he took an Oath of Fidelity from all the chief *Georgian* Lords, and carry'd away their Childern and *David*'s alſo as Hoſtages into *Perſia*.

After the Death of *Tahmas*, the *Georgians* ſhook off the *Perſian* Yoak, as did alſo the moſt part of the Provinces of *Perſia*, and they were at Liberty during the Reign of *Iſhmael* the *Second*, which did not laſt above two Years; and during the firſt four Years of *Mahomet Kodabendè*, that is, *The Servant of GOD*: who ſent an Army into *Georgia* to reduce 'em to Obedience. *Daoud Can* fled upon the Approach of the Army. At what time his Brother *Simon*, a Priſoner as I have already declar'd, near the *Caſpian* Sea, laying hold of the Opportunity to re-enter into his Dominions, became a *Mahometan*, and was made *Can* of *Tefflis*, under the Name of *Simon-Can*.

During the Reign of *Mahomet Kodabendè*, dy'd *Alexander* King of *Kaket*, leaving Three Sons and Two Daughters. Of which *David* was the Eldeſt; a Prince whoſe Courage and Misfortunes have render'd him renown'd over all the World, under the Name of *Taimuras Can*, which the *Perſians* gave him.

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At the time of his Fathers Death he remain'd in *Hoſtage* at the Court of *Perſia*, whither he was carry'd by King *Tahmas* as has been ſaid. He was bred up with *Abas* the Great, being almoſt of the ſame Age, with great Magnificence and exact Care, where he had inbib'd the Cuſtoms and Manners of the *Perſians*, certainly much better then thoſe of the *Georgians*. So ſoon as his Father was Dead, his Mother, a Beautiful and Prudent Princeſs, by the *Georgians* call'd *Ketavana*, but *Mariana* in the Hiſtories of *Perſia*, wrote a Letter to *Kodabendè* to this effect, Sir, *My Husband is Dead, I beſeech yee to ſend me my Son* Taimuras *to Reign in his ſtead; and withal I ſend you his Brother for Hoſtage in his Room.* Thereupon *Taimuras* was ſent back, after he had tak'n the Oath of a Tributary and a Vaſſal.

At the beginning of the Reign of *Abas* the Great, *Simon*, King of *Carthuel* already mention'd ended this Life; leaving the Kingdom to *Luarzab* his Son, then a Child, under the Tuition of his Prime Miniſter, a Perſon of great parts, but of a mean Extraction, call'd by the *Georgians Mehron*, and by the *Perſians*, *Morad*, who was alſo Governor of *Tefflis*, and Govern'd the Kingdom almoſt with an abſolute Authority. This *Mehron* had a handſome Daughter, with whom *Luarzab* was paſſionately in Love, and by whom he was as paſſionately belov'd. Nor could the Father, by any means that he could uſe, prevent the two Lovers from ſeeing one another. But one Day having ſurpriz'd the Prince and her lock'd up in a Room together, *Sir*, ſaid he, *I beſeech yee, do not Diſhonour neither my Daughter, nor my Houſe. If your Majeſty pleaſes to Marry her, ſhe is at your ſervice: but if not, forbear Privacy with her.* Upon which *Luarzab* ſwore he would have no other Wife; which Oath when the Prince had ſworn, he ſuffer'd her to Live with him as with her Husband. However the Marriage was not celebrated, through the oppoſition of the Queen and the Ladies of the Country, who proteſted they would never ſubmit themſelves as Subjects to a Perſon of her mean Birth. *Luarzab*, no leſs glad of this oppoſition, told *Mehron*, that he could not Marry his Daughter. Now the *Georgians* are very Prone to Revenge; as I have already obſerv'd. Thereupon the King was adviz'd to be before hand with *Mehron*, and to put him to Death to prevent his Revenge. To which the King conſented; and to that purpoſe had contriv'd it ſo as to make *Mehron* Drunk, and to kill him at the firſt Banquet the King ſhould make. Of which contrivance *Mehron* was advertiz'd,

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at the very Moment it ſhould have been put in Execution. For he was already half Tipſy, when one of the Kings Pages, who was one of his Creatures, as he preſented him the Cup, and ſeem'd to Bow to him out of reſpect, whiſper'd to him: Sir, *You will be Murder'd.* At which he made no ſemblance of being daunted; but riſing up, as ſoon as he had giv'n back the Glaſs, and pretending to go out to make VVater (which is no *Indecorum* in that Country, where the Feaſts laſt for half a Day together) he ran directly to his Stable, takes a Bonnet and a Coat from one of his Grooms that he firſt met; Bridles one of the beſt Horſes in the Stable, Mounts him and away he Rides. And he ſo order'd his Flight, that not being diſcover'd it prov'd ſucceſsful to his VViſh. Preſently he got to *Iſpahan*, where he threw himſelf at the Feet of *Abas* the Great, who was newly return'd a Victor, from *Shirvan* and *Shamaki*, Countries Bordering upon *Georgia* and the *Caſpian Sea*. He declar'd to the King how he had ſerv'd *Luarzab*, and the Deceas'd King his Father, and what a recompence he had prepar'd him for his Service; by ſeeking to deprive him of his Life, after he had deflowr'd his Daughter under the pretence of Marriage. And concluding, he told the King, that he was the true Monarch of *Georgia*, and therefore he demanded of his Majeſty Juſtice, and the Reſtitution of his Eſtate.

But *Mehrou* had contriv'd a ſecurer way then this, to revenge himſelf upon *Luarzab*, which was to kindle in the Heart of *Abas* an Affection for *Luarzab*'s Siſter; one of the moſt lovely Perſons in all *Georgia*; whoſe Beauty has been celebrated by all the *Perſian* Poets. Inſomuch that in *Perſia* they ſing to this Day the Songs that render'd her Beauty renown'd above all the Charming Beauties of her time, containing a pleaſant Romance of the Amours between *Her* and *Abas*. Her Name of Baptiſm was *Darejan*. But the *Perſian* Fictions give her the Name of *Pebry*. *Mehrou* therefore took all opportunities to talk of her to *Abas* with all the Artificial Language he could invent, to inflame his deſires. Thereupon *Abas* ſent to demand her of *Luarzab* firſt by one Ambaſſador, and then by another. The firſt was ſent back with fair promiſes; the ſecond receiv'd for Anſwer, that the Princeſs had affianc'd her ſelf to *Taimuras* King of *Kaket*, who was then a VVidower. But *Abas* the more enflam'd by theſe refuſals, ſent a third Ambaſſador to *Luarzab*, charging him to demand his Siſter with all manner of fair promiſes and foul Threats: and he wrote at the ſame time to *Taimuras*, not to Marry *Luarzab*'s Siſter, but to come

and meet him. *Luarzab* on the other ſide incens'd at theſe repeated and Haughty Importunities, inſtead of returning an anſwer to the Ambaſſador, affronted and abus'd him, to the end no more Ambaſſadors might be ſent to trouble him any more upon that Errand. *Abas* however was not then in a condition to execute his intended deſigns upon *Georgia*, as being at War with the *Turks*. He diſſembl'd therefore his Indignation, and order'd a *Carmelite* Miſſionary, whom he ſent into *Europe* to animate the Chriſtian Princes to a War againſt the *Turk*, to take *Georgia* in his way, and to admoniſh *Taimuras* by no means to joyn with the *Turks*, nor to give 'em any manner of aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*. To which *Taimuras* either out of too much Fear or too much Credulity readily condeſcended: but he ſoon repented his forbearance; for in the Year 1613. *Abas* ſet forward from *Iſpahan* with a deſign to make War upon *Georgia*. However as he was a Prince, who among his other Extraordinary Endowments was extreamly cunning and reſerv'd, he manag'd that War like an Amorous Intreague. He gave out that *Luarzab*'s Siſter lov'd him and deſir'd the Match: that ſhe had ſent him Letters by a confident of her own; moreover that ſhe had been promis'd him; and therefore that *Luarzab* was both Perfidious and Unjuſt. In the mean time he made his preparations for ſomething elſe then to fight a Rival: for all Men plainly perceiv'd that he was reſolv'd to reduce *Georgia* under his Subjection. He had a great number of *Georgians* in his Army. He gave Penſions to ſeveral great *Georgian* Lords; and *Mehrou* corrupted the Loyalty of ſeveral others every day, who engag'd to take his part: He had two of *Taimuras*'s Sons in Hoſtage, and a Brother and Siſter of *Luarzabs*. In a word he wrought with ſome of the Princes of the Blood Royal of *Georgia* to turn *Mahometans*, for the poſſeſſion of great Employments and Governments. For he thought he ſhould eaſily compaſs his deſigns againſt the *Georgians*, by ſowing Diviſions among 'em; an eaſie thing to do, eſpecially among People that are given to revenge. He wrote to *Taimuras* that *Luarzab* was ungrateful, a Rebel, a Mad-Man, not fit to Reign, and that he was reſolv'd to deprive him of his Crown. To *Luarzab* he wrote the ſame thing concerning *Taimuras*; and at the ſame time order'd *Lolla Beg*, General of his Army, who lay toward *Media*, to enter *Georgia* with Thirty Thouſand Horſe, and to put all to Fire and Sword.

Upon this, *Luarzab* and *Taimuras* were counſell'd to unite. They met, and communicated to each other *Abas*'s Letters: wherein finding the ruin of both reſolv'd upon, they ſwore one to another either to Periſh, or reſcue each other from the danger; and the more to confirm and ſtrengthen their Union, *Luarzab* gave his Siſter, the Incomparable *Darejan* to *Taimuras*. *Abas* was like to run Mad when they brought him the News; he was ready to have Cut the Throats of *Taimuras*'s Two Sons with his own Hands, and of the other *Georgian* Hoſtages: nothing would ſerve him but he ſwore the Death of all together. But at length he kept himſelf within bounds, and minded only to haſten his march rather to puniſh the Kings that had offended him.

Taimuras, ſenſible of the approach of the *Perſian* Army, would have prepar'd for his defence. But he diſcover'd that a part of the Grandees of his Kingdom were inclin'd to Surrender. Thereupon he ſent his Mother to *Abas*. She was a Princeſs that had betak'n her ſelf to a Religious Life, ſo ſoon as her Misfortune had made her a Widow. Not that they make any Vows, or quit their uſual Habitations, but only put on the Religious Habit, who in thoſe Countries make profeſſion of a Religious Life, as I have already obſerv'd in my Relation of the *Mingrelian* Religion, which is the ſame with that of the *Georgians*. *Mariana* or *Ketavana* therefore (for ſhe was call'd by both theſe Names) wore the Habit of a Religious Perſon, to the end ſhe might have an excuſe to Live more retir'd, and uninterrupted in her Devotions. She ſet forward with a Numerous Train and Magnificent Preſents; and made ſo much haſt that ſhe found *Abas* ſtill at *Iſpahan*. VVhere being arriv'd ſhe threw her ſelf at the Kings Feet, and beſought Pardon for her Son, which ſhe did with all the Submiſſion that ſhe thought might avail to appeaſe the Kings wrath.

This Princeſs was at that time well advanc'd in Years, yet was ſhe ſtill a Lovely Lady, ſo that *Abas* became enamour'd of her, or at leaſt feign'd to be ſo, the firſt day he ſaw her: thereupon he courted her to turn *Mahumetan*, that he might be in a Condition to Marry her. But the Princeſs more Wedded to her Chaſtity and Religion, and perhaps not enduring the ſtrict Confinement of the *Perſian* Queens, refus'd the Kings Offers with a Vertue and Conſtancy unmoveable, which was to be admir'd in a *Georgian*. *Abas* incens'd at her Denial, or at leaſt laying hold of it for a pretence, (for it was thought

he never intended to Marry *Ketavana*, but out of deſign to revenge himſelf upon *Taimuras*) ſent the Princeſs Priſoner to a certain Houſe at a remote diſtance, and caus'd her two Childern which *Taimuras* ſent in Hoſtage, to be made *Eunuchs*, and to turn *Mahumetans*; and then ſet forward for *Georgia*. *Ketavana* remain'd in Priſon ſeveral Years, and was afterwards remanded to *Shiras*, where ſhe ſuffer'd a moſt cruel Martyrdom, in the Year 1624. a good while after *Abas* had Conquer'd *Georgia*. For then it was that he wrote to *Iman-Kooli-Kan*, Governour of that City, to force *Ketavana* to turn *Mahumetan*, whatever it coſt him; and to make uſe of Torments, if Promiſes, Threats, and Blows would not prevail. *Iman-Kooli-Kan* ſhew'd his Orders to the Princeſs, in hopes that that would take effect: but it ſignifi'd nothing. Nor were all their Torments more prevalent upon a Soul ſo truly Heroick and Devout. She underwent the Pain of Drubbing, ſuffer'd the Torments of Shackles and Fire, and dy'd at length upon the Burning Coals; after ſhe had endur'd for the ſake of JESUS CHRIST, a Martyrdom of Eight Years, ſo much the more cruel becauſe it was chang'd and renew'd every day. Her Body was thrown upon the Common Lay-Stall of the City. From whence the *Auſtin* Fryers took it away by Night, embalm'd it, put it in a Coffin, and ſent it privately to *Taimuras* by one of their own Society.

But to return to the *Georgian* War, *Abas* being enter'd into the Country of *Georgia* with his Army, guided by *Mehrou*, and reinforc'd with a great Number of *Georgians* every day; Hopes and Promiſes inveagling ſome, and fear or deſire of Revenge attracting others, *Luarzab* reſolv'd however to fight it out, hoping ſo to ſhut up the *Perſians* in the Woods, that he might eaſily there defeat 'em. And indeed *Abas* at one time gave himſelf over for loſt, and thought he had been betray'd. For being advanc'd with his Army Five and Twenty Leagues into the Country, *Luarzab* divided his Forces into two parts, and ſhut up the Paſſages by felling an infinite Number of Wood, ſo that the *Perſian* Army could neither advance nor retreat. *Abas* was in a ſtrange Conſternation, ſo that *Mehrou* fearing the loſs of his Head, as a Traytor, *Upon my Life, Sir*, ſaid he, *I will bring ye out of theſe Streights in three Days.* And he was as good as his word. For he open'd a Croſs-way through the Wood by means of his Infantry, and leaving the Camp which was block'd up by the *Georgians*, took only the Cavalry along with him. Nevertheleſs *Abas* would lead 'em himſelf,

and

and having paſs'd the Wood, fell into the Kingdom of *Kaket*, committing great Cruelty and Spoil; inſomuch that he commanded all the Trees that breed the Silkworms to be deſtroy'd; on purpoſe to ruine paſt recovery a Country that chiefly ſubſiſts by making of Silk. When theſe Mournful Tidings were brought to *Luarzab*, he gave himſelf over for loſt, and fled into *Mingrelia*. On the other ſide, *Abas* who knew his Conqueſts were not ſecure, ſo long as the *Georgian* Kings were at Liberty, wrote to *Luarzab* in theſe Terms: *What Reaſon urges you to flie? 'Tis* Taimuras *that I ſeek, that Ingrateful and Perfidious Rebel. Come and ſurrender your ſelf to me, and I will confirm you in the Poſſeſſion of the* Georgian *Kingdom; but if you fail to yield your ſelf, I will entirely ruine it, and lay it deſert.*

Thereupon *Luarzab* in tender pity of his People, ſurrender'd himſelf to *Abas*. The King receiv'd him in moſt friendly manner, and with a Thouſand Careſſes, replac'd him upon the Throne with all the Pomp and Solemnity imaginable; which was done the better to deceive the *Georgians*, and to make himſelf Maſter of the Country without ſtriking a Stroak. He alſo made him ſeveral coſtly Preſents, and among the reſt, he gave him a Heron-Tuft of Precious Stones, which he commanded him always to wear, eſpecially when he came into his Preſence. *This is an Enſign of Royalty*, ſaid he, *and it is my pleaſure you ſhould always wear it upon your Head, that People may know yee to be King.* Now the ſame Day that *Abas* was to ſet forward for *Teſſis*, ſaid he to *Luarzab*, *I ſhall make a halt ſix Leagues from this place, and ſend away the reſt of the Army; will not you bear me Company thither?* This was a Snare with fair words to draw the poor *Georgian* King from his Capital City: and he was as eaſily deluded to go along with him, in regard he miſtruſted not the leaſt fowl play. In the mean while *Abas* commanded one of his Guards, a noted Pick-Pocket, and one of the moſt dextrous i' the World at his Profeſſion, to ſteal *Luarzab*'s *Heron-Tuft* from him. Which was done; and then *Luarzab* coming into the King's Preſence, *Luarzab*, ſaid the King, *what's become of your* Heron-Tuft? *Did not I recommend it to yee to wear always as an Enſign of Royalty?* *Sir*, ſaid Luarzab, *I am robb'd of it, which has almoſt put me beſides my Wits; I have caus'd it to be hunted for every where that I could imagine, but can hear no Tidings of it.* *How!* ſaid the King in a great Fury, *the King of* Georgia *robb'd in my Camp! Bid 'em bid the Provoſt-Marſhal, the*

Captain

Captain of the Watch, and the President of the Council of Juſtice, come to me. And this was the ſecond Artifice made uſe of to ſeize the Unfortunate *Luarzab* without ſtriking a Stroak. Preſently therefore he was laid hold on; but *Abas* durſt not put him to death for fear of a Revolt in *Georgia*. He ſent him therefore into *Maſanderan*, or *Hyrcania*, hoping that the bad Air of the Country would kill him: but ſeeing that would not do, he remov'd him to *Shiras*; and at length took the following occaſion to put him to death.

The Grand Duke of *Moſcovy* had been a long time ſollicited by the *Georgian* Princes to intercede in his behalf to *Abas*. Who was therefore at the Charge of a Coſtly Embaſſie meerly for that purpoſe. Thereupon *Abas*, who was a Perſon of a quick Wit, and never idle, gave order to the Governour of *Shamaki*, a City upon the *Caſpian* Sea, where the Ambaſſadors of *Moſcovy* firſt enter into *Perſia*, to try what he could do to diſcover whether the Ambaſſador came only upon *Luarzab*'s account or no: and whether the *Moſcovite* did take his part to that degree that there was any likelyhood of a Rupture. To which the Governour ſent word, That the Ambaſſador came only to ſerve *Luarzab*; that he was a very great Lord, and that his Inſtructions were very poſitive for a punctual Anſwer. Upon which *Abas*, who was reſolv'd not to releaſe the *Georgian* Prince, nor yet could refuſe him his Liberty at the requeſt of the Duke of *Muſcovy*, wrote to the Governour of *Shiras* to rid *Luarzab* out of the World, ſo that his Death might ſeem only to have happen'd by accident. Which was accompliſh'd to his deſire, and the News was brought to *Abas*, two Days before the Arrival of the *Moſcovite* Ambaſſador. *Abas* made the Courier tell his Tale in publick, at what time he ſeem'd to be ſtrangely troubl'd and ſurpriz'd: *Good GOD*, ſaid he, *this is Unfortunate News indeed*; *How came he by his Death? Sir*, anſwer'd the Courier, *he went a Fiſhing, and as he was caſting his Net, fell into the Pond, and there ſtifl'd himſelf. I'll make an Example of his Guards*, reply'd the King, *for taking no more care of him.*

Soon after the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador had his Audience; at what time, after the Banquet was over, and that they had drank pretty hard, the King ſending for him near to his own Perſon *Well*, ſaid he, *Mr. Ambaſſador, and what is't the King of the* Ruſſes *my Brother deſires of me?* Thereupon the Ambaſſador began to unfold his Commiſſion, and declare the Purport of his Embaſſie; but when he had once let ſlip *Luar-*

zab's Name, *I believe*, reply'd the King, *you have heard of the Misfortune that has befallen that Young Prince: I am extreamly griev'd for him: I wiſh to GOD he had not been dead; for I ſhould have done with all my Heart whatever your Maſter could deſire in his behalf.*

Thereupon the Brother of *Luarzab* was made Governour of *Georgia* in his Room, being turn'd *Mahumetan* before that: and call'd by a *Perſian* Title joyn'd to his *Georgian*, *Bacrat-Mirzah*, or the *Royal Prince*. *Abas* alſo left an Army in *Georgia* to oppoſe *Taimuras*. Who at firſt continu'd the War with ſuch Succours as he obtain'd from the *Turks* and *Chriſtian* Princes joyning upon the *Caſpian* Sea, into whoſe Territories he was retir'd for *Sanctuary*: But ſeeing thoſe Petty Aſſiſtances did him no good, he went to the *Turk* and implor'd Aid of the *Turk*. Which he obtain'd: and a great Army of *Turks* was ſent into *Georgia*, who defeated the *Perſian* Forces, and reeſtabliſhed *Taimuras* in the Kingdom of *Caket*. But he enjoy'd it not long; for ſo ſoon as the *Turks* were retreated, *Abas* return'd into *Georgia*, and chang'd the whole Face of Affairs. He built Fortreſſes which he fill'd with Natural *Perſians*; He carry'd away above Four and Twenty Thouſand Families, of which he plac'd the greateſt part in *Maſander*, or *Hyrcania*, *Media*, *Armenia*, and the Province of *Perſia*, removing into their Rooms both *Perſians* and *Armenians*. He alſo intermix'd Mildneſs with his Severities, to try how far that would avail to keep the People in order. He likewiſe made an Agreement with the *Georgians*, which he confirm'd by Oath for himſelf and his Succeſſors, 'That their Country ſhould be free from 'Taxes, that there ſhould be no Alteration of their Religion. 'That he would not pull down their Churches, neither would 'he erect any Moſchees: That their Viceroy ſhould be al-'ways a *Georgian*, of the Race of their Kings, but a *Mahome-'tan*; Of whoſe Sons he that would change his Religion, ſhould 'be Governour and great Provoſt of *Iſpahan*, till he ſucceeded 'his Father.

Abas dy'd in the Year 1628. And ſo ſoon as *Taimuras* had Intelligence of his Death, he re-enter'd *Georgia*, and caus'd the *Georgians* to Rebel, who ſlew their *Viceroy* and all the *Perſians* that oppos'd 'em; he made himſelf Maſter of all the ſtrong Forts except *Teflis*; but could not keep 'em. For *Sefy*, ſucceeding his Grand-Father *Abas*, ſent in the Year 1631. a powerful Army againſt him, under the Command of *Ruſtan Can*, a *Georgian*, the Son of *Simon Can*, that ſame *Viceroy* whom

whom the *Georgians* had ſlain. He was Grand Provoſt of *Iſpahan*, at *Abas's* deceaſe, and call'd *Coſrou Mirza*. King *Sefy*, therefore, who knew him to be a Perſon of great Valour, and deem'd him highly provok'd, made him General of his Army and *Viceroy* of *Georgia* in his Fathers Room. He defeated the *Georgians* in ſeveral Encounters, won back all *Carthuel*, and part of the Kingdom of *Caket*, and purſu'd *Taimuras* who was forc'd to betake himſelf into two ſtrong places in Mount *Caucaſus*. In which inacceſſible Faſtneſſes, this Prince no leſs Valiant then Unfortunate, held out for ſome Years; though rather like a Fugitive that fought for his Life, than a Prince that defended his Crown. But receiving no aſſiſtance neither from the *Turks* nor *Chriſtians*, he went to ſollicit the *Moſcovite*, but failing there likewiſe, he retir'd into *Imiretta*, of which his Siſter was Queen, with a Reſolution there to end his Life, not finding any hopes of recovering the Inheritance of his Anceſtors. There *Shanavas-Can* took him Priſoner, when he Conquer'd that Petty Kingdom of *Imiretta*, and ſetle'd his Son therein. For *Taimuras* had always ſuch a paſſion to Dye in his own Country, that he would not make his eſcape into *Turkey*, which he might eaſily have done: and beſides he conſider'd that being Old, the *Turks* would not have that reſpect for him, as he might expect from the *Perſians*. *Shanavas-Can* carry'd him to *Tefflis*, and wrote Word to the King that the Famous *Taimuras-Can* was in his Hands. The King ſent for him to his Court. Where being very aged, his Travels and Troubles of mind, threw him into a deſperate ſickneſs. The King lodg'd him in one of his Palaces with a great deal of magnificence, and order'd his Phyſitians to look to him with great care. Notwithſtanding all which he dy'd in the Year 1659. His Body was carry'd into *Georgia*, and Bury'd with all the Pomp and State which is uſual in that Country.

Ruſtan-Can having reconquer'd *Georgia*, built the Fortreſs of *Gery*, as is reported. He reſtor'd Peace and good order to the Country, and Govern'd with an exemplary mildneſs and Juſtice. He Marry'd the Siſter of *Levan Dadian* Prince of *Mingrelia*, though ſhe were a Chriſtian and Marry'd already. Her Husband being Prince of *Guriel*; whom *Levan* had depriv'd both of his Principality and his Eyes, for being in a Conſpiracy againſt him, and taking his Wife away from him, Marry'd her to *Ruſtan-Can* neither the Eccleſiaſticks of *Mingrelia* nor *Georgia* oppoſing that *Monſtrous Conjunction*, if I may preſume to call it ſo. The Name of this Princeſs was *Mary*,

of

of whom we have already ſpoken in our Recital of the laſt Revolutions of *Imiretta.* She is now the Wife of *Shanavas-Can*, Governor of *Georgia.*

Ruſtan-Can Dy'd in the Year 1640. and his Body was carry'd to *Com*, where it was enterr'd. At what time *Shanavas-Can*, *Taimuras*'s Kinſman, was Governor and Grand *Provoſt* of *Iſpahan.* Him *Ruſtan-Can*, having no Childern, adopted, and ſent him to the Court, beſeeching the King to look upon him as his Son, and to ratifie the Adoption. His Majeſty approv'd his Choice, caus'd the Young Prince to be Circumciz'd, and beſtow'd upon him the Government of the City; and this is he who is at Preſent *Viceroy* of *Georgia*; being Fourſcore Years of Age, yet very Strong and Luſty.

So ſoon as *Ruſtan-Can* was Dead, the Princeſs *Mary* his Wife, had private Intelligence, that upon the advantageous reports of her Beauty, that had been made to the King of *Perſia*, he had commanded her to be ſent to Court. Thereupon ſhe was adviz'd to fly into *Mingrelia*, or to hide her ſelf. But ſhe took a quite contrary courſe; for being well aſſur'd that there was no place within the Empire of *Perſia*, where the King would not diſcover her, ſhe went and lockt her ſelf up for Three Days together in the Fortreſs of *Tefflis*, which was indeed to deliver her ſelf up to the Mercy of him that fought her. All which time ſhe ſhew'd her ſelf every Day to the Commander's Wives; and then ſending for him to her Apartment, ſhe told him that upon the credit of his Wives, that had ſeen her, he might write to the King, that ſhe was no ſuch Amiable Beauty to be ſo ardently deſir'd, that ſhe was far gone in Years, and beſides that ſhe was a little miſhapen; and therefore that ſhe conjur'd his Majeſty to let her end her Days in her own Country. At the ſame time ſhe ſent the King a Magnificent Preſent of Gold and Silver, and Four Young Damſels of an Extraordinary Beauty. And ſo ſoon as ſhe had ſent her preſent, ſhe retir'd from the World, not ſuffering her ſelf to be ſeen by any Body, ſhe betook her ſelf wholly to her Devotions, giving great Alms to the Poor, to the end they might Pray to GOD for her Souls Health. But at the end of Three Months there came an order from the King, for *Shanavas-Can* to Marry her. Who was over joy'd at the receipt of the Order, for *Mary* was Rich, ſo that he Marry'd her, though he had then another Wife of his own; and he has a very great Value for her by reaſon of her great Eſtate. Her firſt Husband the Prince of *Guriel* is ſtill alive, reſiding in *Georgia*, but very

Old

Old, and very Decrepit. Nevertheleſs the Princeſs was ſo kind to ſend him one of her Damſels, to comfort him for his loſs of her; and ſhe allows him wherewithal to maintain himſelf, but at a very ſorry rate: However ſhe ſeems ſtill to have ſome kind of Affection for him; inſomuch that being upon the Frontiers of *Imiretta*, ſome Years ſince ſhe ſent for him, and kept him with her eight Days. At which when *Shanavas-Can* ſeem'd to be Jealous, the Princeſs fell a laughing at him; and ask'd Whether he were not aſham'd to be Jealous of a poor, old, blind, miſerable Creature, and altogether as impotent as himſelf.

The greateſt part of the *Georgian* Lords are outwardly *Mahometans*; ſome profeſſing that Religion to obtain Preferment at Court, and Penſions of State. Others, that they may have the Honour to Marry their Daughters to the King, and ſometimes meerly to get 'em in to wait upon the Kings Wives. For which the uſual Recompence is a Penſion, or an Imployment. As a forerunner to which the *Mahometan* Religion is always firſt of all embrac'd. The Penſion is according to the Quality of the Perſons; but moſt commonly not above Two Thouſand Crowns. Upon which account there fell out a very lamentable Accident while I ſtaid at *Tefflis*.

A *Georgian* Lord had giv'n the King to underſtand, that he had a Niece of an extraordinary Beauty. His Majeſty commanded her to be brought to his Palace: And who ſhould be ſo wicked and baſe as to carry the Order and ſerve it, but the Lord himſelf! Thereupon he came to his Siſter, who was a Widow, and told her, That the King of *Perſia* had a deſire to Marry her Daughter, and that therefore ſhe muſt perſwade her to give her conſent. Thereupon the Mother having made known to the Young Virgin, the force that was upon her, ſhe was almoſt at her Wits end. For ſhe had rather have had a Young Lord that was her Neighbor, by a Perſon whom ſhe was extreamly belov'd. Thereupon they took a Reſolution to make him a Sharer in their Misfortune, and to that purpoſe ſent him the News by one of their Domeſtick Servants. Away comes the Lord Poſt, and arriving at Midnight, found the Mother and the Daughter with mutual Tears and a condolling Grief bewailing their hard Fortune. Preſently the Lord threw himſelf at their Feet, and told 'em, That for his part he fear'd nothing ſo much as the loſs of his Miſtreſs, and that all the Anger of the King of *Perſia* was nothing to him in reſpect of ſuch a fatal Calamity. That there was but one way

for him to diſingage himſelf out of this Nooſe, which was to be Marry'd immediately, and the next Day to tell her Perfidious Uncle, That the Lady by him demanded was no Virgin. This was agreed upon; and the Mother being retir'd, the Marriage was Conſummated in a Trice. But the Uncle diſcovering the Plot, gave notice of it to the King. At which the King was ſo enrag'd, that he gave Order to ſend for the Mother, the Daughter, and the Husband; who thereupon hid themſelves, and skulk'd up and down for ſome Months. But at length finding themſelves too hotly purſu'd, beyond all likelyhood of eſcaping, they fled to *Akalzikè*, the Baſha of which place has tak'n 'em into his Protection.

The fear which they have in *Georgia* of Accidents of the like Nature, obliges thoſe that have handſom Daughters to Marry 'em as ſoon as they can, and ſometimes in their Infancy. The poor People Marry theirs betimes, and ſometimes in the very Cradle. To the end the Lords whoſe Vaſſals they are, ſhould not take 'em away by force, either to ſell 'em, or make 'em their Concubines. For certain it is, they have a very great reſpect for Marry'd Perſons; and though they are but Childern, they are not eaſily induc'd to tear 'em out of their Houſes.

The Kingdom of *Caket* is at preſent in Subjection to the King of *Perſia*; *Shanavas-Can* having compleated the Conqueſt of it; and now *Archilus* his Son is Viceroy, who turn'd *Mahometan* to obtain the Imployment. We have already made mention of him, and of the Love which he had for *Siſtan-Darejan* the King of *Imiretta*'s Wife, when we gave an Account of the Revolutions of that Petty Kingdom. *Siſtan-Darejan* remain'd a Priſ'ner at *Akalzikè*, where the Baſha's ſhew'd her an extraordinary Civility. *Archilus* had alſo a longing Affection for her, from the time that he had loſt ſight of her. Thereupon his Father ſo wrought by his Preſents and Contrivances with the *Baſha*, that he releas'd her in the Year 1660. She was carry'd in Triumph to *Teflis*, where *Archilus* Marry'd her immediately, and by that Match entitl'd himſelf to the Kingdom of *Caket*, of which he was actual Viceroy already. For the Princeſs his Wife was Daughter to *Taimuras-Can*, and Siſter of *Heraclius*, the only Son whom that Unfortunate Prince left behind him capable of Succeſſion, in regard all the reſt had had their Eyes put out. But he and his Mother were fled into *Moſcovy*; where they ſay, the Great Duke allows 'em a Train ſuitable to their Quality. And here give me

leave

leave to tell yee one Paſſage concerning this *Archilus* Viceroy of *Caket*, very much worthy to entertain your Curioſity.

He was affianc'd in his Youth, to a Daughter of one of the moſt Noble Families in *Georgia*. And the Lady fully expected to be his Wife, in regard that Breach of Contract is a thing never heard of in that Country. But when ſhe heard that he had Marry'd *Siſtan-Darejan*, ſhe ſent to him to demand ſatisfaction, *for the Murder he had committed upon her Honour*. For ſo in *Georgia* they call the affront done to a Contract, when a Man leaves the party affianc'd to Marry another. At firſt ſhe reſolv'd to Sue him at Law for the Injuſtice he had done her; but that way not ſeeming feaſable, by reaſon of the great Authority and Sway which *Archilus* had in the Country, ſhe put her ſelf at the Head of Four Hunderd Men, and offer'd fairly to fight her Faithleſs Lover. But *Archilus* refus'd her, ſending her word he did not uſe to fight with Young Maids: withal he bid her not make ſuch a noiſe, leſt he diſclos'd the Favours which *Sizi* a Young Lord at Court had boaſted to have receiv'd from her. The Young Lady enrag'd to hear her ſelf reproach'd as well as ſcorn'd, turn'd all her fury againſt *Sizi*. She challeng'd him, and becauſe he would not meet her; ſhe lay'd her ſelf in Ambuſh for him, put him to flight, purſu'd him and kill'd him above Twenty Men. She had alſo a Brother; and he alſo undertook to quarrel *Sizi*. The Prince and the the whole Court did all they could to reconcile 'em: but ſeeing they did but labour in Vain, the two Adverſaries were permitted to determine the difference by their Swords. Now it is the cuſtom in *Georgia*, that when the Law cannot decide or reconcile a Quarrel among Gentlemen, they are permitted to try it out in a place Rayl'd in for the purpoſe. And before the two Combatants enter the Liſts, they Confeſs themſelves, receive the Communion, and prepare for Death. This is call'd, *Appealing to the Tribunal of GOD*, for the *Georgians* maintain that this way of referring directly to GOD the Puniſhment of a Crime, is both Honeſt and Lawful; where human Juſtice is not able to diſtinguiſh whether the party accus'd be Guilty, or whether the accuſer charge him falſely. At length *Sizi* and his Adverſary being arriv'd at the place appointed, they were parted by a Company of Souldiers, juſt as they had drawn their Swords. And the Young Lady Dying ſoon after with ſhame and Grief; the Prince by his Authority oblig'd her Brother to be Friends with *Archilus* and *Sizi*.

And

And now before I relate what befell me at *Tefflis*, it behoves me to make a Deſcription of the Place; though the Plate before the Leaf, might ſuffice to give a diſtinct Idea of it.

This City is one of the faireſt in all *Perſia*, though it be not ſo very big. It is ſeated at the bottom of a Mountain, at the Foot of which upon the Eaſtern ſide, runs the *River Cur*: Which River, being the Ancient *Cyrus*, or an Arm of that *Cyrus*, has its ſource in the Mountains of *Georgia*, and joyns to *Araxes*. The moſt part of the Houſes built by the River ſide ſtand upon a hard Stony Rock. The City is encompaſs'd with very Strong and Beautiful Walls, only on that ſide next the River. It lyes all in length from the North to the South, defended by a large Fortreſs on the South ſide ſeated upon the brow of a Mountain, wherein there are none but Native *Perſians*, whether Inhabitants or Souldiers. The Parading Place that is before it, ſerves alſo for a publick meeting Place and Market. This Fortreſs is likewiſe a Sanctuary of Refuge: All manner of Criminals and People in Debt are there ſafe. The Prince of *Georgia* is oblig'd to paſs through the midſt of it, when he goes according to cuſtom to receive without the Gates of the City, the Kings Preſents and Letters; for that when you come from *Perſia* to *Tefflis*, there's no entring into the City but through the Fortreſs. Yet moſt certain it is, that the Prince never goes through the Caſtle, but he is afraid of being arreſted, and leaſt the Governor ſhould have ſome ſecret order to ſeize upon his Perſon. And indeed the *Perſian* Kings have very prudently eſtabliſh'd a cuſtom among the *Viceroys* of *Georgia*, and the reſt of the Governors of the Provinces of the Empire, that they are oblig'd to go and receive whatever the King ſends 'em without the Gates of the City; by which means he may without any trouble or hazard ſeize upon their Perſons. *Tefflis* contains ſeveral Churches; to the Number as they ſay of Fourteen; which is much in a Country where there is ſo little Devotion. Six are maintain'd and appropriated to the *Georgian* Service: The other belong to the *Armenians*. The Cathedral, which is call'd *Sion*, is ſeated upon the Bank of the River, built all of fair hewn Stone. 'Tis an Ancient Building well in repair, like all the Ancient Churches in the Eaſt; which are compos'd of Four Bodies, the middle of which is a great *Duomo*, ſuſtain'd by Four Great Pilaſters, and cover'd with a Steeple. The Great Altar is in the Middle of the Body that lyes to the Eaſt. The Inſide of the Church is full of flat

Paintings

TEFLIS
تفلس
L.E KHUR

TEFLIS
تفلیس
A . The Fortress
D . The Holy Cross .
E . The Church & Palace of ye Catholicos .
F . The White Work, or ye Queen's Church .
G . The New work .
M . The Capuchins .
N . The Prince's Palace .
O . The Great Bazar .
P . The public Magazines .
R . The Prince's Gardens .
T . The Place for Military Exercises .
LE KHUR ou le Cirus

Paintings after the *Greek* manner, painted but awhile ago, and by ſuch leud Artiſts, that it is the greateſt trouble in the World to know what they mean. The Biſhop's See adjoyns to the Church, where the *Tibilele* reſides: For by that Name they alway call the Biſhops of *Tefflis*. Next to the Cathedral the Principal Churches of *Georgia* are *Tetrachen*, or the *White-Work*, which was built by the Princeſs *Mary*: and *Angueſcat*, or the Image of *Abagare*. The *Georgians* call *Abagare Angues*, and hold that the Miraculous Portraicture which they aſſure us he receiv'd from Jeſus Chriſt, has been a long time in that Church. They alſo call it the *Catholicos*'s Church, becauſe that Prelate's Palace joyns to it: and that he ſeldom goes other where to ſay his Prayers, or Officiate. This Church is ſeated upon the Bank of the River, directly parallel with the Biſhop's See. The *Georgians* alſo had one more very fair Church at the end of the City upon the South-ſide: but the Prince made uſe of it ſome years for a Storehouſe for his Powder. And indeed it was fit for nothing elſe, for long before that, the Thunder had thrown down a good part of it. Thereupon the Prince caus'd it to be repair'd; and this *Magazin* ſtill carries the Name of the Church of *Melete*, that is to ſay, *The Rupture*. Which Name was given to it, by reaſon that it was founded by one of the Kings of *Georgia*, to ſhew his Repentance, for that he had without any occaſion giv'n him, broken a Peace with one of his Neighbour Princes.

The Principal Monaſteries that belong to the *Armenians*, are *Pacha-Vanæ*, that is, the *Monaſtery* of *Pacha*: in which Monaſtery, the *Armenian* Biſhop of *Tefflis* reſides. They ſo call it by the Report of the *Armenians*, for that a Fugitive *Baſha* of *Turkey* turning Chriſtian, caus'd it to be erected in this City. *Sourph-Niſhon*, that is, to ſpeak properly, the *Red Sign*; and thence generally tak'n for the Holy Croſs. *Bethem*, or *Bethlehem*, *Norachen*, or the *New Work* and *Mognay*. Now *Mognay* is the Name of a Village of the *Armenians* near *Irivan*, where they have for a long time kept a certain Skull, which they aſſure yee to be St. *George*'s: hence becauſe that part of the Skull is remov'd to this Church, therefore they gave it the Name of the Place from whence they took the Relick.

There is not any *Moſque* at *Tefflis*, though the City belongs to a *Mahometan* Empire: and is Govern'd together with the whole Province by a *Mahometan* Prince. The *Perſians* have endeavour'd all they could to rebuild one there, but never could accompliſh their deſign; for the People ſtill Mutiny'd,

and by force of Arms beat down the Work, and abus'd the Workmen. And indeed the *Georgian Princes* were glad of theſe Seditions of the People, though they would not countenance 'em openly: For in regard they had not renounced the Chriſtian Religion but only with their Lips, and to obtain Preferment, they could not heartily conſent to the Eſtabliſhment of *Mahometiſm*. Now the *Georgians* are Mutinous, Inconſtant and Valiant, as has been ſaid: They alſo retain a ſmack and ſenſe of Liberty. Then they lie near the *Turks*. And this is that which hinders the *Perſian* from making uſe of Extremities, and preſerves to the City of *Tefflis* and all *Georgia* a happy Liberty to retain almoſt all the Exteriour Marks of their Religion. Upon all the Steeples of their Churches at the Top ſtands a Croſs; and they are furniſh'd with ſeveral Bells which they ring. Every day they ſell *Pork* openly, and in publick with the ſame freedom as other Vittles, and Wine at the Corners of the Streets. All which though the *Perſians* are mad to ſee, yet they know not how to help it.

Some few Years ſince they built a ſmall *Moſque* in the Fortreſs, cloſe to the Wall that ſeparates it from the Grand *Piazza* of *Tefflis*. They built it in the Caſtle to accuſtom the People to the ſight of *Moſques*, and of the Prieſts, that call the *Mahometans* to Prayer from the Top of the Building. Nor could the *Georgians* hinder the Building of this *Moſque*, becauſe they durſt not enter Arm'd into the Fortreſs, where there was always a good Guard: But ſo ſoon as the Prieſt was mounted to the Top to make Confeſſion of his Faith, the People gather'd together into the *Piazza*, and ply'd the Top of the Moſque with ſuch Volleys of Stones, that the Prieſt was conſtrain'd to come down again in more haſte then he went up: after which Mutiny, the *Perſians* would never ſuffer any of their *Prieſts* to appear at the Top of the Moſque any more.

The publick Buildings at *Tefflis* are very graceful: Their *Bazars*, or Market-places are very large, built of Stone, and in very good repair. The *Inns*, or *Caravanſera's* for the Receipt and Entertainment of Strangers, are no leſs beautiful. There are few Baths indeed in the City, by reaſon that every Body goes to the Hot-Baths that are in the Caſtle. The Water of which Baths ſprings from a Sulphur-Mine, and is very hot. So that the People which make uſe of 'em for Diſeaſes and Diſtempers are no leſs numerous then thoſe that go for Cleanlineſs and Curioſity. The Magazins alſo are well built, and

kept

kept in Order, being ſeated in an open place near the Grand *Piazza*.

The *Prince's Palace* is without contradiction one of the moſt beautiful Ornaments in *Tefflis*; being adorn'd with ſpacious Halls and Rooms of State that look out upon the River, and the Gardens which are very large. It alſo contains ſeveral Aviaries, full of Birds of ſeveral ſorts, a ſpacious Dog-kennel, and the moſt lovely place to keep Hawks in that Eyes ever beheld. Before the *Palace* lies a ſpacious Court ſufficient to hold a Thouſand Horſe; which is ſurrounded with Shops, and joyns to a long Bazar right againſt the *Palace*-Gate. So that it is a lovely *Proſpect* which the *Piazza* and the Front of the *Palace* makes from the Top of the Bazar. Moreover, the Viceroy of *Caket* has a *Palace* at the end of the City, which deſerves to be well view'd and conſider'd.

The Out-parts of *Tefflis* are adorn'd with ſeveral Houſes of Pleaſure, and ſeveral beautiful Gardens. The biggeſt of which is the Prince's; where indeed there are but few Fruit-Trees; but it is full of thoſe that ſerve for the Ornament of Gardens, and for Shade and Coolneſs.

There is alſo a Habitation of Miſſionary Capuchins at *Teſflis*, where the Superiour of the Miſſions which that Order has, and hopes to have in *Georgia*, reſides; it being about Thirteen Years ago ſince they were ſent from *Rome*. The Title of Phyſicians which they give themſelves, and which every Body there gives 'em, is the reaſon that they are well receiv'd where-ever they deſire to ſettle. For *Phyſick*, and eſpecially *Chymiſtry*, which is very much eſteem'd, is little known in the Eaſtern Counties. They ſettl'd firſt at *Tefflis*, and afterwards at *Gory*. *Shanavas-Can* gave 'em a Houſe in each of thoſe Cities with free Liberty to exerciſe their Religion. They brought him Letters from the *Pope*, and the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide*, and in their own Names made Noble *Preſents* to himſelf, the *Princeſs*, the *Catholicos*, and the principal Grandees of the Court, which they continue to do at the end of every two Years. Whoever among 'em underſtands *Phyſick* beſt, never ſtirs from the *Perſon* of the *Prince* to preſerve his *Protection*, which is their only Safeguard from the Perſecutions of the *Georgian* and *Armenian* Clergy. They have endeavour'd to expel theſe Miſſionaries from time to time, as they ſaw their Endeavours to draw People to their Religion; but in regard there are neither *Phyſicians* nor *Surgeons* in *Georgia*, they make themſelves neceſſary by the practiſe of *Phyſick* and *Surgery*, which

which ſome of 'em underſtand very well, and practiſe with very good ſucceſs. They have permiſſion from the *Pope* to take Money for their Cures, and they make good advantage of it, *Phyſick* being their chiefeſt Subſiſtence: They are generally paid in Wine, Meal, Cattel, and young Slaves; and ſome there are that give 'em Horſes: of all which they ſell whatever they have no need of, or whatever they have to ſpare. Were it not for this ſupport of *Phyſick*, they could never ſubſiſt upon the Annual Penſion which the *Congregation* allows 'em of 18 *Roman* Crowns for every Miſſionary, which make but Five Pounds Ten Shillings. Beſides the Diſpenſation already mention'd, theſe Miſſionaries have ſeveral others both in Spirituals and Temporals; as, to ſay Maſs, without any Body to aſſiſt at it; to ſay it in ſeveral ſorts of places, and in all ſorts of Habits, to give Abſolution of all manner of Sins, to diſguiſe themſelves, to keep Horſes and Servants, to have Slaves, to buy and ſell, to pay and take Intereſt. In a word, they have Diſpenſations ſo ample, and of that extent, that they pretend a power to do, and do in effect, whatever is permitted to the moſt priviledg'd Eccleſiaſticks. Nevertheleſs theſe Miſſionaries, with all their Artifices, and notwithſtanding all this Liberty, make very little progreſs among the *Georgians*. For beſides that the people are very ignorant, and take little care to inſtruct themſelves, it is ſo rivetted into their Heads, that Faſting as they obſerve it, is the Eſſential part of Chriſtian Religion: That they do not believe the *Capuchins* to be *Chriſtians*, becauſe they are inform'd that in *Europe* they do not faſt as they do. This incredible Obſtinacy obliges the *Capuchins* to faſt as they do, and to abſtain from Creatures which the *Georgians* abhor, as the Hare, the Tortoiſe, and others. They faſt *Wedneſdays* and *Frydays*, regulating themſelves according to the Ancient Calendar, that they may be ſaid to be outwardly no more then *Georgian Chriſtians*. Many People at firſt repair'd to their Church at *Tefflis*, drawn thither by the Novelty of their Service, and a little Muſick of four or five Voices, accompany'd with a Lute, and a Spinet. But at preſent there go no more then only five or ſix poor People, who get ſomething by the Miſſionaries. They have alſo ſet up a School, but they have not above ſeven or eight Scholars, the Childern [illegible] Parents, who go thither more for Vittles then Learning, [illegible] Fathers confeſs'd themſelves. They told me often that they [illegible] not keep up their Miſſions for any profit they got by 'em, [illegible] only for the Honour of the *Roman* Church;

Church; which, ſaid they, would not be the Catholick Church, had it not Miniſters in all parts of the inhabited World In a word, theſe Miſſionaries have no more in all *Georgia* then the two Houſes already mention'd. The Wars of *Imiretta* and *Guriel*, and the Calamities of thoſe Countries, have forc'd 'em to quit ſeveral Settlements which they had made in thoſe parts. And their deſign was, when I parted from *Tefflis*, to viſit *Kaket* in *June*, and ſeveral other places upon Mount *Caucaſus*. Their Miſſion conſiſted of twelve Perſons, nine Prieſts, and three Lay-Brothers.

The City of *Tefflis* is very well peopl'd; and there are as many Strangers reſort thither as to any place in the World. For it drives a great Trade, and the Court is very Numerous and Magnificent, beſeeming the Capital of a *Province*, being never without ſeveral Grandees of Note.

As to the Name of the City, I could never learn the Etymology of the word. They ſay, the *Perſians* gave it that Name. Certain it is however, that the *Georgians* do not call it *Tefflis*, but *Cala*, that is to ſay, the City or the Fortreſs; which is indeed a Name that they give to all Spacious Habitations encompaſs'd with Walls. Which makes me think, that becauſe they have no other Wall'd City in all the Country, they would give it no other Name but *Cala*. Some Geographers call it *Tebele-Cala*, or the Hot City, by reaſon of the Baths of Hot Waters within it, or elſe becauſe the Air is not ſo cold nor ſo boyſtrous as in the other parts of *Georgia*. Neither could I learn the Time when the City was founded, nor the moſt remarkable Revolutions that have befallen it. For my part I do not believe its Antiquity ſurpaſſes Eight Hundred Years. It has been twice under the Power of the *Turks*. Once in the Reign of *Iſhmael* the Second King of *Perſia*; and the ſecond time, in the Reign of his Succeſſor, *Solyman* becoming Maſter of it, at the ſame time almoſt that he took *Tauris*. The *Perſian* Tables place it in 83 Degrees of Longitude, and 43 Deg. 5. min. of Latitude. It is alſo call'd *Dar el Melec*, or the Royal City, as being the Metropolis of the Kingdom.

The 10th the Superiour of the *Capuchins* gave the Viceroy Notice of my Arrival. I deſir'd him ſo to do, conſidering with my ſelf, that having Servants and Luggage, and being lodg'd at the *Capuchins* Houſe, my Arrival could not be conceal'd from a Prince who had Intelligence even of the moſt

trivial Things that paſs'd in *Tefflis*, much more of my Adventures in *Mingrelia*, of which many People had ſpread a report. Beſides, I was glad to ſee him, and ſhew him the King of *Perſia*'s Paſſports, directed to all the Governours of Provinces, wherein I was effectually recommended. For I made no Queſtion but the *Prince* upon the ſight of thoſe Orders would make me Welcom, and grant me a Convoy, if I ſhould have occaſion, for the reſt of my Journey. *Shanavas-Can* underſtanding who I was, and that the deceas'd King had employ'd me into *Europe* upon his own Service and Affairs, order'd the Superiour to tell me in his Name, That I was Welcom, that he was glad of my Arrival, and that I would do him a Kindneſs to come and ſee him as ſoon as I could; which I was neither in a Condition, neither was I reſolv'd to do ſo ſoon: being reſolv'd to ſtay till I was ready to depart, becauſe I would not be oblig'd to go every Day to Court. Therefore I deſir'd Father *Raphael*, who was his Phyſician, to tell him, That I was overjoy'd at the Honour which he had done me, and that I would not fail to pay my Duty to him, ſo ſoon as I had put my ſelf into a handſom Equipage; but that I was ſo out of order, that I could not ſtir abroad theſe Ten Days. I know not whether Father *Raphael* made a true Report to the Prince, or whether the Prince believ'd him; for ſo it happen'd, that about Twelve a Clock in the Forenoon, he ſent a Gentleman to tell me, That ſince I was come to Town in a Week of Mirth and Jollity, while he Feaſted every Day at Court, he deſir'd that I would come and ſee him. I was ſurpriz'd and troubl'd at the Meſſage; and therefore I deſir'd the Superiour and Father *Raphael* to let the Prince know, That I could not yet ſtir abroad, and that he would be pleas'd to condeſcend that I might ſtay till the *Sunday* following before I receiv'd the Honour which he was pleas'd to do me. Which Meſſage the *Capuchins* promis'd to deliver, but fail'd. They went to the Court 'tis true, but return'd the next moment, to tell me, That the Prince was impatient to hear what News from *Europe*. But the truth of it was, that they had an extraordinary deſire to produce me. They were deſirous to ſhew the King of *Perſia*'s Agent, whom they aſſerted to be one of their own Nation, to the end themſelves might be the more reſpected; and they deſir'd my Comrade and my ſelf to put on our moſt Sumptuous Habit, and to enlarge for their ſakes the Preſent which we intended for the *Prince*. In which particular I was willing to gratifie 'em, and in whatever elſe I

might

might conveniently do, as being glad of an Opportunity to acknowledge the ſignal Kindneſſes they had done me.

It was almoſt Noon when we went to the *Palace*, accompany'd by the Superiour and Father *Raphael*, who attended to be aſſiſtant to us. The *Prince* was in a Room of State, a Hunderd and Ten Foot long, and above Forty broad, built upon the ſide of the River, and all open on that ſide. The Ceeling, which was all of *Moſaic* Work, was plac'd upon a great Number of Pillars, Painted and Gilt between 35 and 40 Foot high. The whole Room was ſpread with very fair Carpets. The *Prince* and principal Nobility were ſitting near three little Chimneys, which with ſeveral Braſiers warm'd the Room to that degree, that the Cold was not felt. *Shanavas-Can*, when people approach'd near him, caus'd himſelf to be Reverenc'd the firſt time, like the King of *Perſia* Himſelf. They fell upon their Knees Two or Three Paces diſtant from his Perſon, and bow their Heads to the Ground, Three Times one after another. Which manner of Saluting the Eaſtern Princes, the *Europeans* have always ſcrupl'd to obſerve. And indeed it being impoſſible that a Man ſhould proſtrate himſelf in a more humble poſture, ſuch a Proſtration ſhould only be us'd before GOD himſelf. So that ſometimes they excuſe themſelves from uſing this manner of Salutation, by ſaying they are of another World, and underſtand not the Complements of the Country. For my part I made my Obeyſance with three Bows, without Kneeling. Afterward two Gentlemen led me to take my place: but I would not ſit above the *Capuchins*, though the Gentlemen preſs'd me ſo to do, and the Steward of the Houſhold who ſtood upon his Feet in the middle of the Room. For I was willing to do 'em that Honour, that they might have Honour done 'em by others. Which the Superiour was ſo glad to ſee, that he would needs have me take place of his Companion.

While I was paying my Obeyſance, a Gentleman who had receiv'd from me at the Hall Door the King of *Perſia's* Letters Patents which I held in my Hand, and the Preſent which I had brought for the Prince, and lay'd 'em in order in a large Silver Voider, ſet down the Voider at the Prince's Feet. Preſently he took the Patent, open'd it, and riſing up from his Seat put it to his Lips, and lay'd it upon his Forehead, then gave it to his Chief Miniſter to tell him the Contents. Afterwards he view'd the Preſent with a great deal of Curioſity

and

and Satisfaction; which conſiſted of ſeveral pieces; that is to ſay,

A large Watch, with a Lunary Motion, in a Silver Caſe, Engrav'd and Gilt.

A Looking-Glaſs of Chriſtal of the Rock, in a Silver Frame.

A Gold Enamel'd Box to put *Opium* Pills in. For the moſt part of the *Perſians* take thoſe Pills ſeveral times a day.

A Surgeons Caſe, furniſh'd with all ſorts of Inſtruments; being a very Delicate and Curious Piece of VVorkmanſhip.

Knives with Handles, Neat and Delicately wrought.

The firſt Miniſter after he had receiv'd the Patent, with a low Voice gave the Prince an Account of the Contents. And I underſtood afterwards that the Prince ſhould ſay, they had never read a Patent more Effectual nor more Honourable, and that they had very ſeriouſly conſider'd it. All the Grandees admir'd the Golden Character, and the *Moreſco*-Flouriſhes in the Margent which were very large. The Prince caus'd it to be Copy'd; and I thought it not amiſs to give ye the Tranſlation of it as follows.

HE WHO IS, HE IS GOD to whom belongs praise and glorie.

[Regalitie is the gift of] God

In the name of God, clement and mercifull

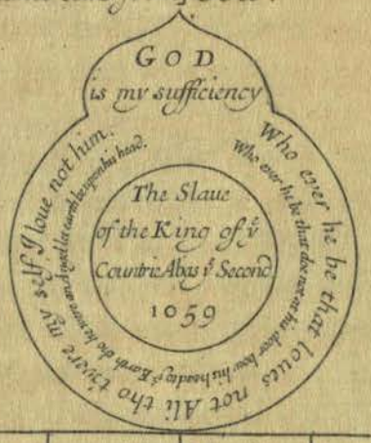
God is elevated above all things.

[Prophetic]

[O Mahamed, O Ali]

[Iudgment belongs to] God

[Assistance coms from] God.



Ali	Hasein	Husein	Ali
Mahamed	Iafer	Mousa	Ali
Mahamed	Hali	Hasein	Mahamed

Abas the Second Victorious King Lord of the World. Thrice Valliant. Prince. descendd from Shaik. Sephi from Mousa: from Hassein.

Absolutely Commands.

The Lords of Lords who haue the Presence of a Lyon, the Aspect of Deston, The Princes who haue the Stature of Tahem-ten-ten, who seem to be in the Time of Ardevon, The Regents. who carry the Majestie of Peribours. The Conquerours of Kingdoms, Sup-Intendants that unloose all manner of Knotts, and who are under the Ascendant of Mercurie The Farmers of the Ports of the Empire of Caagon, the Collectors of Tolls, the Provosts of Highways, & Passages of the Goverment are to understand, that at this present time wee haue orderd by an Express Command the Agas Chardin & Raisin, French Merchants, the Flower of Merchants to discharge themselues of an Employm.t w.th they haue undertaken, & to execute such Orders as haue bin given to 'em There is therefore an absolute necessitie that in what ever part of these Kingdomes of Spacious extent they shall be found, & that through what ever part of our Vast Empire they shall pass, whither going or coming, neither by way of request or demand any dutys or Tolls be exacted from 'em, of what nature soever, or what ever Authoritie such p.sons may haue to demand 'em. that they giue no Obstacle to their desig:nes, nor disturb 'em w.th any manner of Molestation, but that they pay 'em every where all manner of Hon.r & Respect, & giue 'em such assistance as they shall desire at all times that they shall require it. And so soon as this patent shall be adornd, enlightend, ennobl'd. & enliven'd, w.th the Seale w.th resembles the Sun in dignity & Vertue, w.th makes manifest the Decree of the Lord of the World. & w.th being aboue All things in Length & Breadth serues for a Law to the Universe, & that the Subscription Adorable, Holy [Sublime] most high & w.th out compare. shall be affixd thereto, That they giue entire Credit to it, & render all Obedience to what it containes, as Being A Decree from on Hie Elevated aboue all Things, & that it serue to Perpetuitie to the Persons to whom it is given. Given in the Month of Shaval the Honourable, in the yeare 1077 of the Holy flight.

Peace & Happiness remain Eternally w.th the followers of the Holy flight.

At Asheraf the Noble in the Province of Theber = Estaan, where God always maintain Prosperitie & Abundance.

Mehdy Son of Aabib Alla of the race of Hasein.

The Patent.

N.o 5

The *Patent* is writ upon a Sheet of Paper two Foot and a half long; it is alſo beautifi'd with Letters of Gold, Blew, Red and Black. And therefore I have mark'd in great Letters, what is written in Letters of Gold, and what is written in the Original in Coloured Letters, I have incloſed between two little Hooks.

1. It is in the Original, *Hou Alla ſub han Hou*. Which is an *Arabian* Sentence taken out of the *Alcoran*. *Hou* in this Language is the Eſſential Name of GOD, and not *Alla*, which ſignifies *Moſt High*. This *Hou* is the *Jehova* of the *Hebrews*, and ſignifies *He*, or *He there*. It ſignifies alſo *is*, or *He that is*; by which is to be underſtood a *Being of Himſelf*, and *Uncreated*. This Name is to be met with in the *Alcoran* in a number of places; and it ſeems that the Impoſtor who Compos'd that Book alludes to that Paſſage in the Third of *Exodus*, *He who is, has ſent me*. The *Mahometans* place this word *Hou* over all their Decrees, Statutes, Petitions, and almoſt over all their VVritings. And ſometimes they add, *Alla ta à Alla*, that is to ſay, *He who is, is GOD Moſt High*.

2. Theſe words ought to refer to the bottom of the *Patent* after theſe, *Being a Decree from above, Elevated on High above all things*; as much as to ſay, That GOD is ſtill above. The *Perſians* have this Cuſtom in any Act or Decree, never to put the Name of GOD at the bottom of the Leaf; but they place it at the top upon the ſide, and leave a Blank in that part to which it ought to refer. And this ſame Circumſpection they obſerve with great Superſtition, believing that they who fail therein, fail of their Reſpect to GOD. They have the ſame Reſpect for the King and the reſt of his Miniſters, in their Juridical Writings, their Petitions, and their Publick Acts: for they never inſert 'em into the Body of the Writing, but always at the top of the Page upon the Right-Hand.

3. This word *Prophetick*, ſet at the top, for the reaſon already obſerv'd, is relative to that at the bottom of the Patent: *The Holy Flight*, to ſignifie that the Computation of Time, which begins from the Flight of *Mahomet* from *Mecca* to *Medina*, is an *Epoche* of Sacred Inſtitution, and that it took its Original and it's Beginning from the time that the Perſon whom they call by way of Excellency, *The Prophet*, began his Miſſion.

4. They that underſtand little of the Religion and Cuſtoms of the *Mahometans*, cannot be ignorant of this Invocation, in regard they pronounce it at the beginning of all their Actions, and all their Prayers. The moſt famous Profeſſors of the Oriental Languages, ſay, That it ought to be thus Tranſlated, *In the Name of GOD Soveraignly-Merciful.* And indeed, the *Arabian* word *Rahmen*, which ſignifies *Merciful*, is an Incommunicable Attribute of GOD, and which they never make uſe of but in ſpeaking of the *Divine Clemency*. All the *Mahometans* believe that this Invocation conceals great Myſteries, and encloſes an infinite number of Vertues. For they have it always in their Mouths, riſing, ſitting, taking a Book or an Inſtrument in their Hands, or a Pen. In a word, they believe they ſhall not proſper in any thing which they undertake, if they do not begin with this Invocation. They aſſure themſelves that *Adam* and *Eve* ſpoke it before they went about any Buſineſs. It is ſet at the beginning of every Chapter in the *Alcoran*. And it is evident that it is in Imitation of the uſual Sayings of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, the one always beginning thus, *Our Aid be in the Name of GOD, who Created Heaven and Earth:* and the other with theſe words, *In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt.*

I ſhall ſpeak in another place of the Seal which is fix'd to this Patent, and of what is grav'd within. The Figure under it is call'd *Niſhan*, that is, the *Signal*, and alſo the Flouriſh beneath the Subſcription. It is here drawn with a Ruler, but in the Original it is made of the Tails of Letters. The Secretary who is us'd to write this Subſcription draws thoſe Tails ſo ſtreight and ſo equal, that you would take 'em for Lines drawn by Rule and Compaſs. The whole Subſcription is in Colour'd Letters, except the word which ſignifies *Lord of the World*, and thoſe which I have Tranſlated *Abſolutely Commands*, which are in Letters of Gold. The words *Zels Zionzoumis*, are ancient Turkiſh ſtill in uſe in the *Leſſer Tartary*. They ſignifie properly *My Words*, or *I ſpeak*. And *Tamberlain* being the firſt that made uſe of thoſe words in his Patents, the Kings of *Perſia* have ſtill retain'd the Cuſtom. The twelve Names which are in the middle of the Flouriſh beneath the Subſcription, are the Names of the twelve *Pontiffs*, real and lawful Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, according to the *Perſian* Belief.

5. The

5. The Governours in *Perſia* are diſtinguiſh'd into Great and Petty. *Media* and *Georgia* for Example are great Governments; *Caramania* and *Gedroſia* petty Governments: Therefore they call *Beglerbeg*, which ſignifies *Lord of Lords*, the Governour of a Great Government; and the *Viceroy* of a Petty Government they call a *Kan*.

6. *Deſton*, *Tahem-ten-ten*, and *Feribourſ*, are the Names of the ancient *Perſian* Heroes, or if you pleaſe of the Old Giants, which deriv'd their Being from the ancient Fables. Theſe are the *Alcides*'s and the *Theſeus*'s of the *Perſians*; and as the *Grecian Alcides* had ſeveral Names, ſo likewiſe has the *Perſian*: but the moſt common Name which they have alway in their Mouths is that of *Ruſtem*.

7. *Ardevon* is the Name of an Ancient Giant or *Hero*, who as the *Perſians* ſay, conquer'd all *Aſia*, and ſetl'd the Seat of his Empire in *Perſia*. Their Hiſtories have not preſerv'd the Memory of any of his Atchievements: but their Romances feign an infinite Number which are altogether fabulous.

8. In the Original it is, *Who unlooſe all ſorts of Knots*.

9. There is no People in the World more ſottiſhly devoted to Judicial Aſtrology then the *Perſians*. Of which being to ſpeak in another place, I ſhall ſay no more here, but that the *Perſians* rank all Penmen, Books and Writings under *Mercury*, whom they call *Aitared*, and hold all People born under that Planet to be endu'd with a refin'd, penetrating, clear-ſighted, and ſubtil Wit.

10. *Caagon* is the Name of an Ancient King of *China*: Nor is there any one over the whole *Eaſt* whoſe Memory is more Venerable. It ſeems, by what they report, that he was more particularly Illuſtrious in his Country for his Government in Peace and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, then for his Feats of Arms. Therefore the Eaſtern Monarchs aſſume his Name to themſelves, as the Roman Emperors call'd themſelves *Cæſars*. Moreover, it has the ſame ſignification in *Perſia*, as *Auguſt* in *Engliſh*; ſo that when the *Perſians* would expreſs any thing that is Great and Royal, they ſay, *Caagonie*. Thus I have explain'd the truth of this litle Figure; and I believe

we

we ſhall be as little troubl'd to underſtand the whole Language of this *Patent*, though Metaphor and Hyperbole are therein moſt furiouſly injur'd.

11. The Term which I have Tranſlated *Flowre of Merchants*, ſignifies Exquiſite, Choice, Elected, or moſt Excellent. The *Perſians* uſe it commonly as an Epithet for all ſorts and Conditions of Men; Great Lords, Foreign Miniſters, Merchants; and bring it down even to Tradeſmen.

12. It is in the *Perſian*, *Nor by Importunate Flatteries, nor by Haughty Demands.*

13. The word which I have Tranſlated *To Incourage*, ſignifies properly *To Water.*

14. Theſe words *In Dignity and Virtue*, are not in the *Patent*, only I have put 'em in the place of thoſe that are, which ſignifies the *Seal of great Quality reſembling the Sun.*

15. Theſe words are to be referr'd to the words *Abſolutely Commands*, which are under the Flouriſh beneath the Subſcription. They are call'd here *The Decree of the Lord of the World. Tamberlain* was the firſt that made uſe of theſe lofty Expreſſions. Now the *Grand Signior* and the *Indian* Monarch make uſe of 'em as well as the King of *Perſia*; while every one maintains that it belongs to him only, and aſſumes it as his moſt Glorious Title. In the *Perſian* Language it is, *Saheb-Cerani.* It may be alſo interpreted *Maſter of the Age*, but the other Tranſlation is more clear and intelligible, and diſcovers more plainly the ſottiſh pride that is contein'd in it.

16. We ſhall ſpeak more particularly in another place of the Marks by which the *Perſians* diſtinguiſh Times and Seaſons. Here therefore I ſhall ſay no more then for the underſtanding of the Date, that the Month *Shavel* is the tenth, and that the *Arabians* have given Epithets to all the Months; as for Example, to the *Firſt*, the Epithet of *Sacred*; to the *Seventh*, that of *Praiſe-worthy*; to the *Ninth*, that of *Bleſſed*; and to this here mention'd the Stile of *Honourable.* The word *Hegyra*, which is Tranſlated *Flight*, proceeds from a Verb, which ſignifies to *fly*, as alſo to *retire.* So that the *Hegyra* of the *Mahometans* is the ſame thing with the *Exodus* of

the *Hebrews*. And without doubt *Omar* had that ſame *Exodus* in his Mind, when he ſetl'd the *Mahometan Epact*, from the time of *Mahomet's* departure from *Mecca*, which was the place in *Arabia* where Idols and Idolatry were moſt in Eſteem.

17. In the Original it is *Hambager*, that is, *Flying together*.

18. As the *Arabians*, as we have ſaid, gave Epithets to the Months, the *Perſians* alſo have given Epithets to the Principal Cities of their Empire. *Iſpahan* and *Cashin* are call'd *The Seat of Monarchy*. *Canbadar*, *A Secure Retreat*. *Aſherif* was call'd *The Ennobl'd*, becauſe *Abas* the Great built a Spacious and Sumptuous Palace, and uſually kept his Court there when he was in the Province of *Mazenderan*. Which Province is call'd *Tabar Eſtaan* in all the Publick Acts, in the *Exchequer*, and *Chancery*; but in common Diſcourſe they call it *Mazanderoon*. *Tabar Eſtaan* ſignifies a place of Wedges, to denote that the Country is full of Wood; for that where there is great plenty of VVood, great ſtore of VVedges are requir'd to cleave it.

19. The Impreſſion of the Seal, which is at the bottom of the Date in the Tranſlation, is not only upon the back of the Patent, but at the bottom likewiſe. This is the Seal of the Prime Miniſter, who is call'd *Mahomet Mehdy*. The *Perſians* never put their Qualities in their Seals, nor any Title by which they may be known. There is only their own Name; their Fathers Name, which ſerves in ſtead of a Sirname, according to the faſhion of the *Hebrews*; and the Name of their Family when it has the Honour to be deſcended from *Mahomet* by his Daughter *Fatima*. For the *Mahometans* acknowledge no other Nobility then to be the Original Branches of that Progeny.

I had alſo joyn'd to the King of *Perſia's* Patent a Note of Recommendation from the High Steward of his Houſhold; which I was deſirous the *Viceroy* ſhould ſee, as being aſſur'd that it would work more effectually then the Patent it ſelf. VVhich prov'd to be true; inſomnch that I underſtood afterwards, that it was to that Note, to which I was beholding for all the good Offices and Honours which I receiv'd at *Teſſlis*; which was as follows.

THe Commiſſioners of Governments, the Farmers Royal, Officers of Cities, Receivers of Toll, and Provoſts of the High-Way, will have the (1) *Honour to know, That* M. Chardin *and* M. Raiſin, *French Merchants, the Flowre of Merchants, having brought to the moſt High and Sublime Court Rarities and Curioſities ſet with Precious Stones, worthy the* (2) *Wardrobe of the* (3) *Slaves of the* (4) *Diſtributer of Temporal Goods, they are Commanded to fetch others; and have expreſs Order to cauſe to be made in their Country ſeveral Pieces of Workmanſhip for the Service of his Slaves; to that purpoſe they are Honour'd with a Patent under the* (5) *Sacred Seal; and that is the Reaſon they are forc'd to Travel. Where-ever they come therefore, it is abſolutely requiſite that they have Reſpect ſhewn 'em, and that all Reaſonable Aſſiſtance that ſhall be neceſſary, be afforded 'em. Care alſo muſt be taken that they be not moleſted or put to Trouble, nor muſt any Perſons whatever ſignifie in any manner whatſoever, that they expect or deſire any Duties from 'em. For if it comes to the Ears of the Slaves of the Lord of Human Kind, that they have claim'd any thing of 'em, bad will be the Fruit of ſuch an Information.* Written in the Month of *Shaval* the Ennobl'd; 1076. of the Holy Flight; *To which be Honour and Glory.*

In the Margent there was,

The Intention of this is to give all thoſe whom it may concern to underſtand, That the Bearers hereof are to be Treated and Reſpected according to the Tenour of the Patent, to which all the World pays Homage. The words of the Seal ſignifie *Maxud* the Son of *Caleb*, the Delight of the Creatures.

1. It

1. It is in the *Perſian*, *They are Honour'd by that which they give 'em to underſtand.* For ſo the Grandees of *Perſia* write to the Inferiour Officers: eſpecially when thoſe Officers have their dependance upon 'em. This they do to maintain the difference which their Authority and Imployment, puts between 'em: and that there may not be any confuſion by their manner of Communication one with another.

2 The Word which I have Tranſlated Wardrobe is *Sercar*; Which ſignifies properly *Chief of the Workmanſhip*, and alſo a *Magazine*. For the King and the Grandees of *Perſia* keep in their Houſes Manufactures of all ſorts of Trades and Arts. They call thoſe places *Carconè*, or *Work-Houſes*. They are like the Gallery of the Grand Duke of *Florence*, or the Galleries in the *Louvre* in *France*. They maintain therein a great number of excellent Maſters, who have there a Penſion and their Dyet as long as they Live: and they find 'em Materials for their Work. And they make 'em Preſents, or advance their pay upon every Curious Piece which they finiſh.

3. 'Tis out of Pride and Vainglory that they expreſs themſelves in theſe Terms. *Worthy the Wardrobe of the Slaves of the King.* As much as to ſay, that the Kings Wardrobe is ſo full of rare and pretious Jewels, that no body can bring any thing that is fit to be put therein. And therefore *Perſian* Eloquence makes very much uſe of this Circumlocution of Language upon all occaſions. So ſpeaking of an Ambaſſador that has pay'd his Obeyſance to the King, they ſay, *That he has kiſs'd the Feet of the Slaves of the King.* In like manner, when they would ſay, that the King has perform'd any great Action, they ſay, *The Slaves of the Prince have perform'd ſuch a great Action.* Forms of Speech that ſufficiently diſcover the Vanity of the Eaſtern People. I take 'em to be drawn from the *Alcoran*, which the *Mahometans* affirm to be the ſource of true Eloquence. There you ſhall meet with many ſuch like Expreſſions. As for Example, ſpeaking of the Works of GOD, they call 'em, *The Works of the Angels. The Angels Created the Heavens and the Earth.* VVhich, ſay the *Mahometans*, more clearly expreſſes the Power of GOD. For if the Angels have ſo much Power as to Create VVorlds, how great muſt be his Power whoſe only Servants and Miniſters they are? In ſhort, all the Orientals are perfect Slaves; their Soveraigns having

having a right to command their Lives, and Fortunes, their VVives and Childern. But they are ſo far from being terrifi'd with their condition, that they Glory in it. The Grandees themſelves count it an Honour to be call'd Slaves: and *Sha-Couli*, or *Coolam-Sha*, which ſignifies the Kings Slaves, is as Honourable a Title in *Perſia*, as that of *Marqueſs* in *France*.

4. *Valineamet*, which I have Tranſlated *Diſtributer of Temporal Goods*, is a compound Word. *Vali* ſignifies a *Soveraign*, and abſolute *Lieutenant*, who has the ſame Power in the place where he is ſettl'd as he that Rules the Empire. The *Perſians* alſo frequently call their King *Vali-Iron*, to let yee underſtand that he is in *Perſia*, which they call *Iron*, the true Succeſſor, Vicar, and Lieutenant of *Ali*, to whom GOD gave the Dominion of the VVorld, after the Death of *Mahomet*. *Neamet* is deriv'd from *Inara*, which ſignifies a *Preſent*, *Favour*, *Temporal Grace*, *or Bountiful conferring of a Beneſit*. So that by the VVord *Vali-Neamet*, which is the moſt uſual Title which the *Perſians* give their King, ſpeaking to his Majeſty, they mean, *That he is GODS Lieutenant in the World, to diſtribute in his behalf all the Benefits and Bleſſings of Fortune to Men, and as it were the Conduit-Pipe, through which Heaven Conveys it's Bleſſings to the Earth.*

5. It is in the *Perſian Mouharec-Niſhan*. It has been ſaid that the Subſcription, wherein are VVritten the Twelve Names of the Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, is call'd *Niſhan*, though *Mouharec* ſignifies *Bleſſed*.

I ſaid nothing to the *Viceroy* when I pay'd my Obeyſance, nor did he ſpeak a word to me, or make the leaſt ſign. VVithin a Moment after Dinner was ſerv'd in, he ſent me upon a Plate of Gold the half of a large Loaf that was before him, and order'd his Carver that brought it me, to tell me, that I was welcome. A little after that, he ſent to ask me how the War went forward between the *Turks* and the *Polanders*. During the Second courſe he caus'd us to be ſerv'd with his own Wine in the Cup that he Drank out of himſelf. The Wine ſtood in a great Flagon of Gold Enamell'd; and the Cup was ſet in the lower part with Rubies and Turquoiſes. The Gentleman that fill'd us out the Wine, bid us in the Prince's Name, *Be Merry, and Eat Heartily*. When the Third Courſe was upon the Table, the Prince did us yet farther Honour, and ſent us part of the Roaſtmeat which was ſet before

his

his own Perſon; that is to ſay, a *Pheaſant*, two Partridges, and a Quarter of a Hind; and order'd our Attendant to tell us, *That the Wine would make the Wild-Fowl go down the better; though he had commanded that we ſhould not be preſs'd to Drink.* All which Honours I receiv'd with low bows, but without making any Anſwer. And the *Capuchins* did the ſame. For it is the Cuſtom among the *Perſians* never to return any other kind of Anſwer to thoſe kind of Favours.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the Order and Magnificence of the Feaſt, but only this, That there was hard Drinking, that there was a moſt prodigious Quantity of Meat, and that they brought it up ſome Fiſh, and ſome Fleſh, in reſpect to the Patriarch and the Biſhop who were there, and profeſs Abſtinence from Fleſh all their Life-time. We roſe from the Table after we had ſate three Hours; at what time others of the Gueſts were already withdrawn; though as yet they had not tak'n away the Roaſt-Meat. Retiring, we made a low Reverence to the Prince, who then ſent me word once more, *That I was Welcom*; and caus'd us to be conducted Home to our Lodging.

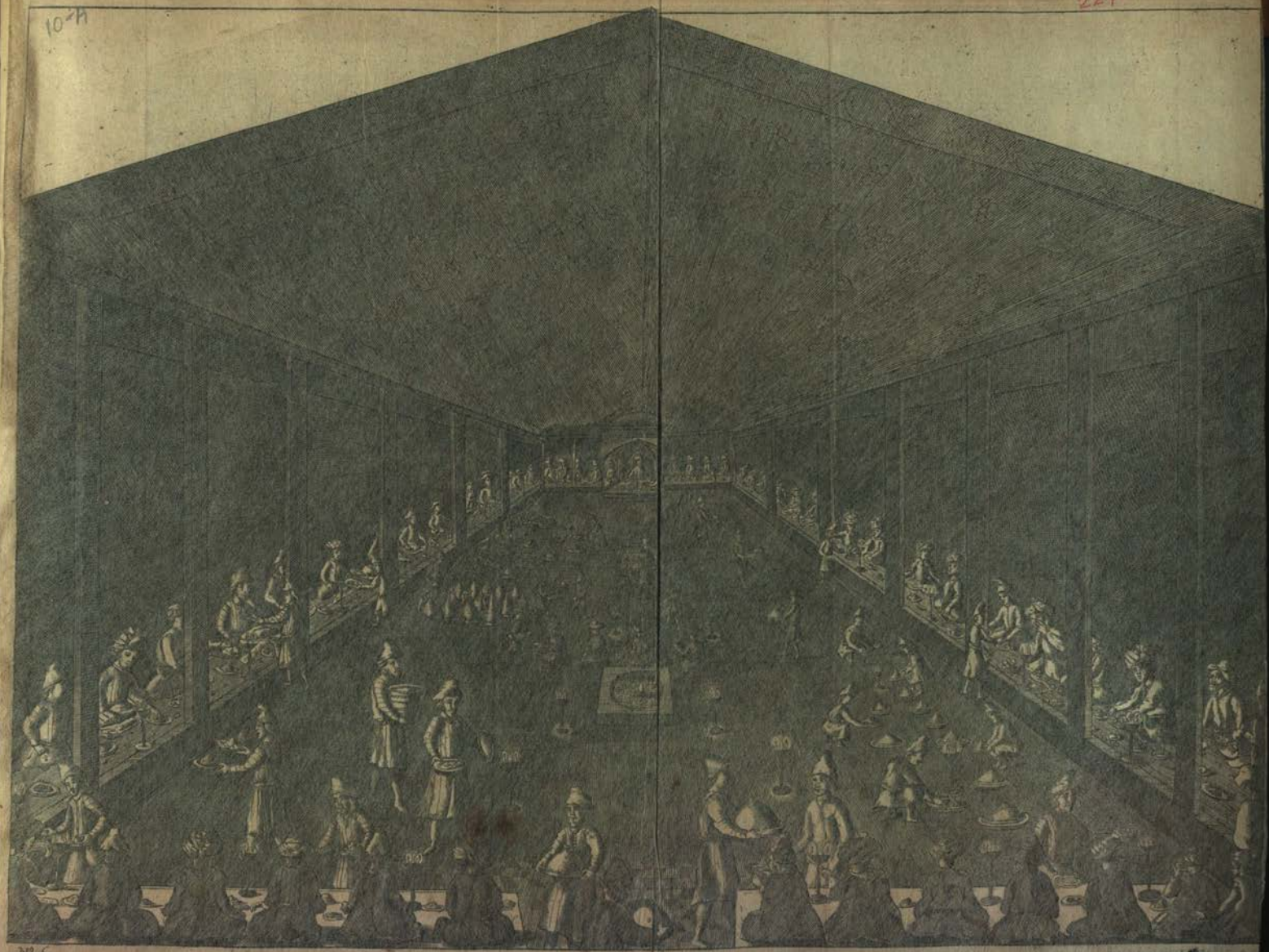
The 14th, the Prince ſent me two large Flagons of Wine, two Pheaſants, and two Brace of Partridges. The Gentleman that brought the Preſent told me, That the Prince had given him Order to enquire, *Whether I wanted any thing, and whether the* Capuchins *took care to let me not want Company*; and to tell me moreover, *That if I lik'd the Wine, I might ſend every day to his Buttery.* In anſwer to which, I deſir'd the Gentleman to aſſure the Prince, *That my Landlords did not let me want any thing, and that we would all together drink his Health in the Wine which he had ſent.* Nor indeed could better Wine be taſted: So that we were very Merry with a *Poliſh* Surgeon, and two *Syrians*, that ſerv'd the Prince, whom we ſent for to Sup with us.

The 16th, the Prince ſent to invite me to his Niece's Wedding, who was Marry'd in his *Palace*. I went about Five a Clock with the Superiour and Father *Raphael*; but the Ceremony of the Marriage was almoſt over, before we came. It was perform'd in the Great Room of State, where we had Din'd the *Sunday* before. I had a great deſire to have ſeen her, but becauſe the Room was full of Ladies, there was no Admittance for any but the Prince and his near Relations, the *Catholicos* and the Biſhops.

This ſame Cuſtom of forbidding Women the Company of Men, has been only in *Georgia*, ſince the Country became ſubject to the *Perſians*; nor is this Prohibition but only in the Cities. For in the Country, and in ſuch places where there are no *Mahometans*, they go without Vails, and make no ſcruple both to come into Company, and diſcourſe with Men at their pleaſure. But in regard the Cuſtoms of the *Mahometans* prevail more and more in *Georgia* with their Religion, we find the Women to be more and more reſtrain'd of their Liberty: and that lovely Sex are forc'd out of Conformity to good Manners to keep apart by themſelves. The Nuptial Feaſt was kept upon a Terraſs of the *Palace*, ſurrounded with Beds of State, or *Eſtrades* rais'd about two Foot, and ſix Foot in depth. The Terraſs was cover'd with a large Pavillion fix'd upon five Pillars, two and twenty Foot high, and about five Inches in Diameter. The Lining was of Cloth of Gold and Silver, Velvet and painted Cloath ſo neatly and artificially intermix'd, that by the Light of the Tapers it look'd like a Wainſcot of Flowers and *Moreſco* Work. In the midſt of this ſort of Room of State, if I may ſo call it, ſtood a large Fountain ſpouting out Water. However, we did not feel the Coldneſs of the Weather: For the Crowd of People, and the large moving Hearths that were in the Room, almoſt ſtew'd us before we got out. The Floor was cover'd with fair Carpets, and about Forty Branches gave Light to the whole Room. Of which the Four that hung next the *Prince* were of Gold, the reſt of Silver; which Branches uſually weigh Forty Pounds apiece, the Foot being a matter of Fifteen Inches in Diameter. The Branch about a Foot and a half high, carries a Bowl full of pure Tallow, which feeds two lighted Matches. And theſe ſort of Lamps give a very great Light.

The Figure, or rather Picture inſerted, gives yee a diſtinct *Idea* of the Order of this Feſtival. The Gueſts were rank'd upon Beds of State, or *Eſtrades*. The *Prince* had his Place upon an *Eſtrade* ſomewhat higher rais'd then the reſt, cover'd with a Canopy in the likeneſs of a *Duomo*. His Sons and his Brothers were upon his Right Hand; the Biſhops upon his Left: The Bridegroom's Place was betwixt both. As for my ſelf and the Capuchins, the *Prince* order'd us to ſit immediately next below the Biſhops. For you muſt underſtand there were at this Feaſt above a Hunder'd Perſons. The Muſick ſtood at the lower end. And now in a ſhort time after we were all plac'd, the Bridegroom enter'd lead by the *Catholicos*.

Who



N° 6

Who having taken his place, the Princes Relations, went every one to Complement and Preſent him. Which was alſo done by the greateſt part of the Gueſts, inſomuch that it look't like a kind of Proceſſion, which was the reaſon it laſted above half an Hour. The Preſents conſiſted in Money, ſome Gold, ſome Silver, as alſo in little Silver Cups. I confeſs I was deſirous to know how much the Preſents amounted to; but as far as I could find, 'twas no ſuch great Sum, as not exceeding above Two Hunderd Crowns.

However, let it be what it will, in the height of this Ceremony, Supper was ſerv'd up in this manner. In the firſt place Table-Cloaths were ſpread before all the Gueſts, and in three parts of the Court before the Tent. Which Table Cloaths were as large as the Eſtrades. After which done, the Bread was ſerv'd in. Of which there were three ſorts, the one as thin as Paper, the next about a Finger thick, and the third ſweeten'd with Sugar. The Meat was brought in cover'd in large Silver Diſhes, but far larger then are made in *Europe*. The Plate and the Cover uſually weighing about Four Hundred and Five Hundred Ounces. They that brought up the Diſhes firſt into the Room, ſet 'em down in order upon a Table Cloath at the Entrance; from whence other Officers carry'd 'em before the Squire-Carvers, who cut off ſeveral hollow Plates full, and order'd 'em to be ſent to the Gueſts: the Princes being firſt ſerv'd, and afterwards the reſt according to their Degrees: and the cuſtom is to Carve one Diſh to all the Company; then of another, and ſo of all the reſt. The whole Feaſt conſiſted of three Courſes every one containing Sixty of thoſe large flat Diſhes a piece. The Firſt was of all ſorts of *Pilo*, or Rice boyl'd with Meat, of which they make ſeveral ſorts of diſtinct Colours and Taſts. The Yellow is boyl'd with Sugar, Cinamon and Saffron. The Red, with Juice of Pomegranates, but the White is moſt natural and the beſt. This *Pilo* is a very good ſort of Diet, pleaſing to the Taſt and very wholeſome

The Second Courſe was of Meats Bak'd, Stew'd, and Fricaſſy'd; and other Ragoo's of the ſame Nature. The Third of Roaſted. Not but that in all the three Courſes there was an Intermixture of Fiſh, Eggs, and Salades for the ſake of the Eccleſiaſticks. For our parts they ſerv'd us both the Fleſh and Fiſh. In a Word, every thing was ſet upon the Table, and taken away with that order and ſilence that was to be admir'd. Every one did his Duty without ſpeaking a word. So that you

ſhall

ſhall hear three French-Men at one Table make more noiſe then a Hunderd and Fifty Perſons, that were in the Room at that Feaſt.

But that which was moſt to be wonder'd at after all this excellent order, was the Court Cupboard which contain'd about a Hunderd and Twenty Veſſels, that appertain'd to Drinking; Bowls, Cups, Horns, Sixty Flagons and Twelve Jugs. The Jugs were for the moſt part Silver. The Bowls and Cups were ſome of Poliſh'd Gold, others Gold Enamell'd, ſome ſet with pretious Stones, others only Silver; the Horns were Embelliſh'd after the ſame manner as the Richer ſort of Cups; and of ſeveral proportions. The ordinary ones were about Eight Inches High, Broad at the Top about Two, very black and Poliſh'd. Some were of *Rhinoceros*'s Snouts, others of Dears Horns, whereas the Common ſort were made of the Horns of Oxen and Sheep. However the Cuſtom of making uſe of 'em for Drinking Cups, and Embelliſhing 'em has been all along obſerv'd among the Eaſtern People. I cannot tell how long the Feaſt laſted: for I did not ſtay it out. Only this I know, that though it was Midnight before we went away, the Roaſt-meat was not then taken off the Table. Nor did they begin to Drink at firſt, till the Third Courſe came, that they began to be Warm, and then they Drank their Healths after this manner. They ſent to Eight Perſons, who were the Prince's neareſt Relations, four upon the Right, and four upon the Left, Eight Bowls of the ſame Bigneſs and Equally full of Wine. At what time they roſe and ſtood up till they had Drank; they that were upon the Right Hand Drinking firſt: they on the left hand Pledg'd 'em; and then the ſame Eight Bowls were fill'd again, and carry'd to the next in the ſame order till the Health was gone Round. Which done, they began again Eight Bigger Bowls. For the Cuſtom of the Country is to Drink the Grandees Health laſt in the biggeſt Cups. Which is done on purpoſe to Fuddle their Gueſts the more Effectually; by that means engaging 'em out of Reſpect and Eſteem for the Perſons to Drink the more Liberally till they are quite Drunk. In this manner they Drank all the two laſt Hours that I ſtay'd at the Feaſt, and as afterwards I underſtood, from that time till next Morning. The firſt Bowls held no more then an Ordinary Claſs: and for the laſt which I ſaw Drank off, they held about a Pint and a half. Nevertheleſs they were only thoſe that were accounted Moderate Draughts. The *Capuchins* and my ſelf were exempted from Drinking, and in

truth

truth, had I Drank as much as my Neighbours, I had dy'd upon the Spot: but the Prince had ſo much kindneſs for us as to give order not to carry us any Healths; nevertheleſs we had both Wine and Water, and a Gold Tumbler ſtanding before us all the while. But they never fill'd us, but when we call'd for it. When the Healths were began, the Muſick began to Play: being a confus'd mixture of Vocal and Inſtrumental, which ſo pleas'd the Company, that they ſeem'd Raviſh'd with it. But for my part I could hear nothing that was Muſical, but rather only what was harſh and full of diſcord. The Prince alſo being in a pleaſant Humour, as upon whom the Liquor began to work, ſent to the Superiour to bid him ſend for his *Spinette*. Who with his Comrade were no leſs mad at the Extravagant Fancy of the Prince, though the Chief cauſe of their diſguſt was my being there, fearing I ſhould make ſome Relation of the Paſſage to their Diſadvantage, and aggravate their fawning Compliance upon ſuch an occaſion; that a Superiour of a Miſſion, ſhould condeſcend to proſtitute himſelf like a Fidler before a *Mahometan* Prince, in and Aſſembly of Infidels and Hereticks, Clergy and Laity, that in the Condition they were in, might well be term'd an Aſſembly of Drunkards. However when the *Spinette* came they ſet it upon the Table in the midſt of the Room, and the Superiour was orderd to Play; at what time the Prince having order'd him to Sing and Play together, he firſt Sung the *Magnificat*, the *Te Deum*, and *Tantum Ergo*, and after that ſeveral Court-Aires in *Italian* and *Spaniſh*, for the Church Muſick was then too Grave for the Prince Beſides the *Spinette* was out of Tune, and the Superiour play'd out a Tune a purpoſe, and being very Old beſide, and brok'n with Age and Labour, you may well Judge what ſort of Divertiſement his Conſort could be. However it was Paſtime for the Prince for Two Hours together. During which time, the Steward of the Houſhould came to me, and ask'd me whither the uſe of Inſtruments were permitted in our Religion? To which when I anſwer'd, *It was*; he reply'd that the *Mahometan* Religion forbid it expreſsly; and though it were generally us'd in *Perſia*, yet yet that cuſtom did not make it Lawful. He told me moreover that Inſtruments were particularly forbid in the exerciſe of Religion, in regard that GOD requir'd only the Praiſes of Human Voice. During which diſpute, a *Georgian* Biſhop fell into diſcourſe with Father *Raphael* upon the ſame Subject. I cannot tell all that was then ſaid, in regard I did not well underſtand the Language, nor would the Father be my Interpreter.

preter. Only he told me thus much, that he was offended to ſee the Superiour Divertiſe the Company at a Feſtival with the ſame Hymns, which he pretended were appointed for the Service of GOD in the Church. Father *Raphael* alſo added, That he took it very ill, that the Viceroy had us'd his Authority ſo far, to oblige the Superiour to play upon the Lute, and ſing at every turn to pleaſe his Humour; only that their Security depended ſo much upon his Favour, that they durſt not deny him any thing. About Midnight therefore, as I told yee, we left 'em; after we had tak'n leave of the Prince with all due Reverence. Nevertheleſs before he would let me go, he ask'd me how his Kinſman the King of *Spain* did, and drank his Health in a Bowl ſet with Pretious Stones: and would needs have both the *Capuchins* and my ſelf pledge the Health in the ſame Cup. Though I know not whether he did it out of Vain-glory, or to honour the Superiour, whom he knew to be a Subject of his moſt Catholick Majeſty.

The 17th, reflecting upon the Title of King of *Spain*, which the *Prince* had aſſum'd to himſelf, and finding that it was not incoherent with what ſeveral Authors alledge, that the *Spaniard* Originally came out of *Iberia*, I ask'd the *Capuchins*, How the *Prince* claim'd Affinity with the King of *Spain*? They anſwer'd, That *Clement* the VIII. having written to *Taymuras*, and in his Letters call'd him Kinſman to *Philip* the Second, and the *Iberians* and *Spaniards* Brothers, his Succeſſors ever ſince retain'd that Imaginary Kindred. And upon that occaſion they told me ſeveral Stories of the Pride and Vain-glory of the *Georgians*, and of the Viceroy in particular, and ſhew'd me the Copy of a Letter which he wrote about two Years ſince to the King of *Poland*. Of which I have inſerted the Tranſlation in this Journal, as being an Authentick Piece, and proper to ſhew that the pride of the *Georgians* is not a little Extravagant, and becauſe the Crowd of Vain-glorious Titles with which it is ſtuff'd, diſcovers plainly, that the Eaſtern Nations beyond all compare ſurpaſs all others in the World in Vanity.

PRaiſe, Glory and Adoration are to be given to GOD moſt Omnipotent, who has Created and Preſerves all Things; who was neither Produc'd nor Engender'd; Exempt from all Evils; Ineffable, Merciful to all, as well the Dead as the Living; who Commands with abſolute Power both Great and Mean, and Governs 'em with Clemency. The moſt High, the moſt Puiſſant

Prince, the King of the Georgians, Lictimenians, Litians, Meſſiulctians, Shevians, Sheviulſtians, Suans, Oſſi, Bualtians, Circaſſians, Tuſcians, Pſianetians, Tidiſiceans, Jalibuſians, *the People both on this ſide, and beyond the High Mountains, and of all the places there inhabited; Lord of the three Grand* Tribes (*the* Georgian *term is* Eriſtava, Eris *ſignifying People, and* Tava *Chieftain, or Prince*) *and of the Holy Seat of* Schette, *Capital City of all the Provinces which God through his favour has given us in Heritage: King of* Iberia *and* Mucrania, Sabatian, Trialet, Taſchire, Sometta, Chianchia, *and* Schianvanda, *and of ſeveral other Kingdoms which he poſſeſſes with ſettl'd and abſolute Authority, and over which he has full Power; who is deſcended from* Jeſſe, David, Solomon, *and who by the Grace and Power of GOD is loaden with Proſperity; the Vanquiſher of Vanquiſhers, the Invincible King of Kings, the moſt High Lord,* Shanavas-Can. *To you* John Caſimir, *who are laden with Honour, and can repleniſh Men with it; who are Famous in Peace, and well ediſi'd in Virtue; who by the Mercy and Power of GOD are Auguſt, Happy, Born under a favourable Conſtellation, moſt great in Magnificence, who are always a doer of Good. Who for your rare merit are moſt worthy of a Throne and a Crown, moſt Potent Soveraign, Victor over Victors, Victorious over Enemies, Celebrated Exterminator of Rebels, Prince born a Chriſtian and bred up in the Chriſtian Religion; Renown'd for feats of Arms; Hereditary King of* Poland, Gothia, Vandalia, Lithuania, Ruſſia, Pruſſia, Livonia, Mazovia, Samotia, Chiovia, Ciarnacovia *and ſeveral other Kingdoms and Provinces; moſt Serene Lord whoſe renown is expanded over all, and Reaches to the Sun. To you, I ſay, Great King of* Poland, *without Compare, profound in Wiſdom and all manner of Knowledge, and Moſt Illuſtrious through all thoſe juſt Elogies which are given you, for having underſtood all the moſt noble Languages. We ſalute yee withal our Affection, and with as much ardour as the Obligation of our Hearty good will deſires it, we wiſh you perfect Content, long Peace, and multipli'd Proſperities. We render infinite Thanks to God for having learnt the Eſtate of your Health, by Letters brought us from the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Excellent Lord* John Leſczunſhi, *Count of* Lerſno, *Great Chancellor in your Kingdom, and Lieutenant General in upper* Poland. *We humbly beſeech his Divine Goodneſs that we may underſtand from time to time the continuance of your Health in its perfection, that you taſt without Moleſtation the Fruits of a Happy Peace, and that you enjoy a perfect Felicity. Your good Servant* Burgibug-Danbee, *Officer*

of

of your Kingdom; a Gentleman no less Illustrious for his Fidelity then Nobility, is come hither in Quality of an Envoy from your Royal Majesty to renew the Peace, and Ratifie the Friendship and good Correspondence between the happy King Sultan Soliman, *whose Grandeur is advanc'd to the Heavens, and Establish'd over all the Earth, a Prince most High, Supream, Incomparable, Infinite in Power, accustom'd to make himself by force ador'd by his most formidable Enemies, who enriches the Universe no less then the Sea, and who is worthy more Praises then it is possible for Men to give him. Monarch of* Persia, Media, Parthia, Hircania, *the* Persian *Golph, and the Islands therein contain'd,* Caramania, Aracosia, Margiana *and other Innumerable Principalities and Lordships. Your Agent has pass'd through our Territories, without having suffer'd the least Inconvenience, or receiv'd the least Molestation. He has now taken his leave to depart by the Assistance of God toward your Royal Majesty. I beseech you through the hearty good will and Friendship which we mutually bear one to the other, that this good Subject and my Domestick may be as welcom to your self, as he has been to your Predecessor.*

At the Royal Palace of *Tefflis, March* 26. 1671. of the Birth of *Jesus Messia.*

The Twentieth, I desir'd the Prefect or Superiour of the *Theatins*, and Father *Raphael* to return Thanks to the Prince for the Favours and Honours he had done me, and to pray him that I might have an Officer to conduct me to *Irivan* the chief City of *Armenia* the Greater. To which the Prince satisfi'd with the Complement, and no less ready to grant me my request, Commanded the *Capuchins* to tell me, *That he had a great Kindness for the* Europeans, *and would have wish'd I could have stay'd longer at* Tefflis, *to the end he might have made it more clear to me what he profess'd; but that he would not presume, neither had he any desire to stop me, because I was going upon the Kings business, and therefore that I was at Liberty to go when I pleas'd; that there was all manner of security within his Territories, and that therefore I needed no Convoy; nevertheless that he would send one of his Officers along with me if I desir'd it.*

The Fathers told me afterwards that he had held 'em in a long discourse concerning his earnest desire that the *Europeans* would come and settle in *Georgia*, to which purpose they had orders to tell me, that if they would come thither for Trade, he would Grant 'em all the Priviledges and Advantages they could

could deſire. That his Territories extended to the *Black-Sea*, and that bearing a great ſway in *Perſia*, and being highly eſteem'd in *Turkey*, ſuch *Europeans* as deſign'd to the *Indies*, could not chuſe a better Road then through his Territories; and that he was aſſur'd that when they had once travell'd it, they would always make choice of it for the future.

I deſir'd the Fathers to return my moſt humble Thanks to the Prince, for the Kindneſs which he had for our Nation; and to let him know, That I would not fail to give to the *French Eaſt-India* Company Notice of his good Intentions, which if he would be pleas'd to ſignifie in a Letter, I would certainly take care to have it ſent. Laſtly, That he would do me a great Honour to grant me one of his Domeſtick Servants, to Conduct me to the next Government, of which I ſhould not fail to give an Account to the King and his Miniſters, when I ſhould be arriv'd at *Iſpahan*.

The 24th, the *Tibilelle* (for ſo is the Biſhop of *Teflis* call'd, as I have ſaid already) came to ſee me. He told me, That the Prince had commanded him to acquaint me, That having conſider'd upon what I had ſent to him about Writing to the *French* Company for ſetling a Trade, and a Paſſage through *Georgia*, He was about to have done it, to inform 'em of the Advantage they might make of a Trade into that Country: but in regard he was no more then a Vaſſal to the King of *Perſia*, he was afraid his Majeſty would look upon it as a Crime to have Written without his Order to Strangers about Buſineſs. However, I might aſſure 'em this, That if they would ſend Factors into his Country, they ſhould find many ſorts of Merchandizes that were proper for *Europe* very cheap; beſides that they ſhould be receiv'd with all the Civility imaginable. In anſwer to which I deſir'd the *Tibilelle* to aſſure the Prince that I would faithfully diſcharge my Truſt. The Prelate ſtaid with me about a quarter of an Hour in my Chamber; and at his departure I preſented him a very fair Roſary of Coral: according to the Cuſtom of Repaying the Viſits of a Perſon of Quality. Nor were the *Capuchins* leſs glad of the Viſit I had receiv'd, then of the manner of my Acknowledgment, in regard the Biſhop of *Teflis* had never been at their Houſe before.

The 25th, the Prince ſent me a Preſent of Wine, and order'd the Meſſenger to tell me, That he had appointed a *Perſian* of his own Family for my Guide; that he had commanded a Letter of Orders to be diſpatch'd that I might ſet forward as ſoon as I pleas'd.

The 26th, Father *Raphael* made me ſpend two Hours with an old Woman that practis'd Phyſick by the help of an infinite Number of Receipts: Of which he caus'd me to write down ſome that he had heard People make the greateſt Brags of, in my Table-Book.

For the Dropſie, ℞ half a Dram of the Juice of the Roots of Garden-Chiches, and repeat the Remedy every other Day.

To ſtop a Flux of Urine, Eat for three days together the inner Skins of the Gyſern of a Capon roſted, five every day.

Againſt the Biting of a Scorpion, Take a Live-Hen, pull the Feathers off the Rump, and lay it upon the Wound. For then the Hen ſucks the Poyſon into her Body, and dies. When the Convulſion begins to ſeize the Hen, take another, and apply her in the ſame manner, and ſo another till all the Poyſon be ſuck'd out.

For the Yellow Jaundiſe, Make a Bed of Boyl'd Rice, and lay the Patient well cover'd upon it; or elſe put him into a Bath of Milk, and it works the ſame effect.

For External Pains of the Joynts, Take either the Decoction or the Perfume of three Drams of Hellebore.

For Inward Pains of what ſort ſoever, Take Potions of Mummy.

For all ſorts of Falls, Bruiſes and Hurts, Take Mummy in Drink, wrap up the Patient in a Cows Hide, and let him Blood. The Wound muſt be heal'd with the Powder of the Herb *Mullein*.

For Defluxions and Rheumes to the Head and Throat, Take Perfume of Yellow Amber.

For the Dyſentery, Give the Infuſion of the Leaves and Berries of Myrtle; or elſe the Blood of a Roſted Hare infus'd in Wine.

For the *Hæmorrhoids*, Powder the Leaves of *Plantain*, and ſtrew upon the part affected.

For

For Pains in the Reins, take the Decoction of the Leaves and Seed of Marſh-Mallows.

For Ulcers in the Reins, uſe Milk.

Againſt a Pleureſy, take two little thin Cakes of ordinary Meal, and boil 'em in Water with Roch-Allum and *Madder*, and apply 'em as hot as may be endur'd upon the ſide, the one behind and the other before: this Remedy muſt be dayly repeated till the Cure be perfected.

Againſt a Cough, make uſe of the Root of the Herb call'd Hounds-Tongue or Dogs-Tongue.

The moſt uſual Cure for Agues in this Country, is to make Plaiſters of the Fat of a Sheeps Rump, Cinamon, Cloves and Cardamomes, and all the time of the cold fit to lay theſe Plaiſters upon the Forehead, Stomach and Feet. When the hot fit is over, take off thoſe Plaiſters and lay on others, made of the Leaves of *Cichory*, Plantain, and the Herb call'd *Solanum* or Nightſhade, afterwards they take a Sucking-Pig, cut it in two and clap it to the Feet. All which time the Patient is fed with Bread and Cream of Almonds, eating nothing that is boyl'd.

Father *Raphael* aſſur'd me that he had ſeen 'em in that Country cure Agues, by carrying the Patient in the height of his Cold fit and plunging him over Head and Ears in the Water. It is a thing hard to be beleiv'd; and in Truth, to me it appear'd a thing altogether Extravagant, in regard it ſeem'd to be ſo Dangerous. However it is obſerv'd that the difference of Climates and Temperaments of Countrys produces far different effects in Remedies, ſo that the Remedy, if I may ſo ſay, that Kills in one Country, does but only ſtir a Man in another.

In the Evening the Princes Chancellors Secretary, brought me the Officer who was to conduct me to *Erivan*; and in my preſence gave him the Letter of Orders for his ſo doing. Of which the Tranſlation follows:

GOD.

GOD.

UNder ſevere Penalties the Noble Lord (1) Emin-Aga, *is Commanded exactly to cauſe to be Executed the Tenor of the Patent, which the Deceas'd King, who was here below the Maſter of* (2) *Fortune, and is now in* (3) *Heaven, gave to* Mr. Chardin, *and* Mr. Raiſin, (4) *French* Europeans, *by Vertue of which the* (5) *Judges of Places, Provoſts of Highways, Receivers of Tolls, and all ſorts of Officers of the Empire are oblig'd to Honour 'em, and to take care that no Duty be exacted from 'em.*

The ſaid Emin-Aga *ſhall make it his Buſineſs to conduct 'em ſafe to the Bleſſed City of* Erivan, *without receiving any Damage or Moleſtation by the way: that nothing may hinder 'em from arriving well ſatisfi'd at the Palace, of the* (6) *Support of Human kind. And all Perſons to whom this Letter ſhall be ſhewn, ſhall take care not to Contradict or Tranſgreſs it in any manner.*

Given in the Month of *Zialçadè* the Sacred, in the Year of the *Hegyra* 4083.

1. *Emin* has the ſame Signification as *Mir*, and is all one. They ſignifie Lord, Noble, Valiant, Chief of a Family, or Tribe. We find *Deut.* 2. *v.* 10. That the Word *Emim* is very Ancient in ſome of theſe Significations. Though properly in *Hebrew*, *Aim* ſignifies *Terrible*, and thence *Haemim*, Gyants or Men of great Valour.

2. To render it Word for Word, it ſignifies *Maſter of the Conjunction.* For the *Perſians* doating as they do upon Judicial Aſtrology, believe that Victory and all good Fortune proceed from the Conjunction of two Stars, and therefore it is that they ſay, a Man is *Maſter of the Conjunctions*, when nothing but Proſperity and Happineſs attends him.

3. It is in the *Persian*, *Whose Nest is in Heaven*: For the Followers of *Ali* hold the Kings of *Persia* for Saints, in the Quality of *Mahomet*'s Successors and Lieutenants of GOD. And it is an Article of their Faith, That their Kings go to Heaven; by a Destiny as Uncontroulable and as Natural as the Birds fly to their Nests.

4. The word which I Translated *Europeans*, is *Frangui*; for the *Orientals* call by that Name all that are born in the *Christian* Dominions of *Europe*, except those of *Moscovy*. *Frangui* is most certainly deriv'd from *François*; the *Turks* having assuredly given that Name to all the *Europeans*, because the *French* were the first among 'em with whom they had Commerce and Alliance.

5. *Homal*, which I have Translated *Judges*, is as much as *Petty Regents*, or Inferiour Officers. Under which Names are comprehended the *Daroga*, or Judge of Criminal Causes, the *Mustauf*, or Controller of the *Exthequer*. The *Sheic-el-Islam*, or Lieutenant Civil. The Vasier, or Receiver-General, and the *Kelonter*, or Provost of the Merchants.

6. One of the most Ordinary Titles which the *Persians* give their King, is *Alempenha*, or the *Support* and *Basis* of the World.

7. This is the Eleventh Month of the Year.

I gave the Chancellor's Secretary a *Guinea*, as his Fee for Dispatches of this Nature. Though there be no certain Rule for such Fees; but only every one gives according to the Advantage which he receives by his Dispatch, and according to his Quality and Condition. Presently my Guide gave me to understand, That he wanted a Horse, which was as much as to say that he wanted four *Guinea*'s to buy one. Which I immediately knew to be a Trick to get Advance-Money out of me, fearing lest when I came to *Erivan*, that I should be so dishonest as to recompence him only with a Trifle, or perhaps give him nothing at all. For the *Persians* are not very prone to make Acknowledgments, and for the *Georgians* they are ingrateful above measure. The greatest Kindnesses make no Impression upon their Minds: for they forget 'em, and

repay with ſhrewd Turns thoſe to whom they owe their Advancement with as little Check of Conſcience, as if they were altogether Strangers. For which reaſon it is, that they deſire payment before-hand, ſtanding very little upon the Nicety of a little Impudence, but demanding a Reward for the ſmalleſt Service which they do.

The 28th I ſet forth from *Tefflis* about Eleven a Clock in the Forenoon; the *Poliſh* Surgeon, and ſome *Georgians* with whom I had made an Acquaintance, accompanying me ſome part of my way. My Guide rode before to prevent the Toll-gatherers or Receivers of certain ſmall Duties which are taken upon all Horſes that go loaden out of the City, from demanding any thing of my Servants. Which ſort of Guides are call'd *Mehemander*, (a word which ſignifies *He who has care of a Gueſt:*) and are granted to all Envoys, Ambaſſadors and Strangers of Quality. Their Duty is to provide Lodging, Vittles, and Carriage-Horſes for the Perſons whom they Conduct; and in a word, to diſcharge 'em from all the care of a Traveller. They are like Stewards or Purveyors for thoſe Perſons to whom they are appointed for Guides. For they make uſe of their Service in every thing, ſend 'em upon Errands, and to carry Meſſages to thoſe Perſons, to whom a Man would not be troubl'd to go himſelf. Theſe Guides are well paid for their Service; ſo that it is a Kindneſs to be recommended to ſuch an Imployment. The Villages where they paſs make 'em Preſents, to be the more ſparing in what Money they raiſe, to defray the Expences of Travellers which they have in charge, and to prevent their being too waſtful and laviſh. They take into their protection ſuch Merchants as are deſirous to Travel along with 'em; and beſides that, they ſecure 'em from Robbing, and exempt 'em from paying ſeveral Tolls and Duties. Which is worth 'em ſomething more. But their greateſt Gain is the Preſent which muſt be made 'em when they are ſent back.

I was very glad to ſee my ſelf got ſafe out of *Tefflis*. For I was afraid I ſhould there be put to ſome kind of trouble for two Reaſons. The firſt was, For that the *Prince* having ſent to me two or three times to tell me that he had a great deſire to ſee what I carry'd to the King, I conſtantly refus'd to ſhew him, alledging for my excuſe, that I had Orders from his Majeſty not to expoſe 'em to any but himſelf. Moreover, I obſerv'd that this *Prince* is not altogether ſo much a Subject to the King of *Perſia*, nor ſo ſubmiſſive to his Orders, as the

other

other Viceroys and Governours of his Empire, beſides that the *Georgians* are very perfidious and covetous of other Mens Goods. I was therefore fearful leſt, if I ſhould ſhew the high-priz'd Jewels which I had, their Beauty and their Value might tempt him to take 'em from me, or that other people might Murder me for the Lucre of ſuch a Booty. And this was one Conſideration that prevented me from ſhewing 'em.

The Second Cauſe of my Diſtruſt was this, That the *Capuchins*, to do me the more Honour, out of a deſign to bring a greater Reputation to themſelves, had ſet me out for a Perſon that was very Rich and Powerful, ſo that there ran a Report over all the City, that I had immenſe Sums. Which made the Cuſtomer look about me; ſo that he demanded great Duties from me. But thoſe Duties were not the thing that diſturb'd me, for by the Kings Patent I was fully diſcharg'd. But I was afraid leſt the Prince would make uſe of that pretence to view my Goods whether I would or no. And this was that which encreas'd my Fears, and made me inſiſt upon having an Officer to conduct me. For my reaſon told me, that ſuch a Proviſion would render the *Viceroy* more reſponſible for any Accident that ſhould befall me, and that my Guide would ſecure both my Perſon and my Goods. And indeed the greateſt part of my Fears were diſſipated when I ſaw my ſelf quite free of *Tefflis*; for then I began to conceive good hopes of all the reſt of my Journey. That Day I travell'd two Leagues through a Paſſage of the little Mountain that lies to the South of the City; and lay at a Great Village call'd *Sogan-Lou*, or the *Place of Onions*, built upon the River *Cur*.

The 1ſt of *March*, I travell'd Eight Leagues in a fair Plain, where the Road was indifferently ſtreight, leading to the North-Eaſt. Within three Hours I came to a Village conſiſting of about a Hunderd and Fifty Houſes, call'd *Cupri-Kent*, or the *Village of the Bridge*. Becauſe there is a very fair Bridge that ſtands not far from it, built upon a River call'd *Tabadi*. This Bridge is plac'd between two Mountains, ſeperated only by the River, and ſupported by Four Arches, unequal both in their Heighth and Breadth. They are built after an Irregular form, in regard of two great Heaps of a Rock that ſtand in the River, upon which they have laid ſo many Arches. Thoſe at the two ends are hollow'd on both ſides, and ſerve to lodge Paſſengers; wherein they have made to that purpoſe little *Chambers* and Portico's with every one a Chimney. The Arch in the middle of the River is hollow'd quite through from one part to the other,

with

with two Chambers at the Ends, and two large Balconies cover'd, where they take the cool Air in the Summer with great delight, and to which there is a Deſcent of two pair of Stairs hewn out of the Rock. Adjoyning to this fair Bridge there ſtands an Inn now ready to go to decay. However the Structure is Magnificent, having ſeveral Chambers with every one a Balcony that looks out upon the Water. Neither is there a fairer Bridge, nor a more beautiful Inn in all *Georgia*.

The Second, we Travell'd Nine Leagues among Mountains very rugged and difficult to croſs. So that we were twelve Hours ere we got to our Journeys end, though we Travell'd at a good rate. About Sun-ſet we arriv'd at a great Village call'd *Melik-Kent*, or the Royal Village, built upon a point of one of thoſe High Mountains.

The Third, we Travell'd eight Leagues i' the Mountains where we were much perplex'd, and where we did nothing but aſcend and deſcend. At length we lay at a Village as big as *Melik-Kent*.

The Fourth, we Travell'd only three Leagues: and before Noon we came to a Town that conſiſted of about Three Hunderd Houſes, call'd *Dily-jan*. It is ſeated upon a River call'd *Acalſtapha*, at the Foot of a High and Dreadful Mountain, which together with the reſt that we paſs'd the preceding days, was a part of Mount *Taurus*. There was every where great plenty of Water, and here and there ſome Plains that were but ſmall, but very fertile. The Goodneſs of the Soyl thereabout is not to be imagin'd; nor the Number of Villages that are to be ſeen on every ſide. There are ſeveral that ſtand ſo high-rais'd upon the points of the Rocks, that you can hardly have a ſight of 'em. The moſt part are inhabited by *Georgian* and *Armenian* Chriſtians, but not intermix'd. Thoſe People having ſuch an inveterate Antipathy one againſt the other, that they cannot live together, nor in the ſame Villages. In all theſe Mountains are neither Inns nor publick Houſes: however, Travellers are lodg'd in the Countrymens Houſes very conveniently, where there is plenty both of Meat and Drink. For my part I wanted nothing, for my Guide rode ſtill before when we were got about half way; ſo that when I came to the Village, I ſtill found a large Chamber, empty Stables, a good Fire, and Supper ready. The firſt days Journey I would have paid my Landlord, but my Guide would not permit me, telling me, 'Twas not the Cuſtom, and that I ſhould rather

rather give Him what I intended the Man of the Houſe. Which was the reaſon, that the next Days, I only caus'd ſomething to be given in private to the People where I Lodg'd. And indeed 'tis very good Travelling with theſe Guides: for they cauſe yee to be diligently attended. All Night long my Chamber was guarded by the People of the Village who kept Watch, as well in Obedience to the Commands which were laid upon 'em, as for my Security, though there was no danger to be fear'd.

The moſt part of the Houſes of theſe Villages are in truth no more then Caverns: For they are hollow places made in the Earth. The reſt are built of great Beams of Timber up to the Roof, which is made like a Terraſs, and cover'd with *Turf*. Only they leave a hole open in the middle, to let in the Light, and let out the Smoak: which hole they ſtop up as they pleaſe themſelves. Which ſort of Caverns have this Convenience, that they are very warm in the Winter, and cool in the Summer: nor is it an eaſie thing for Thieves to break into 'em.

The Borough of *Dily-jan*, and all the Country round about for ſix Leagues diſtance to the North and South, and very far to the Eaſt and Weſt, belongs to *Kamſhi-Can*; and is call'd the *Country of Caſac*. It holds of *Perſia*, and depends upon that Kingdom after the ſame manner as *Georgia*, that is to ſay, it is always Govern'd by its own Natural Princes from Father to Son. *Abas* the Great ſubdu'd it, at the ſame time that he Conquer'd *Georgia*. The Inhabitants of *Caſac* are Mountaineers, ſtout and fierce: Originally deſcended from thoſe *Coſaques* that inhabit the Mountains to the North-Eaſt of the *Caſpian* Sea.

The Fifth, we Travell'd five Leagues over that dreadful Mountain, already ſpok'n of. There are two Leagues from the Town of *Dily-jan*, which ſtands at the very Foot of the Hill to the Top, another of even Ground to the Top of all, and two Leagues of Deſcent again. A tedious Days Journey, which I thought would have kill'd me. For I was troubl'd with a terrible Dyſentery, which forc'd me to alight altogether; and then two Men held me up as I went, and a third lead my Horſe. The Mountain is moſt dreadfully laden with Snow, there being nothing elſe to be ſeen at the Top, neither Tree nor Plant. The Road alſo lay through a narrow Path of Snow, hard'ned by the Feet of Horſes and Travellers: ſo that if they did but ſlip their Feet out of the Path, they

ſunk up to the Belly in the looſer Snow. Nor is there any paſſing over this Mountain when the Snow falls, or when the Wind blows, for then the print of the Feet is loſt, and it is impoſſible to find the way. Which is the loſs of many People and Beaſts every Year. Nor does this Snow ever melt, the Mountain being continually cover'd with it.

It ſeparates *Georgia* from *Armenia*: and I was no ſooner over it, but I found a Country quite of another Form and Faſhion. For whereas on the other ſide there was nothing to be ſeen but very high Mountains, and ſome few ſmall Plains between 'em, and a Woody Country very well Peopl'd, here on this ſide we ſaw ſpacious Plains, with little Hillocks cover'd alike with Snow, bare of all ſort of VVood, but what was planted about the Villages. VVe lodg'd at *Kara Pheſhiſh*, a great Borough ſeated at the Foot of the Mountain which we croſs'd over, and upon the Banks of the River *Zengui*. VVhich River waters one part of *Armenia* the Greater.

In making the Geographical Deſcription of the Country as I paſs'd along, I never mind any Author whether Ancient or Modern, finding 'em all ſo oppoſite one to another, and altogether dark and confus'd. VVhich was the ſame thing that *Strabo* ſaid of the Authors that preceded him; and whoever will take the pains to compare thoſe that have follow'd him, either with the Ancients or among themſelves, will be of the ſame Opinion. As for example in *Caldea* or *Aſſyria*, which at preſent they extend almoſt to the *Mediterranean* Sea, though *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, and the other moſt Celebrated Ancient Geographers encloſe it between the *Deſert* of *Arabia* and *Meſopotamia*.

I have alſo obſerv'd one thing in the Government of *Perſia*, which has made me ſince believe, that although Authors have ſet different Bounds and Limits to the Countries, yet that they might have all written very true and juſtly, and as Things ſtood in their Times, when the Governments were enlarg'd, or confin'd within narrower Bounds, as the Supreme Governor pleaſes, or as neceſſity requires; for then the Province that gives the Name to the Government, has not the ſame Limits, nor obſerves the ſame Situation as before. And therefore I will mark out the Extent and Situation of the Country where I paſs'd, as I found 'em; and if I muſt follow the Ancient Authors, it ſhall be only thoſe of the *Perſian* Geography.

Some there are among 'em who divide *Armenia* into Three parts. The firſt which they call properly by that Name, the

ſecond

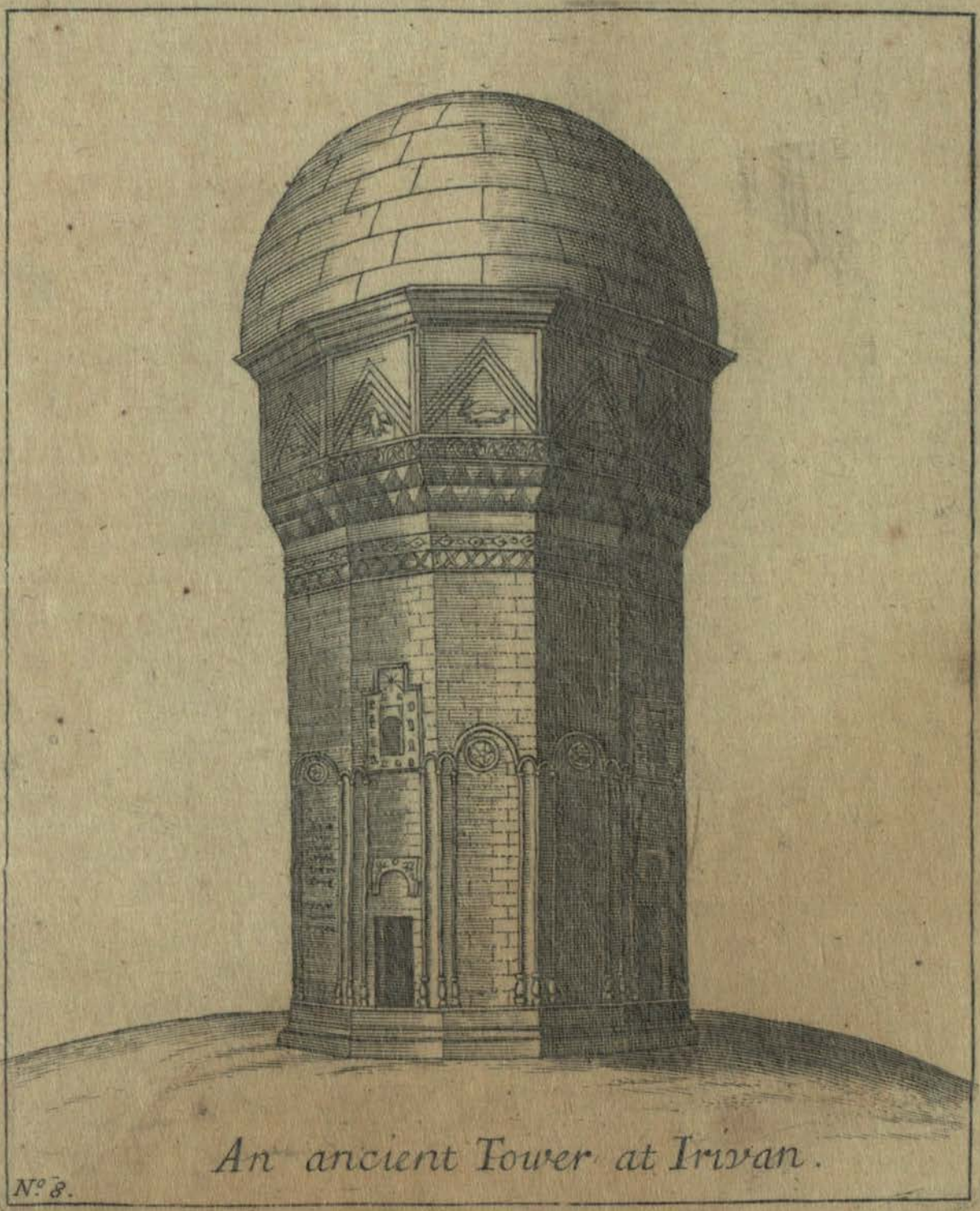
ſecond which they call *Turcomannia*, and the third to which they give the Name of *Georgia*. But the greater Number divide it only into two parts, the Upper and the Lower. The Lower which is ſometimes call'd the *Leſſer*, ſometimes the *Weſtern*, but generally the Leſſer, is under the Dominion of the *Turks*. The Upper, which they ſometimes call the *Eaſtern*, ſometimes the Great, but uſually the Greater, is a Province of *Perſia*. To the ſmall or *Leſſer Armenia* they aſſign for Bounds, the *Great Armenia* to the *Eaſt*, *Syria* to the *South*, the *Black-Sea* to the *Weſt*, *Cappadocia* to the *North*, and they place the *Great Armenia* between *Meſopotamia*, *Georgia*, *Media* and *Armenia* the *Leſs*. Which Situation agrees in part with that of the Ancient Geographers, who encloſe *Armenia* the Leſs, between *Cappadocia* and *Euphrates*, and *Armenia* the Greater, between *Euphrates* and *Tygris*. But it no way correſponds with that of ſome Authors, as is to be ſeen, who put *Syria*, the Shoars of the *Mediterranean Sea*, and the Banks of the *Caſpian* in *Armenia*, of which they make *Edeſſa* to be the Capital City. Neither do Authors differ leſs about the Denomination of this Country; while ſome derive the Name of *Armenia* from *Armenius* a *Rhodian*, or *Theſſalian*. Others with far more Reaſon from *Aram*, which might have ſome Relation to the Hebrew word *Ram* which ſignifies High or Elevated, either becauſe the Country lyes High, and for that ſeveral of the Eaſtern Mountains make a part of it, or elſe becauſe it fell as his ſhare to *Aram* the Grand-Child of *Noah*; who therefore call'd it by his own Name. And therefore *Hayton* who was King of the Country derives this Name of *Armenia* from *Aram-Noah*. But how uncertain ſoever this Etymology may be, I had rather give credit to it, then to another Story which he reports of *Armenia*, that is to ſay, that it was the Province where *Salmanaſſar* planted the Greateſt part of the Jews which he took Priſoners in the Conqueſt of *Paleſtine*. The Holy Scripture, where ere it has occaſion to mention it calls *Armenia*, *Ararat*. Certainly it is one of the moſt lovely and moſt Fertile Countries of *Aſia*. It is water'd by Seaven large Rivers, which is the reaſon in my opinion that obliges the moſt part of the Interpreters of the Old Teſtament to place the Terreſtrial Paradiſe in this Province. However it were, *Armenia* is renown'd for ſeveral other Famous Accidents and Events. There is not any other Country wherein were fought ſo many Bloody Battels nor with greater Numbers on both ſides. It has had particular Kings of its own at ſeveral times; though they could not pre-

ſerve

ſerve their Dominion, while as Hiſtories aſſure us, all the moſt Eminent Captains that ever invaded *Aſia*, ſubdu'd it under their Subjection in their ſeveral turns. It was the Theatre of the laſt Wars between the *Turks* and *Perſians*; while the *Turks* fought to have had it all entire; though at length they were content to ſhare it with the *Perſians*, yet not ſo but that they have had the greateſt part.

The 6th, I continu'd my Journey, half dead as I was with Cold and a Dyſentery. But the hopes I was in to meet at *Erivan* with all neceſſary Accommodations for my Cure, made me haſten thither, notwithſtanding all the Pains that I felt. So that we Travell'd Four Leagues and arriv'd at *Bichni* a conſiderable Village ſeated at the Foot of a Mountain upon the River *Zengui*. We lodg'd at a fair *Armenian* Monaſtery built between the Village and the Mountain. This Monaſtery is an Ancient Foundation, between Eight and Nine Hunderd Years ſtanding. The Cloiſter is built after the Faſhion of the Country, encompaſs'd with High and Thick Walls of Free Stone. Near to the Monaſtery are to be ſeen the Ruines of Towers, Caſtles, and Ramparts in ſo great a Number, that it renders very probable what the People of the Country report, that *Bichni* has been one of the ſtrong Places of *Armenia*. I lodg'd in the Convent, where the Monks receiv'd me with great Civility, and put me into the faireſt Apartiment they had, only I could by no means prevaile with 'em to let me have a Fowl to make a little Broth, becauſe it was their time of Lent. So that my Guide was forc'd to uſe his Authority, even to the holding up his Cane to procure me a few Eggs. Toward the Evening I had a deſire to Drink ſome Coffee, which my Guide brought me boyl'd with a little Sugar; and of that I Drank Four ſmall Glaſſes as hot as I could; which done, I lay'd me down well cover'd before a good Fire. To which feeble Remedy it pleas'd GOD to give ſo great a Bleſſing, that I ſlept without Interruption all that Night, and the next Morning found my ſelf wholly cur'd of this Diſtemper.

The 7th, I ſet forward by break of Day, after I had made a ſmall Preſent to the Monaſtery. All that day we travell'd over Plains all cover'd with Snow as the day before. And indeed it is not only troubleſome but very dangerous to travel through thoſe deep Snows. The Miſchief is that the Beams of the Sun which lye all the day long upon it, moleſt the Eyes and Face with ſuch a ſcorching Heat, as very much weak'ns the Sight, whatever Remedy a Man can apply; by



An ancient Tower at Irivan.

N°. 8.

IRIVAN ایروان
A. The Fortress.
E. An Old Tower
G. The Church call'd Catoroke.
H. The New Inn.
I. The River Zengui
K. The River call'd Kyrpy Fountaines
L. The Mountain where Noah's Ark rested

wearing as the People of the Country do, a thin Handkerchief of Green or Black Silk; which no way abates the Annoyance. Then another Danger there is, that when Travellers meet, there ariſes a Diſpute, who ſhall be forc'd into the Snow. For the Road is ſo narrow that two Horſes cannot go abreaſt: ſo that if equal Parties meet, they fall to blows for the way, and the weakeſt ſide is forc'd to yield. Then they unlade their Horſes, and drive 'em into the Snow, where they ſink up to the Bellies to give paſſage to the others. But my Guide conſtrain'd all that we met to unlade, which was to me a very great Eaſe. Thus we paſs'd through many Villages and Towns, and Night coming on we arriv'd at *Erivan*.

'Tis a hard matter to deſcribe the true Road from *Teflis* to this City, in regard of the many Turnings and Windings, and the frequent Occaſions to aſcend and deſcend the greateſt part of the way. Only I obſerv'd that we ſtill kept on to the South-Weſt. From *Teflis* to *Erivan* it is reck'ned to be about Eight and Forty Leagues.

Erivan is a great City, but ill-favour'd and dirty; and of which the Vineyards and Gardens make the greateſt part, there being no Ornamental Buildings within it. It is ſeated in a Plain encompaſs'd with Mountains on every ſide. Two Rivers run by it, *Zengui* to the North-Weſt, and *Queurk-boulak* to the South-Weſt. Which *Queurk-boulak* ſignifies Forty Fountains; the River being ſaid to riſe from ſo many Springs; nor does it run a long courſe. But we ſhall ſay no more of the City, nor of its Figure, the Draught being ſufficient to give an Idea of it.

The Fortreſs it ſelf may paſs for a ſmall City. It is of an Oval Form, being about Four Thouſand Paces in Compaſs, and containing Eight Hunderd Houſes, inhabited only by Natural *Perſians*. 'Tis true, the *Armenians* have Shops therein, where they Work and Trade all the Day long; but in the Evening they ſhut up their Shops, and return Home to their Houſes. This Fortreſs is ſurrounded with three Walls of Earth, or Bricks made of Clay with Battlements, flank'd with Towers, and ſtrengthen'd with very narrow Ramparts, according to the Ancient Manner, and therefore without any Regularity, after the Eaſtern Faſhion. And indeed it had been a hard matter to have made a Regular Fortification in a place that would not admit of it, in regard the Fortreſs extends it ſelf to the North-Eaſt upon the ſide of a dreadful Precipice, broad and ſteep, above a Hunderd Fathom to the bottom, where the River

runs. And therefore this ſide being impregnable and inacceſſible, has no other Fortifications then Terraſſes furniſh'd with Artillery. However, a Gariſon of no leſs then Two Thouſand Men is always kept in pay for the Guard of this Fortreſs; which has as many Gates as Walls, all plated with Iron, and ſtrengthen'd with Port-Cullices and Courts of Guard fortify'd. The Governor of the Provinces Palace being within the Caſtle, ſtands upon the Brink of the Precipice already mention'd; and is very fair, very ſpacious, and very delightful in Summer.

Near to the Fortreſs, about a Thouſand Paces diſtant upon the North-ſide, ſtands a Hillock which Commands it, the upper part being fortify'd with a double Wall, and planted with great Guns, and capable to lodge Two Hunderd Men. This little Fort is call'd *Quentſhy-cala.*

The City ſtands about Cannon-Shot diſtance from the Fortreſs; but the ſpace between is fill'd up with Houſes and Market-Places; but ſuch pitiful thin Structures, that they may be all remov'd away in one day.

There are ſeveral Churches in this City; of which the principal are the Epiſcopal See, call'd *Ircou-ye-rize*, or *Two Faces* and *Catovike*. Which two Churches have ſtood ever ſince the Raign of the two laſt Kings of *Armenia*. The others were Erected ſince; and are ſmall, ſunk deep in the Earth, and not unlike ſo many *Cata-Combs*, or Burying-places.

Near the Epiſcopal See ſtands an old Tower built of Free-Stone, of which you ſee the Draught in the Sculpture. I never could learn when it was Erected, nor by whom, nor for what uſe Yet there are Inſcriptions on the outſide, of which the Character reſembles the *Armenian*, but the *Armenians* could not read it. The Workmanſhip of this Tower is all of Antique-Work, and ſingular for its Architecture, as may appear by the Figure. The inſide is all empty and naked: but on the outſide and round about it ſeveral Ruines ſo diſpos'd, as if formerly there had been ſome Cloyſter there, and that this Tower had ſtood in the midſt of it.

Before it appears a great Market-Place, and not far from it an old Moſque built of Brick, but very much decay'd. They call it *Deuf-Sultans* Moſque, from the Name of the Founder. Three Hunderd Paces diſtant is to be ſeen the *Grand Maydan*, which is the Name in *Aſia* for all the Grand Market-Places. This in *Erivan* is four-ſquare, Four Hunderd Paces in Diameter, and planted round with Trees: being the place appointed

pointed for all manner of Exerciſes both for Horſe and Foot, as *Carouſels*, Racing, VVreſtling, and Managing of Horſes for VVar.

There are many Baths in the City and in the Fortreſs, and many Inns: of which the faireſt ſtands about Five Hunderd Paces from the Caſtle, built by the Governor of *Armenia* ſome few Years ago. The Portal is Eighty Paces in depth, and forms a fair Gallery, full of Shops, where are ſold all manner of Stuffs. The Body of the Structure is ſquare, containing three great Lodgings, and Sixty ſmall ones, with fair Stables, and very large Warehouſes. Before it lies a Market-Place ſurrounded with Shops, where are to be ſold all ſorts of Proviſion for the Belly; and upon one ſide a fair Moſque and two Coffee-Houſes.

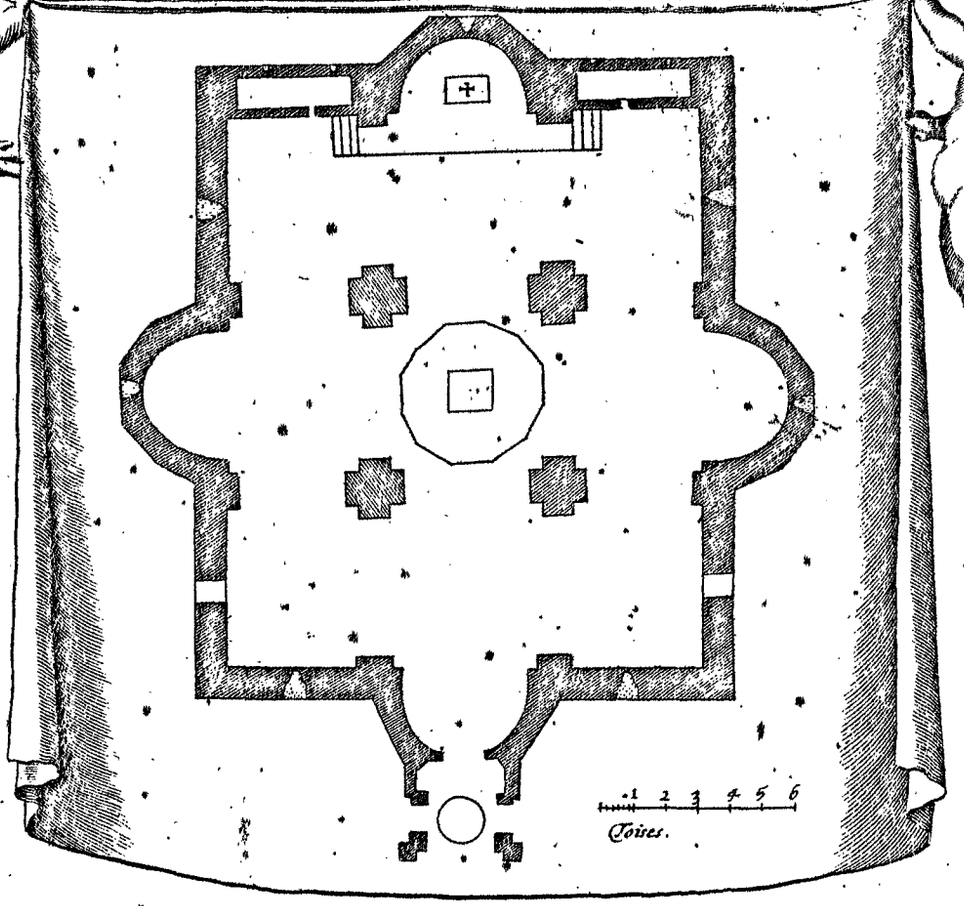
The Elevation of *Erivan* is in 40 Deg. 15 Min. The Longitude in 78 Deg. 20 Min. The Air is good but a little thick and cold: and the Winter laſts long; ſo that ſometimes it will Snow in *April*. Which conſtrains the Country-People to bury their Vines in the Winter, and never to dig 'em up again till the Spring. The Country is delightful and very fertil. The Earth produces her Fruits in great Plenty, eſpecially Wine, which is very good and cheap. The *Armenians* alſo have a Tradition, That *Noah* planted a Vineyard near to *Erivan*, and ſome there are who pretend to know the Place, and ſhew it about a ſmall League from the City. The Soyl produces all ſorts of Proviſion, which is therefore ſold at a very low rate. The two Rivers that run by the ſide of it, and the Lake of which we ſhall take an occaſion to ſpeak, furniſh the City with Excellent Fiſh, and among the reſt with Trouts and Carps that are wonderfully good, and famous all over the Eaſt; of which I have ſeen ſome that have been three Foot long: And then for Fowl, no place in the World where Partridges are more plentiful.

The Lake of *Erivan* lies three ſmall days Journeys off to the North-Weſt; by the *Perſians* call'd *Deria-Shirin*, or the Sweet-Lake; by the *Armenians*, *Kiagar-couni-ſou*, which ſignifies the ſame thing: and the reaſon why it is ſo call'd is from the extraordinary ſweetneſs of the Water. It is Five and Twenty Leagues in Circuit, and very deep; affording nine ſorts of Fiſh which are there tak'n; the faireſt Trouts and Carps which are eaten at *Erivan*, being caught in this Lake. There is a ſmall Iſland in the middle of it; where ſtands a Monaſtery built about 600 Years ago, of which the Prior is an Archbiſhop,

biſhop, who takes upon him the Title of Patriarch, refuſing to acknowledge the *Grand Patriarch*. Our Maps take no Cognizance of this Lake; a wonderful thing to me, that among all our Travellers into *Perſia*, not one ſhould make any mention of it. By which defect it may be judg'd that thoſe Authors were little curious after the Rarities of the Countries through which they paſs'd. The River *Zengui* takes its ſource from this Lake, and croſſing one part of *Armenia*, meets with the River *Araxes* near the *Caſpian* Sea, into which at length they both diſcharge themſelves.

Erivan, by the report of the *Armenians*, is the moſt Ancient inhabited place in the World. For they affirm that *Noah* and all his Family dwelt there, both before the Deluge, and after he deſcended from the Mountain where the Ark reſted; and that here was alſo the Terreſtrial Paradiſe. But all this is a Story without Foundation, and reported by Perſons equally ignorant and vain-glorious. Some Authors there are who affirm *Erivan* to be the City which *Ptolomy* calls *Terva*, and makes to be the Capital City of *Armenia*. Others hold it to be the Royal *Artaxate*. The Hiſtory of the *Turks* calls it *Eritze*: but that of *Armenia*, which is to be ſeen in the famous Monaſtery of the Three Churches, aſſerts, That this City was formerly call'd *Vagar-Shapat*, which ſignifies (word for word) *Vagar*'s City. But that which renders theſe Pieces of Antiquity very much ſuſpected, is, That the ſame Hiſtory, ſpeaking of the Etymology of *Erivan*, derives it from an *Armenian* word which ſignifies *To ſee*; and ſays farther, that that ſame Name was giv'n to this City, becauſe the Territory belonging to it was the firſt Place that *Noah* diſcover'd when he deſcended from the Mountain of *Ararat*. And yet it is well known that the *Armenian* is a Modern Language, that has not been in uſe above theſe Seven Hunderd Years. Nor do we find any thing in the *Perſian* Hiſtory concerning the Original of *Erivan*. Neither do I believe it to have been built before the Conqueſts of the *Arabs* in *Armenia*; and that which makes me believe it is this, for that neither in the City, nor in any parts adjoyning round about it, there are any Footſteps of great Antiquity to be ſeen. The *Turks* became Maſters of it in the Year 1582. and built the Fortreſs ſtill to be ſeen. The *Perſians* retook it in the Year 1604. and fortify'd it againſt the Violence of Cannon-Shot. In the Year 1615. it held out a Siege of four Months; at what time the Rampart withſtood the Batteries of the *Turk* with that Impregnable Reſiſtance, though but of

The Platform of ye Church of Echsmiazin.



A Prospect of ye Church of Echsmiazin.

Earth, that the Beſiegers were forc'd to raiſe their Siege. After the Death of *Abas* the *Great*, they return'd and carry'd the Place, but were not long Maſters of it. For *Sophy* retook it in the Year 1635; ſince which time it has never been beſieg'd.

Two Leagues from *Erivan* ſtands that famous Monaſtery of the *Three Churches*; the Sanctuary of the *Armenian* Chriſtians, if I may preſume ſo to call it, and the place to which they pay their greateſt Devotion. I have caus'd a Draught to be made of it at large, and have added a Geometrical Ground-Plot, and a ſmall Sketch of the outſide of the Principal Church, to give a more diſtinct Deſcription of the Monaſtery, and more eaſie for Apprehenſion. The *Armenians* call it *Ecs-Miazin*, or the *Deſcent of the only begotten Son*, or the *Only begotten Son is deſcended*. Which Name, ſay they, was given to this Place, becauſe *Jeſus Chriſt* ſhew'd himſelf viſibly in this place to St *Gregory*, who was the firſt Patriarch of it. The *Mahometans* call it *Utſh-Cliſſie*, or the *Three Churches*; for that beſides the Church belonging to the Convent, there are two others adjoyning to it. The firſt and the principal, call'd *Ecs-Miazin*, is a very ſubſtantial and dark Structure, all built of large Free-Stone. The Pilaſters, which are Seventy two Foot high, are miſhapen Piles of Stone; as are alſo the *Duomo*, and the Roofs. On the inner ſide are to be ſeen no Ornaments either of Sculpture or Painting. The Chappels ſtand upon the Eaſt-ſide; beſides three at the lower end of the Church. Of which the middlemoſt is very ſpacious, with an Altar of Stone after the manner of the Eaſtern Chriſtians very well adorn'd. But there is not any Altar in thoſe upon the Sides, only one ſerves for a Veſtry, and the other for a Treaſury. In the Veſtry the Monks that belong to the Place ſhew yee ſeveral Pieces of Church-Furniture, very beautiful and rich, as Croſſes, Gold Chalices, Lamps and Candleſticks of Silver of an extraordinary bigneſs. The chiefeſt part of which Wealth was the Munificence of Papal Liberality; and Teſtimonies of *Rome*'s Credulity, as well as of *Armenian* Diſſimulation. There are alſo to be ſeen in the Treaſury, ſeveral Shrines of Silver and Vermillion Gilt. The principal Relicks belonging to the Place, by the report of the Monks that have 'em in keeping, are the upper part of the Body of St. *Repſima*, an Arm and a Thigh of St. *Caiana*; an Arm of St. *Gregory*, Sirnam'd the *Illuminator*, becauſe he Converted *Armenia*; a Rib of St. *James* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*; a Finger of St. *Peter*, and two Fingers of St. *John*

the *Baptiſt*. Whoſe Body, as the *Monks* of this Monaſtery affirm, lies in a Church belonging to a Convent of their Order near to *Erzerum*: That *Leontius*, Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, gave it to their firſt *Patriarch*, and that after it had lain Three Hunderd and Fifty Years at *Echs-Miazin*, it was Tranſlated to the place where they ſay it now lies. But the *Monks* of *Echs-Miazin*, who are the great Doctors of the *Armenians*, are ſo ignorant by their own Confeſſion in my hearing, that they never heard of thoſe Hiſtories which relate how that the Body of St. *John* the *Baptiſt* was burnt to Aſhes by the Command of *Julian* the Apoſtate. I omit to ſay any thing of thoſe other Relicks which they pretend to have in their Treaſury, as being the Relicks of Saints very little known to this part of the World. I ſhall only therefore add this farther, That the *Monks* belonging to the Convent affirm for a great Truth, That once they had the two Nails that faſten'd the Sacred Hands of *JESUS CHRIST* to the Croſs, which are ſtill preſerv'd, the one at *Diar-Bekre*, the other in *Georgia*; and that *Abas* the *Great* took out of their Treaſury the true Lance, and the Seamleſs Garment, to enrich the Treaſury of the Kings of *Perſia* at *Iſpahan*.

In the middle of the Church ſtands a large ſquare Free-Stone, being three Foot in Diameter, and five Foot thick. The *Armenians* aſſure us, as an Article of their Faith, That this was the place where St *Gregory* their Apoſtle ſaw *JESUS CHRIST* one *Sunday* in the Evening, while he was at his Prayers, and where he ſpake to him. They farther aſcertain us, That *JESUS CHRIST* drew round about this Saint with a Beam of Light the Deſign of the Church of *Echs-Miazin*, and order'd him to build it according to the Model which he had there drawn. They add, That at the ſame time the Earth open'd in that part where the Stone lies, and that *CHRIST* caſt down to Hell through that Hole, all the Devils that were in the Temples of *Armenia*, and utter'd falſe Oracles, and that Saint *Gregory* caus'd the Hole to be cover'd with Marble. They add, That *Abas* the *Great* carry'd away the Marble, and put it into the Royal Treaſury of *Perſia*, and caus'd this Stone to be ſet up in the Room of it. Concerning which I made a diligent Inquiry at *Iſpahan*, nay I ask'd the Superintendents of the Treaſury themſelves; but I could not find that They underſtood any thing of it. *Armenian* Tradition tells yee alſo of another particular in reference to the Center of this Church, which I ſhall ſet down, though as fabulous as the reſt, That

this was the true place, where *Noah* built that Altar, and offer'd that Sacrifice, which is mention'd in the Eighth Chapter of *Geneſis*.

The Great Steeple has been newly rebuilt, containing Six Bells, the biggeſt of which weighs 1200 Weight. One of the ſmaller Bells fell down about Forty Years ſince, and was never hung up again, for want of Money, as the *Armenians* ſay: and indeed it is certain that they are very Poor. The firſt Monaſtery of this Church was built by *Nierſes* the Twenty Ninth Patriarch of *Armenia*. This the *Tartars* ruin'd; and if we may believe the Chronology of the Place, it has been Five times levell'd with the Ground. It is at preſent built of Brick; the Patriarchs Apartment lying to the Eaſt. There are beſides in the Convent Lodgings for all ſtrangers that come to Viſit it, and for 80 Monks beſide; but uſually there are not above Twelve or Fifteen. And here it is that the Patriarchs of *Armenia* are oblig'd to reſide. But to ſay Truth, the Avarice, Envy and Ambition with which they are poſſeſs'd in this Age, finds 'em ſo much buſineſs, that they ſpend all their time in Rambling over *Perſia* and *Turkey*. This Patriarch has Twenty Biſhopricks under him.

The two other Churches that ſtand near *Echs-Miazin*, are call'd one St. *Caiana*, and the other St. *Repſima*, from the Names of two Roman Virgins, who, as they ſay, fled into *Armenia*, in the time of the Ninth Perſecution, and ſuffer'd Martyrdom in the ſame place where the Churches ſtand. St. *Caiana* ſtands upon the Right Hand, 700 Paces diſtant from the Monaſtery. St. *Repſima* upon the Left, about 2000 Paces off. Theſe two Churches are half-ruin'd, there having been no Service perform'd in either for a long time.

Within the Territory of *Erivan* which extends above Twenty Leagues every way, there are Three and Twenty Convents for Men, and Five for Women: but all pitifully Poor and badly kept; the moſt part not having above Five or Six Perſons a piece, whoſe Penury continually employs 'em in getting a Livelyhood, ſo that they never perform Holy Duties but upon Holy-days. One of the moſt conſiderable is *Cour-Virah*, which in the *Armenian* Language ſignifies Literally the *Church upon the Wells:* and therefore this Name is given to this Convent, as being built over a Well, into which, as the *Armenian* Hiſtory relates, St. *Gregory* was thrown, and yet preſerv'd alive, being fed in the ſame manner as *Daniel* was fed in the Lyons Den. This Monaſtery ſtands upon the confines of the Territory

ritory of *Erivan* to the South of *Echs-Miazin*: where the People of the Country report, that the Ruines of *Artaxarte* are alſo to be ſeen. Which City they call *Ardaſhat*, from *Artaxerxes*, whom the Eaſterns call *Ardeſhir*. Among the Ruines of which, as they ſay, are alſo to be ſeen the Ruines of the Palace of *Tyridates*, built about 1300 Years ago. They ſay moreover, that there is the Front of a Palace which is not above half Ruin'd, where there ſtill remain four Rows of Columns of Black Marble, every one of Nine Columns, that theſe Columns encompaſs a great Heap of wrought Pieces of Marble, and that the Columns are of that bigneſs, that Three Men can hardly enfold 'em in their Arms. They call the whole place, where this heap of Ruines lies, *Taki-Terdat*, or the Throne of *Tyridates*. I ſhall forbear to ſpeak of the other Monaſteries, or of the particular Stories which the *Armenians* recount concerning 'em, or of the Relicks that are there preſerv'd; among which they number up the *Veronique*, or the Napkin which a Woman of that Name brought to wipe the Sweat from Chriſt's Face: the Bodies of St. *Thomas*, and St. *Simon*, which is all meer Idle and ridiculous Fable: for in truth the *Armenian* Tradition has nothing of common Sence. Nor ſhall I ſpeak any thing of the *Armenian* Belief or Worſhip; for it is well known what they are, as having been for ſeveral Ages wrapt up in the Opinions of the *Monophyſites*, who in the Eaſt are call'd *Jacobites*, of which at this day they underſtand nothing at all, being altogether drown'd in Ignorance.

Twelve Leagues from *Erivan* to the Eaſt, is to be ſeen the Famous Mountain, where almoſt all Men agree that the Ark of *Noah* reſted; though no Body can bring any Solid Proof to make out what they affirm. When the Air is Serene, this Mountain is not to be ſeen at more then the diſtance of two Leagues, as High and as Great as it is; and therefore I am apt to believe I have ſeen far higher; and if I am not deceiv'd, that part of *Caucaſus* which I croſs'd over, as I Travell'd from the *Black-Sea* to *Akalzikè*, is higher then this Mountain. The *Turks* call it *Agridag*, the High or Maſſie Mountain; but the *Armenians* and *Perſians* call it both by the ſame Name *Maſis*. Which word the *Armenians* derive from *Mas* or *Meſech* the Son of *Aram*, who, as they ſay, gave to their Nation both its Original and Denomination. The *Perſians* derive it from *Azis*, a Word which in their Language ſignifies *Dear*, or *Dearly-Beloved*; and they will have this Mountain to be ſo call'd,

call'd, by reaſon of the choice that GOD made of it to bear the happy Ark that inclos'd all Mankind. Theſe are forc'd Etymologies as much as any can be, and ſuch as we may well compare to the meer Tinkling of Bells. This Mountain is call'd by two other Names in the *Perſian* Books: that is to ſay, *Cou-nough*, or the Mountain of *Noah*, and *Sahat-toppous*, or the Happy Hillock. But the Holy Scripture gives it no particular Name, only it ſays, That *the Ark reſted upon the Mountain of* Ararat, which is *Armenia*. Theſe are thoſe Mountains ſo famous in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, which they aſſert to be part of Mount *Taurus*, and call by the Names of *Gordian*, *Cordean*, *Corduenian*, *Cardian*, *Curdi*, and *Carduchi*, every Author altering the word according to the Pronunciation of his own Language.

The *Armenians* have a Tradition, That the Ark is ſtill upon the Point, or higheſt Top of this Mount *Macis*. They add moreover, That never any Body could aſcend to the Place where it reſted; and this they firmly believe upon the Faith of a Miracle, which they ſay, happen'd to a certain Monk of *Echs-Miazin*, whoſe Name was *James*, afterwards Biſhop of *Niſibis*. They report, That this Monk, poſſeſs'd with the common Opinion that this was the Mountain where the Ark reſted after the Deluge, reſolv'd to aſcend to the Top, or die in the Attempt; that he got up half way, but could never go any farther; for that after he had clamber'd all the Day long, he was in his Sleep miraculouſly carry'd back to the place from whence he ſet forward in the Morning. This continu'd a long time; but that at length GOD giving Ear to the Monk's Prayers, was willing to ſatisfie his Deſires in ſome meaſure: to which purpoſe he ſent an Angel to him with a piece of the Ark, with Orders to bid him not toyl himſelf any more in vain, for that he had debarr'd from Mortals acceſs to the Top of that Mountain. And this is the Tale which they tell; upon which I ſhall obſerve two things. Firſt, That it has no Coherence with the Relations of Ancient Authors, as *Joſephus*, *Beroſus*, or *Nicholas* of *Damaſcus*, who aſſure us that the Remainders of the Ark were to be ſeen, and that the People took the Pitch with which it was beſmear'd as an Antidote againſt ſeveral Diſtempers. The ſecond, That whereas it is tak'n for a Miracle, That no Body can get up to the Top, I ſhould rather take it for a greater Miracle, that any Man ſhould climb up ſo high. For the Mountain is altogether uninhabited, and from the Half-way to the Top of all, perpetually cover'd with

Snow that never melts, ſo that all the Seaſons of the Year it appears like a Prodigious Heap of nothing but Snow. What I have reported concerning this Mountain, will doubtleſs cauſe no ſmall wonder in thoſe who have read the Travels of Father *Philip*, a Barefoot *Carmelite*, that he ſhould undertake to ſay that the Terreſtrial Paradiſe lies there *in ſome Plain which GOD preſerves from Heat and Cold*; for thoſe are the words of his Tranſlator. The thought it ſelf ſeems to me to be very pleaſant; and I ſhould have thought he had ſpoke it jocularly, did he not relate with an extraordinary ſerioufneſs ſeveral things in the ſame Book which are altogether as improbable.

At the Foot of the Mountains, in a Village inhabited by Chriſtians, ſtands a Monaſtery, call'd *Arakil-Vanc*, or the *Monaſtery of the Apoſtles*; to which place the *Armenians* pay a very ſolemn Devotion. For they report that the Bodies of St. *Andrew* and St. *Matthew* were found there, and that the Scull of the Evangeliſt is ſtill preſerv'd in the Church belonging to the Monaſtery.

When I came to *Erivan*, I alighted at the Houſe of an *Armenian* of my Acquaintance, whoſe Name was *Azarias*. He was a Perſon extreamly perſecuted by thoſe of his own Nation, becauſe he had been at *Rome* to turn Roman Catholick, and Diſciple to the Colledge for the *Propagation of the Faith*, and for endeavouring to ſettle the *Capuchins* at *Erivan*. I found him indiſpos'd and in Bed. However he roſe to give Notice of my Arrival; fearing to come into trouble if he deferr'd it till the next Morning. To which purpoſe he went to Court, but could not ſee the Governor who was retir'd into the Apartment of the Princeſs his Wife; Nevertheleſs an Eunuch did his Meſſage.

The Eighth, the Governor ſent a Perſon to give me a Viſit, and to tell me I was Welcom. Whereupon Mr. *Azarias* undertook to go in my behalf and return him my humble Thanks, and withal to let him know who I was. Upon which the Governor ſhew'd an earneſt deſire to ſee me as ſoon as I could, and ſome part of the Jewels I had brought along with me. Afterwards he ask'd how many Servants I had, and order'd Mr. *Azarias* to inform him whether I had rather Lodge in the Fortreſs, or in the Inn which he had built, and to bring him word ſpeedily. For my part I made choice of the Inn, as well for the Security of the Place, as for that a Man ſhall never there want Company, becauſe of the great reſort of Merchants

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ECS-MIAZIN
Commonly called the
PHELE CHRISTMAS
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chants thither, beſides that Travellers alighted there every day. Thereupon the Governor order'd me one of the beſt Apartments.

The Ninth I went thither betimes in the Morning, and ſpent all that day in ſetling my ſelf in my Lodging. About Noon one of the Governors Officers brought me an Order from the Steward to ſend for from the Office Bread, Wine, Meat, Trouts, Fruit, Rice, Butter, Wood, and other Neceſſary Proviſions as much as would ſuffice ſix Perſons. The Quantity of every thing is regulated, never augmented nor abated: but the Proportion allow'd for one Perſon is ſo large, that two may well be ſatisfy'd with it.

The 10th, the Governor ſent ſo earneſtly for me to come to him, and bring him part of my Jewels, that I could no longer defer it. I found him in a very large Cabinet or Study, very Decent and very Light. There was alſo with him the Head Surveyor of all the Mints of *Perſia*, who at that time was come to *Erivan*, and four other Lords. He receiv'd me with an Extraordinary Civility, three times told me, I was welcome, and ſet before me Sweet Meats, and *Aqua Vitæ* of *Moſcovy*. Preſently I preſented him with the Kings Patent, and that of the Grand Maſter, already mention'd. Of both which he made great accompt, and ſpent an Hour in Enquiries after *European* News, as well concerning the late Wars, and the preſent Eſtate of Chriſtendom, as about Arts and Sciences, and what new Diſcoveries had been made therein. Another Hour he ſpent in conſidering and viewing the Pretious Stones and Jewels which I ſhew'd him. He gave me to underſtand, that among the *Perſian* Poets, Emraulds of the old Rock were call'd *Emraulds of Egypt*, of which they believ'd there had been a Mine in *Egypt* which was now loſt: and at length, after he had lay'd by what he lik'd himſelf, and what he thought would pleaſe the Princeſs his Wife, he ſtay'd me to dine with him. Dinner being ended, he honour'd me the other half Hour with his Company and then diſmiſs'd me, commanding an Officer in my hearing to go to the *Caravanſerai* and charge the Inn-Keeper to be careful as well for my ſecurity, as to give me all Content. And he was moreover ſo kind as to tell the Officer farther, that he made him my *Memander*, who is as it were a Gentleman-Waiter, and ſuch as are appointed to attend upon all Perſons of Quality to take care of their Perſons: and the ſame Evening he ſent me beſides a Preſent of *Moſcovy Aqua Vitæ*.

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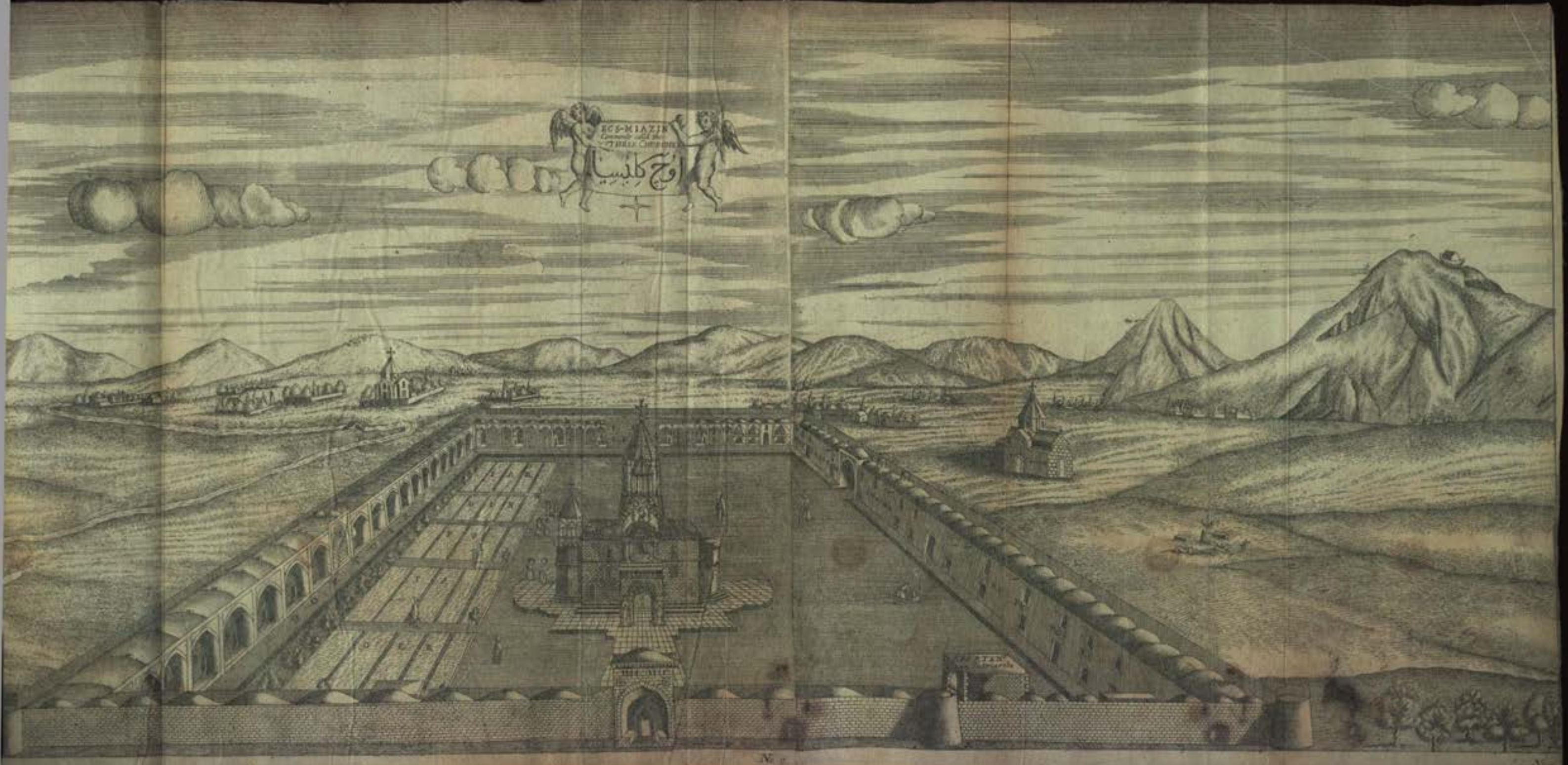
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This Governor bears the Title of *Becler-Beg*, or *Lord of Lords*. For ſo they call the Deputy Lieutenants of large Governments; to diſtinguiſh 'em from thoſe meaner Governours whom they call *Can's*. He has alſo the Title of *Serdar* or General of the Army. So that he is one of the Principal Lords of *Perſia*, and one of the moſt Judicious and moſt refin'd Politicians in the Kingdom. He is call'd by the Name of *Sephi-Couli-Can*; or the *Duke, the Slave of* Sephi. He enjoy'd one of the moſt Noble Governments of the Empire in the Reign of the Deceas'd King, but through ſome Intreague among the Women, he fell into diſgrace, three Years before the Death of that Prince. The Wife which he has Marry'd is of the Blood Royal by the Mothers ſide. And this Princeſs it was, who at the beginning of the preſent Kings Reign, reſtor'd her Husband to his Majeſties Favour, from whom in a little time he obtain'd the Government of *Erivan*, the moſt conſiderable in the Kingdom, and which yields him the faireſt Revenue, no leſs then Two and Thirty Thouſand Tomans a Year, which are above a Hundred and Twelve Thouſand Pounds Sterling. The Fines, Preſents, and indirect ways to enrich himſelf, are worth him Fifty Thouſand Pounds more. And doubtleſs this Lord is the moſt wealthy and moſt Fortunate of all the Kingdom. The King loves him, the Court has a Veneration for him, and his two Sons are the Kings only Favourites: the People under his Government Love and reſpect him, becauſe of his Popularity, his doing Juſtice, and for that he is not ſo oppreſſive and given to extortion as others. So that he deſerves the good Fortune he enjoys; for beſides theſe good Qualities, he is Learned, and a great Lover of Arts and Sciences.

The 11th, this Lord ſent to invite me to the Nuptials of his Stewards Brother where he was. I found him pleaſant and in a very good Humour. For he had receiv'd at the opening of the Gate, an order from the King by a *Coolom-Sha*, who came from *Iſpahan* in Thirteen Days. This Order related to an affair of great Importance. For ſeveral *Sultans* who are Lords of Countrys and Governours of ſtrong Holds, having refus'd to obey his Orders, and having made great complaints againſt him to the King and his Miniſters; He on the other ſide had juſtifi'd his own Rights and Prerogatives; upon which his Majeſty had given Sentence in his behalf, and had ſent him an order to Command Obedience. Which Order the *Coolom-Sha* was to ſee Executed, and to cauſe Satisfaction to be giv'n to the Governour.

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Coolom-Sha ſignifies the *Kings Slave*. Not but that they who bear this Title are as free, as other the Kings Natural Subjects; but they take it as a Mark of their perfect Devotion to their Soveraign, as being that to which they were bred up altogether in their Infancy. For the Imployment of theſe *Kings Slaves* in the Court of *Perſia*, is almoſt the ſame with that of Gentlemen-Uſhers; who are Childern of good Quality, employ'd very young in Duty, as well for the Profit which they get by it, as to give 'em a fair Opportunity to make their way to Preferment at Court. There are ſome Perſons who ſend their Sons to theſe Imployments at the Age of Five Years. To whom the King aſſigns Exhibitions according to the Quality of their Family, or the Service which it does the King; for that ſerves in ſtead of other Recompence to the Parents. The uſual Exhibition is Twenty *Tomans* a Year, and their Diet; which Twenty *Tomans* make about Seventy Pounds Sterling: And the Diet taken in Money amounts to about Forty Pounds. But theſe Exhibitions are frequently enlarg'd proportionably either to the Service which they do the King, or to the Kindneſs which the King has for their Perſons. For which reaſon they are very diligent at Court, and are employ'd in the Execution of all Orders of Importance. They are ſent with the Kings Preſents to the Governors; and out of their Number are taken ſeveral to ſupply the Vacancies of Officers.

Orders that require Expedition are carry'd Poſt. Which Couriers are call'd *Tſhapars*; a word that comes from a *Turkiſh* word that ſignifies *Galloping*, whence that other word *Tſapgon*, which ſignifies a *Courier*. Theſe *Tſhapars* make great haſte, though they do not always meet with Horſes when they have occaſion for 'em: For there are no ſetl'd Stages in all the *Eaſt*. In *Perſia* the Kings and Governors Couriers take Horſes where-ever they find 'em; nay, they have Authority to diſmount Travellers upon the High-way: beſides, the Magiſtrates of the Places through which they paſs, are oblig'd to furniſh 'em. However, this is a very miſchievous Cuſtom; for ſuch as have neither the Strength nor the Courage to reſiſt, are conſtrain'd to give Money to theſe Couriers, or to alight and ſuffer their Horſes to be rid away with, and then to run after 'em if they intend to have 'em again. Nevertheleſs they dare not meddle with Perſons of Quality, nor the Kings Officers, nor Strangers that are going to the Court, for fear of being call'd to Queſtion. Uſually therefore they take up Horſes in the Villages through which they paſs; which they muſt not make

uſe of however above one Days Journey; for which reaſon they generally ſend a *Runner* along with 'em to bring the Horſes back.

Theſe Couriers are eaſily known by their Habit: For they wear a Cloak ty'd behind 'em; and a little Cloak-bag, which runs through the Pommel, and is faſten'd to the Saddle-Bow. They carry a Poniard, a Sword, and a Quiver by their Sides, and a Cudgel in their Hands. Their Bows hang about their Shoulders; beſides all which they have a Scarf that comes twice about their Necks, which is brought down Croſs-wiſe upon their Backs and Breaſts, and ty'd to their Girdle. When they are deſcry'd at a diſtance, they who are afraid of being diſmounted, flee out of the way and hide themſelves, or compound for Money, or elſe offer 'em their Horſes. Theſe Couriers ride generally two and two, and if they be Perſons of Quality, 'tis the more difficult to get rid of 'em: for they will take no Compoſition; and upon the leaſt Reſiſtance, they either up with their Battoons, or out with their Swords, well knowing they ſhall be upheld in what they do; which is a Violence that other Couriers dare not offer.

One of the Principal Extraordinary Expences which the Grandees are conſtrained to be at, is when the King ſends 'em his Orders or Preſents by a *Coolom-Sha*, or by any other Perſon of Quality; for he muſt Cloath him upon his Arrival, and at his Departure he muſt make him a Preſent anſwerable to his Imployment, and the Reputation that he bears; beſides that he muſt be well Feaſted and Entertained all the time of his ſtay. This *Coolom-Sha* that I ſpeak of, coſt the Governor of *Erivan*, as I was inform'd, Four Hunderd *Tomans*, which amount to Fourteen Hunderd Pounds beſides Lodging and Diet. Many times the King himſelf Taxes the Preſent which is to be giv'n to the Perſon whom he ſends, but then the Perſon is oblig'd to pay it preſently down as a Debt, and to beſtow in Gifts and Largeſſes many times double the Preſent: in ſhort, they treat their Meſſengers according to their Birth, their Merit, and their Credit at Court. This they diligently obſerve, ſo that when they underſtand that a Meſſenger or his Relations have free Acceſs to the King, then they are more free in their Entertainment, to the end he may make an Advantageous Report of his Uſage, and the Civility ſhewn him. I remember to this purpoſe, in the Year 1669 when the King conferr'd upon the Son of the Prime Miniſter, the Command of Colonel of the Musketeers, his Majeſty ſent the Diſ-

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patches and Habit by his Goldſmiths, to reward 'em for ſome Jewels which they had made to his liking; and that he Tax'd the Preſent which the Colonel was to give 'em at Three Hunderd Tomans. Thereupon four of the chief Goldſmiths carry'd the Diſpatches and the Habit, who inſtead of Three Hunderd, receiv'd 400 Tomans, which make Fourteen Hundred Pounds, and a Preſent beſides in Stuffs.

I ſtay'd three Hours at the Wedding, and took my leave after Dinner. The Feaſt was kept in a low Dining-Room, rais'd about two Foot, opening into a Court which was Rail'd about like a Tilt-Yard, where ſeveral Wreſtlers and Gladiators divertis'd the Company, while the Governor ſpent his time in looking on, and diſcourſing ſometimes with the Kings Meſſengers, ſometimes with the Company, and ſometimes talking with my ſelf about the news of *Europe*. There were but nine Perſons at the Feaſt, among whom the Bridegroom and his Godfather were ſumptuouſly habited, their Turbants being garniſh'd with Heron-Tuffs, ſet with precious Stones. The Maſter of the Houſhold, his other Brothers and his Sons ſtanding upon their Feet at the lower end of the Room, with ſeveral of the Governours Officers. Every one of the Gueſts were ſerv'd at their firſt coming, with a Voider of Sweat-Meats Dry and Wet, upon ſmall Porcelaine Plates; the Voiders themſelves being of Wood Painted and Gilt; ſo that nothing could be ſeen more Neat.

Matrimony in *Perſia* is very expenſive, frequently to the Ruin of thoſe that engage in it: So that only Perſons of Eſtates will venture upon it: as for the meaner ſort, they are contented with a Concubine or a Slave.

The *Mahometans* that follow the Tenents of *Ali*, take their Wives after three manners, either by way of Purchaſe, by way of Hire, or by Marriage. All which three ways they hold to be Lawful. Their Religion allows and teaches 'em this Liberty; and the Civil Law acknowledges the Childern Born in any of theſe three ſorts of Wedlock, to be equally Legitimate. So that if a Man have a Son by his Slave, before his Marry'd Wife brings him one, the Son of the Slave is acknowledg'd for the Eldeſt, and enjoys all the Priviledges of Elderſhip to the Excluſion of the Son of the Lawful Wife, be ſhe a Princeſs and of the Blood Royal. And therefore in *Perſia* Quality and Nobility deſcends only from the Father.

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The Wives, who are Slaves, are call'd *Canizè*: of whom the Law allows a Man to have as many as he can maintain. Nor does the Government either Eccleſiaſtical or Civil take any Cognizance how they are us'd. They that have put 'em to all manner of Drudgery, as they pleaſe themſelves, being not only Maſters of their Chaſtity, but of their Lives. Nor is it a diſhonour in the Eaſt for a Slave to ſerve her Maſter as a Wife; but rather a great Honour and the beſt Fortune ſhe can arrive at: for when they are advanc'd to their Maſters Bed, they have an Apartiment ſeperate from the Reſt of the Slaves. They are well Clad, allow'd Servants, and a Penſion; and if they bring Children, their Allowances are enlarg'd. For then they are no more lookt upon as Slaves, but as the Mothers of the Lawful Heir of the Family.

The hir'd Wives are call'd *Moutaa*, from *Amovad*, which ſignifies a Concubine and alſo a Servant: of which they may take as many as they pleaſe, and as long as they pleaſe for the price they agree upon. At *Iſpahan*, which is the Metropolis of *Perſia*, thoſe that are handſome and Young may be hir'd for Five and Thirty Pound a Year, beſides Cloaths, Diet and Lodging. Which ſort of Marriage is a contract purely Civil. At the end of the Term, if both parties are agreed they may renew the Bargain; and they are at Liberty to break off before the end of the Term, and to put away the hir'd Wife, but then they muſt give the whole Sum contain'd in the Contract. Yet cannot the Woman ſo diſmiſs'd let out her ſelf again, nor give her ſelf to another till Forty Days after her Diſmiſſion. Which interval is call'd *the Days of Purification*. They who underſtand the Ceremonial Law of *Moſes*, may eaſily perceive that the *Mahometans* borrow'd this cuſtom from the *Jews*, though new modell'd and alter'd after their own humour. And indeed the Law both of the one and the other agrees in the point of Marriage, and the Behaviour of Men toward Women.

The Eſpous'd Wives are call'd *Nekaa*: of which the *Mahometan* Religion allows a Man to Marry Four. Nevertheleſs they never Marry above one, to avoid the Expence; and becauſe of the diſorders that Multiplicity of Lawful Wives create in a Houſe. For every one will Command, and their mutual Jealouſie keeps the Houſe in perpetual Confuſion. Therefore People of Quality Marry generally into Families equal in Degree; if they cannot content themſelves with one Woman, which is a Misfortune that never fails to befall 'em, they make

uſe of their Slaves. By that means the Peace of the Family is never diſquieted; for the Marry'd Wife is always Lady and Miſtreſs. As to other things, whether contented or no, her Relations never take any notice. As for hir'd Wives, ſeldom any Body takes 'em, but People of mean Condition, or Strangers, which they do that they may be rid of 'em when they pleaſe. The loweſt ſort of all never make uſe of that Cuſtom, as not being able to pay 'em their Wages. Neither do Perſons of Quality; in regard they ſcorn the Leavings of another, or that another ſhould make uſe of a Woman who has belong'd to them. But if by chance a Perſon of Quality falls in love with a Woman either publick, or not fit to be his Wife, he hires her for Ninety-Nine Years; and by that means he is ſure to enjoy her as long as he lives, without Matriage. And they take this courſe, eſpecially if They are Marry'd to Women of Quality or Nobly deſcended, becauſe their Relations would take Themſelves to be highly affronted ſhould They bring into their Houſes Women of mean Birth to be their Companions.

In *Perſia* they uſually Marry by Proxy: becauſe the Women are never ſeen by the Men. Which Ceremony is perform'd after this manner. The Kindred of both Parties meet at the Houſe of the Party intended to be the Husband or Bridegroom. Thither they ſend for a Churchman to make the Contract. Or if the Parties are Perſons of high Quality, then the *Cedre*, who is the chief *Pontiff*, or the *Sheikeliſlam*, who is the chief Civil Judge, and is invited for that purpoſe. If they are Perſons of mean Degree, they endeavour to get the *Kazy*, who is the Lieutenant Civil: and if they be very poor People, they ſend for a *Molla*, or Prieſt of the Law. Preſently the Party Affianc'd in the Company of ſeveral Women repairs to a Chamber not far from the place where the People are met, where the Door ſtands half open, but the Tapeſtry is let down that there is no Body to be ſeen. Then the Proxies of both Parties riſe, and the Proxy for the Party Affianc'd ſetting himſelf againſt the Door of the Chamber, and ſtretching out his Hand, cries out aloud,

I N. *Authoriz'd Proxy for you* N. *Marry yee to* N. *here preſent. You ſhall be his perpetual Wife with ſuch a prefix'd Dowry according as you have agreed.*

Then the other Proxy thus anſwers:

I N. *Authoriz'd Proxy for* N. *take thee* N. *in his Name for my perpetual Wife, who haſt been given him for ſuch by* N. *his Proxy here preſent, upon Condition of the Dowry prefix'd and agreed on by both Parties.*

After this the Miniſter, or whoever he be that is preſent to make the Contract, riſes, and laying his Head to the Tapeſtry which divides the Room, cries out to the Affianc'd,

Do you Ratifie the Promiſe which N. *your Proxy has made in your behalf?* Who anſwers, *Yes.*

Then he puts the ſame Queſtion to the other Proxy, makes the Contract, fixes the Seal, and cauſes the reſt that are met to Seal it likewiſe; and gives the Contract to the Proxy of the Affianc'd Virgin. Which Contract is kept by the Woman for the Security of her Dowry.

There is no difference between this, and the Ceremony of Marriages for time, when they hire VVives, only that the Proxies make their Promiſes on other Terms. As thus:

I N. *by Virtue of an Authentick Procuration receiv'd from* N. *give her to* N. *to the end he may have the uſe of her for ſuch a Term, and at ſuch a Price.* Or thus:

I N. *by Virtue of an Authentick Procuration from* N. *take in his Name* N. *to Wife. I take her upon the Conditions agreed upon, I take her upon my Soul.*

The poor People make leſs ſtir, without any Proxy: For the VVoman enters Veil'd with her Parents, who are alſo in the Room where the Men are, and then ſays the Party himſelf,

I N. *Proxy for my ſelf, take you* N. *for my perpetual Wife, at ſuch a certain Dowry; I take ye for ſuch upon my Soul.*

Now the VVomen are the Match-makers; and as ſoon as the Articles are agreed upon, the Husband ſettles the Dowry upon the cleareſt part of his Eſtate, and then ſends the VVedding-Ring and the Preſents to his Bride: VVhich conſiſt in Cloaths, Jewels, and Ready Money. For which the Bride returns him ſeveral Knick-Knacks, as Embroider'd Handkerchers, Toylets, Needlework Night-Caps, and ſuch kind of Trifles, uſually all made with her own Hands.

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The Wedding is kept at the Mans Houſe, and laſts Ten Days: upon the Tenth Day, by broad Daylight, they ſend him home that which is call'd the *Bride's Bundle*, which conſiſts in Furniture, Jewels, Moveables, Slaves and Eunuchs, according to the Quality of the Bride, and all this upon Camels or other Beaſts of Carriage, the Muſick playing before 'em. The Slaves and Eunuchs ride either upon the Packs or elſe on Horſe-back: and ſometimes it happens that they borrow Houſhold-Stuff and a Train, and ſend empty Cheſts; and all to make a ſhew and dazle the World. At Night the Bride is conducted home; and if ſhe be a Perſon of Quality ſhe is carry'd in a *Cagiavat*, being a kind of Cradle of which a Camel will carry two. If ſhe be a Perſon of mean Condition, ſhe is ſet upon a Horſe, or elſe goes a Foot: and then the Muſick marches firſt; then the Servants with every one a Wax-Taper in their Hands, follow'd by the Women with lighted Candles in their Hands after the ſame manner. The Bride her ſelf is veil'd from Head to Foot; with another Veil over that, plaited like a Caſſock; made of Silk and Silver, or Cloth of Gold, or plain Silk, which reaches down to her waſte. So that a very Lynx could never be able to diſcover her ſhape or Stature. If ſhe be a foot, two Women lead her by each Arm; if on Horſeback, an Eunuch leads the Horſe by the Bridle. About an Hour after ſhe has been at her Husbands Houſe, the Nuptial Feaſt being over, the Matrons carry her into the Bridal Chamber, uncloath her to a little Waſte-Coat, and a thin pair of Drawers next to it, and put her to Bed. Soon after the Bridegroom is conducted to the ſame place either by Eunuchs or Old Women, the Lights being all taken away when he enters the Room.

Thus the Man never ſees his Wife till after he has Conſummated the Marriage; and many times he never does that, till ſeveral Days after his Wife has been at home, the nice Lady flying his Embraces and hiding her ſelf among the Women, or elſe unwilling to let her Husband meddle with her. Which Coyneſs frequently happens among Perſons of Quality, who look upon it as a piece of Immodeſty to beſtow their laſt Favours ſo ſoon. The Virgins of the Blood Royal more particularly put their Husbands to this trouble, ſo that it requires whole Months to reclaim 'em, and to perſwade 'em that their Husbands are worthy their Embraces.

To this purpoſe they tell a Story of a Daughter of *Abas the Great*, who was Marry'd to one of his Great Generals, that ſhe was a long time before ſhe would condeſcend ſo much as to look

look upon her Husband. Thereupon the Lord complain'd to the King, *That his Majeſty had given him a Tygreſs inſtead of a Wife; that he durſt not come near her; for that ſhe had Twice run at him with a Dagger in her Hand.* At which *Abas* could not forbear Laughing, and ask'd him how many white Slaves he had in his Seraglio? The General anſwer'd, about Five and Forty. Then ſaid the King, *Lie with 'em all one after another, I am ſure that will be a means to reclaim your Wife.* The General took the Kings advice. The Princeſs enrag'd at this his manner of proceeding, ask'd him, if that were his Conjugal Faith that he had plighted to her, and ſeeing he continu'd his Courſe, notwithſtanding all her fury, made her complaints to the King, telling him, *That ſhe came to demand Juſtice of him againſt her Husband, who Raviſh'd all his Maids and Slaves.* To whom the King with an incens'd Countenance anſwer'd, *That he had done it by his Order:* and at the ſame time ſent her away, with an expreſs Command to invite her Husband to come and lie with her. Which the Princeſs did accordingly, and was well ſatisfi'd.

To the ſame purpoſe they relate another very pleaſant Story of one of the Concubines of *Sephi*, the laſt King of that Name. She was a lovely Perſon, and for that reaſon infinitely belov'd of the Prince, which had made her extreamly Proud, and to take upon her many times to talk over boldly to the King. One Day therefore *Sephi*, who was naturally Cruel, was ſo incens'd againſt her that he would have put her to Death; but his Anger not believing Death to be a ſufficient Puniſhment, he took from her all her Women, and her Eunuchs, caus'd all her Cloaths to be Burnt, and her Jewels to be Pounded in a Mortar, and the bitts of Stones to be flung into a Pond before her Face; and to add to her Ignominy, caus'd her to be Marry'd to a Paltry *Negro*, that was one of his Cooks: and ſo the Unfortunate Lady was ſent home to the Cooks Houſe with only one Chamber-Maid left her. But when her frightful Husband thought to have approach'd her, the Chamber-Maid as Lovely and Majeſtick as her Miſtreſs, drawing a naked Dagger out of her Pocket, and throwing her ſelf before her Miſtreſs, *Dog of a* Negro, ſaid ſhe, *Do but touch her ſo much as with thy Finger, and I will make a Thouſand Holes i' thy Heart.* Upon which the poor Cook flew for his Life; and the Story being told to the King, he was ſo pleas'd with the action, that he recollected himſelf, aſſwag'd his Paſſion, Marry'd her to a Colonel, and ſent her Cloaths and Furniture ſuitable to her Condition.

There

There happens in the Marriages of the meaner ſort of People, ſomething that ſeems to be quite the Contrary. For if the Man have oblig'd himſelf to make his Wife a Dowry, that exceeds his Eſtate, to obtain the conſent of his Wife's Parents; he ſhuts his Houſe door when they bring her home, and cries that he will not give ſo great a Price for her. Then the Parents of both Parties diſpute the Matter between themſelves; and the Friends of the Bride are oblig'd to abate ſomething, for fear the Bridegroom ſhould refuſe her; for it would be the greateſt Diſhonour in the World, as well for them, as for the Maid, to be carried back again.

Now one would think this way of Marrying, without ever ſeeing the Parties face, ſhould produce very unfortunate Matches; but it does not. Nay we may ſay in General, that the Matches are more happy in a Country, where the Men and Women never ſee one another, then where the Women are ſo frequently ſeen and courted. And the Reaſon is plain: For they that ſee not another Mans wife, loſe leſs ſuddenly the Affection which they have, or ought to have, for their own. And yet we cannot ſay the *Perſians* marry without altogether knowing whom neither. For the Mother or Kindred or other Perſons, upon whom they rely for the choice of a Wife, make ſuch a frequent and lively Deſcription of the Virgin, that they may ſufficiently judge by their Report, whether the Original will pleaſe, or whether ſhe be a fit Match or no. Beſides when they are Girls, tho the Greateſt Lords Daughters, they are not ſo cloſe lockt up, till they come to be above Seven or Eight Years of Age. Till which time they appear up and down the Houſe, to the end they may be publickly ſeen and taken notice of; ſo that ſometimes it happens, that a Man may have ſeen the Maid, propos'd him for a Wife, eſpecially when ſhe was little.

The Mahometan Religion holds Divorce to be Lawful, however it be done, or whatever the Occaſion may be. 'Tis ſufficient that one of the Parties diſlikes the other, and that they reſolve to unmarry themſelves; for then, tho otherwiſe the moſt prudent and civil People in the World, they preſently divorce. Which Act of Separation is paſs'd, either before a Judge or before a Church-man. This *Act* is called *Talaac*, or a *Bill of Divorce*; which being granted, the Parties are at Liberty to marry again where they pleaſe themſelves. Upon the diſſolution of the Marriage, the Man is oblig'd to return the Woman her Dowry; if it be he that ſues out the Divorce;

but if it be the Woman that ſeeks the Separation, then ſhe loſes her Portion. The Mahometans alſo hold for lawful, the Renewing of Marriages diſſolv'd, and that they may diſſolve and renew and diſſolve Three times; but if it happen that after a Divorce the third time, the Man and the Woman deſire to come together a fourth time, they cannot do it; but upon this ſtrange Condition, that before the Woman marry another Husband, ſhe ſhall dwell with him forty days, and then be divorc'd from him.

The *Perſians*, to ſpeak in general, rarely make uſe of this exceſſive Licenſe to unmarry one another. The Citizens and Tradesmen ſometimes make their Advantages of it: But Perſons of Quality will rather chooſe to dye, then repudiate their Wives, and you may as ſoon take away their Lives, as force 'em to conſent to a Divorce. The poorer ſort never uſe it, for they are too ſilly and clott-pated to unmarry one another; beſides that it would coſt 'em too dear, in regard they muſt return the Portion they had, upon the Repudiation. Which however occaſions a more crying piece of Injuſtice to be committed among the vileſt ſort. For they, when they would be rid of their Wives without returning their Portions, miſuſe the woman in that terrible and inhumane manner, that ſhe is forc'd to ſue for a Divorce, and ſacrifice all to her Liberty. Beſides, the Courts of Judicature, rarely know the Differences that happen between Man and Wife, the miſcheivous Tricks that they play one another, and the Reaſons that move 'em to ſeparate. The Place where the Women are ſhut up is ſacred; eſpecially among Perſons of Condition: And it is a Crime for any Perſon whatever, to be enquiring what paſſes within thoſe Walls. The Husband has there an abſolute Authority, without being oblig'd to give any accompt of his Actions. And 'tis ſaid, that there are moſt bloody doings in thoſe places ſometimes, and that Poyſon diſpatches a World of People, which are thought to dye a natural Death.

The 12. I diſmiſs'd the Officer of the *Can* of *Georgia*, who conducted me to *Irrivan*. I made him a preſent of about Six Guines; and gave him a Letter for *Father Raphael* of *Parma*, wherein I let him know how diligently the Officers had ſerv'd me, and deſir'd him to give the Prince an Account of it, and to return him my humble Thanks. For it is the cuſtome to give ſuch Letters of Commendation to thoſe ſort of Officers. Without which ſhould they return to their Maſters, it would be a fault, for which they would not fail to be puniſh'd.

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The 13. I ſtay'd at the Palace ſome part of the day, and din'd with the Governor. The 14 and 15. I din'd there likewiſe. He was extreamly civil to me, to the end I ſhould let him have what he had a mind to at a cheap Rate. For 'tis not to be imagin'd, how theſe Perſian Lords will debaſe themſelves, when they are dealing for their own Intereſt with People over whom they have no Authority. They are not aſham'd to beg for what they have a deſire to. They flatter, they praiſe, they promiſe, there is nothing ſo mean, which they will not make uſe of to attain their Ends; and when they have once attain'd 'em, they have done with thoſe People. Which Inequality of Temper, they that have buſineſs in *Perſia* ſhall have every day occaſion to make Tryal of.

The 16. I went to viſit the Patriarch of *Armenia*, whoſe name was *James*, an Ancient Man, all over hairy, and venerable for his Preſence and Aſpect, but of a fickle and inconſtant Diſpoſition, and whoſe Behaviour juſtify'd the Accuſations which his Nation laid upon him, which were, that he wanted Judgment, but was very Ambitious. He lodg'd at the Epiſcopal Manſion; and was confin'd within the Walls of the City. A misfortune that for ſome Pranks which he had play'd he had drawn upon himſelf. And as for that he then lay under, the occaſion was this, of which he made me a long Rehearſal himſelf.

The *Armenian* Clergy is very much addicted to Symony, as well as that of the Eaſtern Sects. But that which they ſell moſt dear is the holy Oyl, which they call *Myrone*. The moſt part of the Eaſtern Chriſtians believe it to be a Balſom; and a Remedy that phyſically Cures all the Diſtempers of the Soul. Nay there are whole Societies of Chriſtians who believe, that the Grace of Regeneration, and Remiſſion of Sins, is imparted by the uſe of this Oyl: Saying, that in Baptiſm for Example, 'tis the Oyl and not the Water, which is the Matter preſcrib'd. And the Clergy keep the People in this pernicious Error, becauſe of the Advantages which they get by it, ſelling at a dear rate the Unction of this Oyl. Which the Patriarch has the only right to Conſecrate, and he ſells it to the Biſhops and Prieſts. Now about twelve Years ſince the *Perſian* Patriarch began to project, how he might prevent the *Armenian* Eccleſiaſticks over all the Eaſt from furniſhing themſelves with this Holy Oyl, from any other Perſon but himſelf. Thoſe of *Turky* bought it of the *Armenian* Patriarch reſiding at *Jeruſalem*, and who is the Chief

over

over all the *Armenian* Chriſtians within the Empire. *James* pretended, that it was not lawful for the *Armenians* of *Turky*, to go for Holy Oyl to *Jeruſalem*, but at a time when the War between the *Turk* and the *Perſian*, hinder'd 'em from coming to his See; and he was of opinion for a ſum of Money, well expended at the *Ottoman* Court, he might obtain an Order from the *Port*, by vertue of which the Eccleſiaſtical *Armenians* of that Empire ſhould be oblig'd to fetch their Holy Oyl from *Perſia*, as formerly. But firſt he muſt have the conſent of the *Perſian* King to undertake an Affair of that Importance, which *James* eaſily obtain'd, and afterwards went to the *Port*; where after he had ſpent a great deal of Money and Time, at length he obtain'd his Hearts deſire.

All this while the *Armenian* Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, a more Politie Prelate, and one better skill'd in the Affairs of *Turky*, never ſtirr'd from his Seat, while the other was negotiating at the *Grand Signior*'s Court. He let him expend and exhauſt himſelf, and onely watch't for *James*'s Return into *Perſia*. But then it was no hard matter for him, to demonſtrate to the *Divan* the *Grand Signiors* Intereſt in that Affair, and the Damage which his Highneſs did himſelf, in obliging the *Armenians* under his Subjection to fetch their Holy Oyl from *Perſia*, becauſe of the great Revenue which it produc'd. Whereupon the *Divan* cancell'd the Order which they had given the *Perſian* Patriarch; and left the whole Buſineſs as it was before.

However *James* to his own and the misfortune of his Nation, went on obſtinately againſt his own Intereſt, he got a Re-hearing, believing that his large Preſents and his Importunity would at length gain him his Cauſe. I cannot tell certainly, how much the Money was that he ſpent in this idle Concern; but they ſay it amounted to no leſs than threeſcore thouſand Guines.

All that I know is this, that he owes fourty thouſand pound which he took up at *Conſtantinople*, and ſpent upon this ſame incomparable Project. He borrow'd firſt of the *Armenians*, as long as his Credit would laſt, and when they would lend him no more, then he borrow'd of the *Turks*. At length he became an abſolute Bankrupt, and at the ſame time he was forc'd to quit his deſign and retire out of *Turky*, where there is nothing to be done by men that have no money in their Pockets. The Patriarch however thought he could oblige the *Armenians* of *Perſia*, that go and come to *Conſtantinople*, to pay

pay what he ow'd the *Turks*. Which as he importun'd 'em to do, ſo he obtain'd in part. For they paid ſeveral conſiderable Sums, in hopes to free their Patriarch out of his Troubles; whom they thought not to be ſo deeply engag'd as they found him to be. But finding ſtill that after they had paid one Debt, larger Sums diſcover'd themſelves, and call'd for Satisfaction, they refus'd to diſburſe any more Money, notwithſtanding all the fair and foul Means he could uſe. *James* therefore ſooth'd up his Turkiſh Creditors, and told 'em that if they would ſend along with him two Truſtees to receive their Money in *Armenia*, he would pay 'em there: and ſo they let him go upon his Word. But when he came home, he found both the *Perſians* and the *Armenians* equally offended with him for his extravagant Expences, and the Folly of his Deſign; So that not a man would part with any Money, nor would they ſuffer him to touch the Patriarchal Treaſure: Inſomuch that the two *Turkiſh* Truſtees for the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*, that came to receive the payment of Six Thouſand Guineys, which he ow'd their Maſter, were forc'd to return, finding the Patriarch to be utterly inſolvent.

The Cuſtomer perceiving his Debt to be ſo deſperate, obtain'd an Order from the *Grand Signior* to the Governor of *Erzerum*, to give his People, that return'd into *Perſia*, all the Aſſiſtance he could, to enable 'em to recover the Debt. To that end the Governor gave 'em Letters of Recommendation for the *Can of Erivan*. But thoſe Letters prov'd of little or no effect; and becauſe the Length of Journeys is very tedious in *Aſia*, and for that the diſtance of one Place to another happens to be a great delay of Buſineſs, the Turkiſh Truſtees ſtay'd a year at *Erivan* without doing any good. At length they receiv'd new Letters of Recommendation from the *Grand Vizir*, the Kaimacan of *Conſtantinople* and the *Baſha* of *Erzerum* for the Governor of *Erivan*, which were ſo full and ſo importunate, that the Governor was forc'd to beſtir himſelf. He ſent for the Patriarch, and told him he muſt pay the ſix thouſand Guinneys. The Patriarch, who was really inſolvent, demonſtrated his Inability to the Governor as clearly as could be done i' th' world, and beſought him very earneſtly to obtain leave of him from the Court, that he might raiſe the Summ upon the Churches of *Media* and *Georgia*; and to oblige the Governor to intercede for it, gave him ſeveral conſiderable Preſents. So that the Governor at length

conſenting, he not only petition'd for Leave, buthad it granted; and when it came, *James* ſent about his Deputies to put it in Execution. But both the Clergy and Seculars of thoſe Provinces, who are really very Poor, and continually vex'd with Impoſitions, Levies of Money, Taxes and Impoſts, refus'd to pay the Patriarch. Beſides, when the Governors of *Media* and *Georgia* were inform'd of what the Patriarch had done, they forbid the *Chriſtians* under their ſubjection to part with a Farthing; ſaying withal, that the if Governor of *Armenia* were ſo liberal to the Patriarch, he might make his Levies upon the Churches that belong to his own Government. Thereupon there was a neceſſity for him, to write back to the Court. But the Governor of *Armenia*, fearing leaſt the Patriarch ſhould abſent himſelf, or that he would not go to the Court, order'd him to keep at *Erivan*, and not to ſtir thence without leave. And this was that Prelate's Condition, when I went to viſit him. At what time he ſeem'd to be very impatient in Expectation of the Reſolutions of the Court.

The 21. Forty ſeven Minutes after Sun-riſe and the firſt day of the Month *Zilhage*, which is the Twelfth Month of the Year among the *Mahumetans*, the Great Guns of the Fortreſs were thrice Diſcharg'd, and the Garriſon gave three Vollies to give Notice that it was New-Years Day. And this they always do at the very Moment that the Sun enters in *Aries*, whether it be Day or Night. The Aſtrologers, who make their Obſervations very exactly with their *Aſtrolobes*, give the Signal, and then it is that all the Guns go off, as I have already ſaid. This Feſtival laſts three days; and is the moſt Solemn one that is celebrated in *Perſia*: We ſhall tell yee in another place, after what manner it is Solemniz'd.

The 21. in the Afternoon I went to the Governor to wiſh him a *happy New-Year*; and preſented him at the ſame time with a Hafted Dagger, and a Sheath of Ivory inlay'd with Gold. Which the Governor very much admir'd, and was very well pleas'd. For it is the Cuſtom in *Perſia*, now become a Law, never to come into the Preſence of a Great Perſon empty-handed during this Feſtival. The Governor on the other ſide made me ſit down by him, and gave me a Collation of dry'd and green Fruits, and Excellent Wines of *Georgie* and *Shiras*. The General of the Mint, and the King's *Envoy*, of whom we have already ſpoken, were both with him at the ſame time. So that I ſtaid two hours diſcourſing of Sundry things.

The 25. he ſent for me, and after ſeveral Diſcourſes at Rovers,

Rovers; he told me, He was very much troubl'd for me, that I was come in *Perſia* at ſuch an unlucky Seaſon, when there was ſo little Trade for Jewels, for that the King had little or no eſteem for 'em, and therefore bought very few. That I was not now to look upon my Condition, as if King *Abas* were alive, for thoſe days were gone; and that I ſhould find it a hard matter at Court to put off the worth of Three Thouſand Pound. Then going on, he told me farther, That he did not ſpeak this to diſcourage me, but that I might betimes conſider what I had to do, and loſe no opportunity of ſelling what I had brought: That he had a deſign to lay out to the value of Two Thouſand Five Hundred Pounds, if I would let him have good Bargains. Preſently I found what the Governor aim'd at by his Diſcourſe, and that his Advice tho very good and true, proceeded rather from Intereſt, then that he was really concern'd for my Benefit. However I return'd him Thanks, and told him, I heard of the Great Change of Humor at Court, but yet for all that I did not queſtion but to ſell, expecting from his Majeſty's Juſtice that he would conſider, that I had not made ſuch a tedious Voyage, nor brought ſo many Jewels, but by the Orders of the Deceaſed King his Father. Nevertheleſs, that I was reſolv'd to ſell as much as I could without Loſs, and that I was ſo much beholding to him for his Favors and his particular Care of me, that I would ſell Cheaper to him then to another Perſon.

Thereupon the Governor promis'd me, that I ſhould have the favour of his Sons, and be aſſiſted by all the Credit which they had at Court; to which purpoſe he would give me moſt Effectual and Earneſt Recommendations, and at length order'd me to bring all that he had ſet apart. He told me he would make his firſt Purchaſes of little Jewels and of ſmall value, to the end he might ſee, whether I would be as good as my word. Which Method of his did no way pleaſe me, and therefore I propounded to him to take all at a Lump, and never to make two Bargains, aſſuring him that he would find it his cheapeſt way. After that I deſir'd him to begin with the Great Pieces; but he refus'd to accept either of my Propoſals; he knew how to manage me ſo dextrouſly, that he perſwaded me that his Intentions were real, and that he would try by thoſe things wherein he had moſt Judgment, whether I ſold him dear or no. So then we agreed upon a Price for Forty Watches of ſeveral Faſhions: All which I ſold him at a low rate, to purchaſe his good Opinion, and to the end I might

ſell

ſell him more of my Commodities. Preſently he ſent me to his Caſhier to receive my Money; which while we were telling, in he came with a great Chryſtal Looking glaſs ſet in Gold, which he had ſet aſide from among thoſe other that I had ſhewn him, and telling me, *the hour was now lucky*, ask'd me the Price of the Glaſs; and I let him have it for Five Hundred Crowns; which he paid me with the reſt of my Money. For the *Perſians* are ſtrangly infatuated with Judicial Aſtrology, and attribute to the Influences of the Stars all their good and bad Succeſs. And when two Stars which they call *Benign*, are in Conjunction, that they call the *lucky hour*.

The 27. The Governor did me the Honour to give me a viſit. Tho I had rather he had let his viſit alone; for it coſt me a Gold-Box of Eight Guineys. Which I preſented to him to gratifie the Cuſtom of the Country; which is, to repay the viſits of great Perſonages with a Preſent. The Governor ſtaid a quarter of an hour in my Chamber; after which he went and made a ſtop where the People that belong'd to the *Cuſtomer* of *Conſtantinople* lay, which was very near to my Apartment. Then he went and viſited a *Turkiſh* Merchant, and an *Armenian* Merchant, that lodg'd in the ſame Inn, who made him every one a Preſent, but of things of little value. The People that belong'd to the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople* gave him two Ducats, the *Turkiſh* Merchant a little bag of Coffee, worth an Angel, and the *Armenian* preſented him with two Ells of Damask. For the Governor comes forth out of the Caſtle into the City conſtantly twice a Week, that is, *Frydays* and *Saturdays*; *Fryday* he goes publickly to the *Moſqueé* to ſay his Prayers; *Saturday* he viſits every Quarter of the City, and gives ſuch Orders as he finds to be requiſite. So that there can be nothing better contriv'd then his Method of Government. If he ſtop before any Houſe they never make him any Preſent, unleſs they pleaſe themſelves. But if he go into the Houſe, Cuſtom obliges 'em to preſent him. And there is an Officer, call'd *the Receiver of Preſents*, who keeps an account of all that is preſented him, let it be of never ſo mean a value.

The 29. and 30. I din'd with the Governor, and ſold him as many ordinary Jewels as came to about Five Hundred Pounds. We drove our Bargains every price by it ſelf, and when we were come to a Price he paid me in ready Money. And moſt aſſuredly he got by that way of dealing;

for

for by that means I ſold him at a much cheaper rate. The ſame day a little after I was return'd to my Lodging, the Princeſs his Wife ſent for me, to make her a price of ſome certain Jewels which ſhe had made choice of. But juſt as I was ready to take Horſe, the General of the Mint, and the Kings Slave came to give me a viſit, ſo that I could not go to the Caſtle that day: neither would I go the three next days, as being the three laſt of the Paſſion Week; but the Fourth of *April* I went. So ſoon as I came, the Princeſſe's Steward, who was an old *Eunuch*, told me, That the Princeſs was extreamly angry that I had ſtay'd ſo long, and that if one of the Country ſhould have ſerv'd her ſo, ſhe would have made him feel two hundred Drubs upon the Soles of his Feet. At which I laught, and ask'd the *Eunuch*, if his Lady were wont to pronounce Sentences. Sir, ſaid he, ſhe is one of the Haughtieſt Ladies in the World; and for the leaſt fault exacts a moſt ſevere puniſhment. If it be a man that has offended her, ſhe ſends her *Eunuchs* to ſeize him, who bind him hand and foot, and put him in a Sack, carry him into the *Seraglio* into her preſence, and puniſh him according to her Commands, without letting him out of the Sack, or ſuffering him to know where he is. But I never yet knew that the *Perſian* Ladies ever inflicted ſuch ſort of puniſhments. And therefore I deſir'd the *Eunuch*, to let the Princeſs know the Reaſon that had kept me at home, and that I was always ready to obey her Commands. I tarry'd above four hours at the entrance into the *Seraglio*, while the *Eunuch* went and came back. At length a Bargain was made between us for ſo many Jewels as amounted to Four Hundred Pounds, for which I received my Money the next Morning.

The 3. I went to the Governor, and deſir'd him to give me leave to depart; for that I was in haſt to be at Court. He promis'd to diſpatch me after Dinner: and I waited on him again at his time appointed. At what time, he ask'd me with a ſmiling Countenance what was the value of the Gold Box I had given him, when he came to viſit me. I knew not what his deſign was, and therefore in my anſwer I valued it at Ten Pounds. Pray then Sir, ſaid he, oblige me to take it again and give me the value of it in Keys, in Springs and Strings for Watches. I was not a little ſurpriz'd at his Propoſal, which did not ſeem to be very civil for a Perſon of his Quality. However I anſwer'd him, that I was ready to do what he pleas'd; & added that I had ſeveral Watchmakers Tools, that I had brought for the

Kings Artificers, which I would ſend him, if it were his Pleaſure. He took me at my word, aſſuring me that I ſhould do him a very great kindneſs. For this ſame Grandee is a great Lover of Mechanicks, and knows how to mend a Watch that does not go true. Afterwards he caus'd all that remain'd in his hands of mine to be delivered me back: and I thought certainly that he would have made an entire Bargain; but to my great Aſtoniſhment he reſtor'd me all. Then I perceiv'd I had been his Cully, and that he had only drill'd me on in hopes of ſelling him a great Purchaſe, to let him have what he chiefly deſir'd at a cheaper rate. However I conceal'd my diſguſt, and my diſſatisfaction to be ſo ſerv'd; and return'd him a thouſand Thanks, with a Countenance as gay, as if I had had my hearts deſire. Afterwards I beſought him to give me his Letters of Recommendation to his Son: which he promis'd me to do, and invited me to go along with him into the Country, whither he went the next morning. But I excus'd my ſelf, returning him Thanks in the beſt Language I could. I alſo requeſted him to give me the Agreement with Mr. *Azarias*, who was to accompany me to *Tauris*. I will ſo, anſwer'd his Lordſhip, and I will enjoyn him to be your *Mohemandar*, or Guide, meaning that honeſt *Armenian* already mention'd. This done, I again return'd him my humble Thanks for all his Favors; and after I had told him that I would not fail to extol his Kindneſſes at Court, I took my leave. I thought it not proper to put him in mind of ſeveral other Promiſes that he had made me; as being aſſur'd they would produce little, for that according to the Cuſtom of the Country he had made 'em, not with an intention to be as good as his word, but onely to make me the more ready to do what he deſir'd.

The 5. the Governor went to the Camp, which he had caus'd to be ſet up about a League from the City, in a ſpacious and lovely Meadow, all cover'd with flowers during the fair Seaſon. The two Rivers that encompaſs *Erivan*, and run along with a winding Courſe and gentle Stream, make ſeveral little Iſlands in that Place. So that the Governors Quarter, that of the Princeſs his Wife, and thoſe of the moſt conſiderable Perſons that accompani'd him, were all ſeparated; while every one had their particular Iſland; which were joyn'd together by certain little Bridges, that were laid on or tak'n away, as occaſion requir'd. The Governor's Tents were very Magnificent; and indeed there were in a little Ground

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all the Conveniencies of a Palace even to the very Bathes and Stoves. His Family conſiſted of about Five Hundred Men, without reckoning the Women and *Eunuchs*. And it is the Cuſtom of the Grandees of this Kingdom to ſolace themſelves in this manner in the Country in the Spring Time. There they divertize themſelves in Hunting, Fiſhing, Walking and employ themſelves in ſeveral other Exerciſes, both a Foot and on Horſe-back: There they ſuck in the freſh Air, and enjoy that Coolneſs which they ſo much delight in. This is the Refreſhment and Recreation of their Lives; ſo that if they have no buſineſs in the City which requires their Preſence there, they continue thus taking their pleaſure all the Summer long, in the moſt delicious parts of the Neigbouring Mountaines. This they call *Yelac* : or a *Country Excurſion*.

The 6. The Prince's Treaſurer gave me a Dinner, and the Kings Lieutenant of the Fortreſs was at it. He is a Native of *Dag-Eſtaan*. Which is a Mountainous Country to the North-Eaſt of the Caſpian Sea, and bordering upon *Muſcovie*. So that I took great delight to hear him repeat ſeveral particulars of the Cuſtomes and Manners of his Country. The King of *Perſia* is acknowledg'd there as Soveraign Lord; but he is not abſolute Maſter of it: nor are the People that inhabit it always ſubject to his Commands. And the Court winks at their Diſobediences; it being a difficult thing to reduce 'em, by reaſon of the Roughneſs and Height of the Mountaines. They are a Savage ſort of People, and the moſt barbarous of all the Eaſt: and I take 'em to be ſome Remainders of the *Parthians*. The ſame Evening that Gentleman ſent me a Preſent of Fruit, Wine, and Mutton.

The 7. The Treaſurer ſent me much ſuch another Preſent, as the Governor had ſent me the day before: and I repay'd 'em in ſmall Returnes for the Favors I had receiv'd from Both. They had been very civil to me at *Erivan*, not ſo much as offering to take thoſe fees, which men are oblig'd to pay in *Perſia* to the Officers of Governors, for all the Money receiv'd out of their Treaſuries; for that their Maſter had forbid 'em to demand any thing of me. And therefore they did me thoſe Kindneſſes to oblige me to be the more free of my own accord; well knowing I was not ſo ignorant of the Cuſtomes of the Country, but that I knew that it was not any motion of Generoſity, that made 'em ſo courteous to Strangers.

In the Afternoon I went to the Camp, to take leave of the Governor; who ſhew'd me a thouſand Civilities; and at my departure

departure gave me two Letters of Recommendation to his two Eldeſt Sons, who are the Kings onely Favourites. They were both much to the ſame Effect. And this is the Tranſlation of that which was written to the Eldeſt.

GOD,

I beſeech the Soveraign Author of all good Things to preſerve in Life and Health the High and Potent Lord Neſr-ali-bec, *my moſt Honour'd and moſt Happy Son, the Favorite and Confident of his Royal Majeſty.*

We make moſt perfect Vows to Heaven for your Happy Grandeur. The motive that induc'd us to write ye this Letter, is upon the Account of our being ſo much concern'd as we are on the behalf of Mr. Chardin, *who arriv'd ſome time ſince at this City, and is now going in all haſt to the Palace, which is the* (a) *Refuge of the Univerſe. You muſt of neceſſity fully and exactly* (b) *inform your ſelf of his deſigns, and what Petitions he has to make to the moſt High Court; and when you rightly underſtand 'em, ſee that you uſe your beſt Endeavour that they may be favourably anſwer'd. We ſhall be very deſirous to know, what Effect and Succeſs our Recommendation ſhall have, and after what Manner this Illuſtrious Friend ſhall be receiv'd and entertain'd. We alſo deſire you to ſend us the good Tydings of his Health. We pray to God, that he may have the favour and the happineſs to be well receiv'd of our Great King. To whom I wiſh that* (c) *all the World may pay Homage, and that he may proſper in all his Undertakings. The Eternal God grant ye long life.*

(a) The *Perſian* word which I have tranſlated, *the Refuge of the World*, is *Alempenha*. *Alem* ſignifies *the whole entire World*, or *Univerſal Nature*. *Penha*, a *Retreat*, a *Haven*, a *Place of Security*, and to which a Man may have recourſe.

(b) In the Original it is, *that they inform themſelves*. For the Eaſtern People addreſſing themſelves to Perſons of Quality; to denote the Perſon, make uſe of the Third Perſon Plural, and when they mean themſelves ſpeak in the Third Perſon Singular. Which is alſo the Proper Idiom of the Holy Language.

(c) In the *Perſian* it is, *That all Souls may ſerve his Name, his Name*. Repetition is a Figure very frequent in the Oriental Languages, and queſtionleſs borrow'd from the Sacred Language. Of which there are a Thouſand Examples in the Original Bibles, as in the 68. Pſalm. v. 13. *They are fled, they are fled.*

fled. That is, *They are abſolutely fled.* And Pſalm. 8. 7. v5. *The man, the man,* That is, the Perfect Man.

Afterwards I went and took leave of the Principal Lords of the Court, and among the Reſt of the *General of the Mint.* This Lord, who was call'd *Mahamed Shefi*, perſwaded me to go to *Iſpahan* by the way of *Ardevil*, aſſuring me that I ſhould not fail to ſell in that City. Thereupon I promis'd him ſo to do, and took along with me a Letter of Recommendation to the Governor of that City; who was his near Kinſman: Which I thus Tranſlated into *French.*

GOD,

Thrice High and Potent Lord, Glorious Majeſty, worthy to be call'd Celeſtial, Elect of the Governors, Deputy Lieutenants and Happy Men; Fountain of Grace, Honour and Civility; Exemplar of Purity, Model of Generoſity and Munificence; Heart Sincere, Real and Faithful. Protector of his Intimate Friends and Kindred, My moſt Excellent Lord and Maſter, I beſeech the moſt High God to preſerve your Health and prolong your Life.

Having paid you my due Reſpects and Homage, Theſe are to let you underſtand, Great Sir, whoſe Wit is Clear and Gliſtering like the Sun, That Mr. Chardin *the Flower of* European *Merchants, intending to go through* Casbin *to the Magnificent Palace, which is the Refuge of the Univerſe, I who am your Real Friend, perſwaded him out of a deſire to ſerve you, to go through the Sacred* Ardevil. *He carries with him certain Commodities of an Extraordinary value, which he will ſhew in the preſence of your thrice a Noble Perſon. I am certain you will buy, if you meet with any thing that is worth your having: and I am aſſur'd your Highneſs will command your People to take care of this Noble Stranger. I am preparing to go for* Tifflis, *with God's Aſſiſtance, toward the end of the next Month* Zilhage. *If I can ſerve your Excellency in that Country, you will do me a great Honour to let me know it. I beſeech ye to believe that a richer Preſent cannot be made me, then to bring me Tydings of your good Health. God, through his favour, preſerve your Illuſtrious Perſon till the Day of Judgement.*

I am the true Friend of the Thrice High, and Thrice Illuſtrious Lords, Geonbec, Hiaiabec, *and* Mahamed-bec: *I am apt to believe for my own Repoſe the Continuation of their Health.*

The Seal contain'd a Verſe, or Sentence, of which this was the Meaning. *I have wholly left my Deſtiny to God, I* Mahamed Shefi *his Creature.*

Upon the outſide of the Letter, at one Corner was written in a ſmall Character. *God preſerve the happy Condition of my Friend.*

While I ſtay'd at the Camp, there arriv'd a Courier from the King, who brought his Majeſties Anſwer touching the Patriarch's Buſineſs. And I underſtood at the Governours, that the Contents were, That the Chief Miniſters were of Opinion, that the Treaſure at *Ecſmiazin* ſhould be ſold with all the Ornaments, and all the Wealth belonging to the Church and Convent: and that the Money that was made of it ſhould go to the payment of the Patriarch's Debts. And that this Reſolution had been taken, except Oppoſition had been made by the *Armenians*, by repreſenting that all that Money would nothing near ſatisfie the Patriarch's Concerns; and that if they took away from *Ecſmiazin* its Treaſure and its Ornaments, they would ruine a place that drew a world of Company into *Perſia*, and which yearly paid a very great Rent, occaſion'd by the Devotion and Concourſe of the Eaſtern Chriſtians: That upon that the King had decreed, That the Money ſhould be levy'd in *Armenia* upon all the Chriſtian Villages to ſatisfie the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*, whom there was a neceſſity to ſee paid. The Patriarch was over-joy'd at the News, and made a Preſent to him that brought it; but it diſpleas'd all the honeſt People in the City, who were vex'd to the Souls, to ſee the Prelate ſo inſenſible of the Violence they were going to offer to thouſands of Poor Chriſtians, to pay for the Expences of his irregular Ambition.

The 8. an hour before day, I parted from *Erivan*, and travell'd four Leagues over the little Hills, and through Valleys, the Country which I croſs'd being full of Villages. In one of which that was a very fair and large one I lodg'd, call'd by the name of *Daivin*.

The 9. we travell'd five Leagues through a Country that was very level and fertile. That which they call the Mountain of *Noah*, lying upon the Right Hand. We directed our Courſe South-Weſt, and lay at a Village call'd *Kainer*.

The 10. we continu'd the ſame Road, and travell'd eight Leagues. Upon the left hand, after we got half the way, we left a great Town call'd *Sederec*. Which is as it were the Capital of the Province of *Armenia*, call'd *Chavour*. The Sultan of which Province reſides in that Town. That Night we had but a very bad Lodging in an old ruin'd Inn, near to a Village call'd *Nouratchin*.

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The 11. We travell'd four Leagues upon the ſame Road, and through a very fair Country; but not ſo level, nor ſmooth, as being ſtony, and full of little Hills. We alſo ferry'd over a River call'd *Harpaſony*, that waters all the Neighbouring Lands. It ſeparates the Government of that part of *Armenia*, of which *Erivan* is the Capital, from that other part of which *Nacchivan* is the *Metropolis*.

The 12. we arriv'd at *Nacchivan*, after we had travell'd five Leagues over Plaines very level and Fertile.

Nacchivan is a great City, or rather a vaſt heap of Ruins, which are repair'd and repeopl'd by degrees. The heart of the City is at preſent rebuilt and inhabited; having very large *Bazars*, which are a ſort of long Galleries, or Streets that are cover'd, full of Shops on both ſides; where they ſell all Sorts of Merchandizes and Proviſions. There are in it five Inns or *Caravanſerays*, Baths, Market Places, large Publick Houſes, where they ſell Tobacco and Coffee; and two Thouſand Houſes or thereabouts. The *Perſian* Hiſtories aſſure us, that formerly it contain'd above Forty Thouſand. They alſo tell us, that before the *Arabians* conquer'd this Country, there were in it five Cities which had been built by *Behron-Tchoubin* King of *Perſia*. Without the City are to be ſeen the Ruins of a great Caſtle, and ſeveral Forts which *Abas* caus'd to be deſtroy'd, toward the end of the laſt Age, not finding himſelf ſtrong enough to keep 'em: All which he caus'd to be ruin'd, after he had taken *Nacchivan* from the Turks; and after he had ruin'd and diſpeopl'd the City. Which he did to prevent the *Turks* from Fortifying themſelves in that Place, and furniſhing themſelves with Proviſions. Moſt certainly the City is an Object of Pity, conſidering in what a Condition it now lies.

The Hiſtories of *Perſia* would have us believe, that it was one of the Greateſt and Faireſt Cities of all *Armenia*, as has been already ſaid. But that Hiſtory, now kept in the Monaſtery of the *Three Churches*, and which is chiefly ſpok'n of, declares, that this City was the ancient *Ardaſhhad*, call'd *Artaxate*, or *Artaxaſate* by the *Greek* Hiſtorians. Other *Armenian* Authors make *Nacchivan* to be much more Ancient, and aſſert that *Noah* began to build it, and made it his Abode after the Deluge. And they make the Etymology of the Name to agree with the Antiquity of the Original: Affirming, that in the old *Armenian* Language *Nacchivan* ſignifies the *firſt Habitation*. *Ptolomy* makes mention of a City in theſe Parts, which

which he calls *Naxuane*, which might have been the ſame with *Nacchivan*. I believe that *Artaxate*, or *Artaxaſate*, was ſeated very near it. For *Tacitus* obſerves, that *Araxes* ran very near that City; and we find it not to be above ſeven Leagues from *Nacchivan*. The height of the Pole over it's Horizon is mark'd upon the *Perſian Aſtrolobes*, to be 38. deg. 40. min. and the Longitude 81. deg. 34. min. It is govern'd by a *Kan*, and is the Capital of one part of *Armenia*.

Five Leagues from *Nacchivan*, to the North, lies a great village, call'd *Abrener*; which ſignifies the *Fertil Field*. The inhabitants of that Village, and of ſeven others near it, are all *Roman Catholicks*. Their Biſhops and Curates, are *Dominicans*; and they perform their Church and Service, in the *Armenian* language.

He was an *Italian Dominican* of *Bologna*, that brought all this Country under Subjection to the *Pope*, about 350. years ago. And about twenty villages more that lay round acknowledg'd the ſame Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. But at length they return'd to their obedience under the *Armenian* Patriarch, and to their firſt Religion: and as for thoſe that perſiſt in the *Romiſh* Ceremonies, their Number daily decreaſes, by reaſon of the Perſecution of the Patriarch, and the Governors of *Nacchivan*. Thoſe poor people, having drawn upon their own heads, the Indignation and violent Uſage of thoſe Governors, for having endeavour'd to withdraw themſelves from their Juriſdiction & Dependance. To which purpoſe there arriv'd in *Perſia* in the year 1664. an *Italian Dominican*, in the Quality of an Embaſſador, from the Pope. From whom, and from ſeveral other Potentates of *Europe*, he brought Letters to the King. He made great Preſents to his Majeſty, and obtain'd effectually, That thoſe *Roman Catholick* Villages, ſhould every year ſend their Tribute to the Royal Treaſure, and whatever they were oblig'd to pay yearly, according to the Rates ſet down in Writing in the Regiſters of the Superintendant and Receiver-General of *Media*. Which being done, that Orders ſhould be ſent to the Super-intendant and Governor of *Nacchivan*, and all other, the Kings Officers, to acknowledge the *Roman Catholicks* to be abſolutely independant from their Juriſdiction, and that they ſhould not preſume to make any Levies within their Territories. Which Regulation, that did very little good to thoſe villages, was the occaſion of many Miſchiefs that afterwards befell em; and will one day be the cauſe of their Ruin. For the Governors

vernors of *Nacchivan* provok'd at theſe proceedings, and the complaints that were made of 'em to *Abas*, have lay'd a thouſand heavy Impoſitions, upon thoſe poor People, ſince the death of that good King; and have made 'em pay three or four times the money which they ſent to the Treaſure Royal. For which the oppreſſed people can have no remedy; whether through the Remiſſneſs of the Government, or for that their own Party is low and out of Credit. The Treaſurer of *Media* has done worſe, for he has ſent to Court falſe extracts of the Regiſters of that Province, by which it appears that thoſe villages were to pay fourteen hundred pounds yearly, which is juſt as much again as what they pretend to have always paid. Every time they carry their Impoſition of Seven Hundred Pounds into the Treaſury, the Officers give 'em a Receipt, wherein they put that it is upon Account of what they ought to pay, by which they keep a Door open for Arbitrary Impoſitions, and Branglings to ruin 'em when they pleaſe themſelves.

The Governor of *Nacchivan* was not in Town when I arriv'd there. But this Son that was Deputy, had ſoon notice of my arrival. So that he invited me to Dinner, and deſir'd me to ſhew him ſome Watches and ſome Jewels. But I was no way ſatisfi'd with his manner of dealing with me. For after he had been civil to me, and had giv'n me a dinner, he left me with his officers who forc'd me in a manner, to let him have that for fourty pounds, for which I refus'd fifty at *Erivan*. And without queſtion they had us'd me more uncivilly, but for the King's Pattent and Paſs-port which I had about me. And indeed thoſe Thorow-fairs are a ſort of Places for the skinning of ſtrangers, who are reputed to be rich. They muſt alway there pay Paſſage-money.

The 13. We departed from *Nacchivan*, and travell'd ſeven Leagues: At the end of the firſt League paſſing a River over a very broad Bridge, to which the People of the Country give no other name then that of the River of *Nacchivan*. The Country which we paſs'd is dry and Stony, where was nothing to be ſeen but little Hills of Stones. We lay upon the Banks of the River *Araxes*, which the Orientals call *Aras* and *Ares*. We paſs it at *Eſqui-julfa*, or *Julfa* the old, a ruin'd City, which ſome Authors beleive to be that City which the Ancients call'd *Ariammene*. They call'd it *Old* to diſtinguiſh it from *Julfa*, that is built over againſt *Iſpaban*. Nor is it without reaſon ſo call'd, as being totally ruin'd and demoliſhed. There is no-

thing farther to be known of it, except the Grandeur, which it once enjoy'd. It was ſeated upon the deſcent of a Mountain, by the ſide of a River, that ran cloſe by it. The Avenues to it, which are naturally very difficult of Acceſs, were defended by ſeverab Forts. It contain'd four thouſand Houſes, as the *Armenians* report; but if we judge by its Ruines, it never could contain half the number. At preſent there are nothing but Holes and Caverns, made in the Mountains, fitter for Beaſts then Men. I do not believe there is in the world a more barren or hideous Place, then that of *Old Julfa*, where there is neither Tree nor Graſs to be ſeen. True it is, that in the Neighbourhood there are ſome Places more happy and fertile; yet on the other ſide it is as true, that never was any City ſeated in a Situation more dry and ſtony. But the Figure of it ſomewhat recompens'd the Situation, reſembling a long Amphitheater. At preſent there are not above thirty Families in it, which are all *Armenians*.

Abas the *Great* was the Prince that ruin'd *Julfa*, and all that Art had contributed to its Fortification. Which he did for the ſame reaſon that he ruin'd *Nacchivan* and other Places, of *Armenia*, to hinder the *Turkiſh* Armies from Proviſions. For he being a prudent and Politick Captain, finding his Forces inferior to thoſe of his Enemies; and ſtudious how to prevent their return every year into *Perſia*, their winning and preſerving their Conqueſts, reſolv'd to make a Deſart of all the Country between *Erzerum* & *Tauris*, upon the line of *Erivan* and *Nacchivan*; which was the road which the *Turks* uſually obſerv'd, and where they fortifi'd themſelves, becauſe they found proviſions ſufficient for the ſupport of their Armies. To that purpoſe therefore he tranſplanted all the Inhabitants and Cattel, ruin'd all the Houſes and Buildings; fird all the Country, burnt up all the Turf and the Trees, poyſon'd the very Springs, as the Hiſtory relates; and they who have read the Story well know, that it had an effect anſwerable to his wiſhes.

But to return to our liſts; *Araxes* is that famous River that ſeparates *Armenia* from *Media*. It takes its Riſe from the Mountain, where they affirm that *Noah's* Ark reſted, and perhaps it may derive its name from that Mountain. From thence it empties its ſelf into the *Caſpian Sea*. This River is very Large and very Rapid. In it's Courſe it is augmented by ſeveral leſſer ſtreams that have no name, as alſo by ſeveral Torrents. Bridges have been built over it ſeveral times above

Julfa;

Julfa; but though they made 'em never ſo ſtrong and maſſie, as appears by the Arches which are yet intire, they were not able to withſtand the force of the River; It becomes ſo furious when ſwell'd by the Thaws of the Snow that falls down melted from the neighbouring Mountains, that no Damms or other Fortifications can withſtand it. And in truth the very Noiſe of the Waters, and the Rapidneſs of it's Courſe, aſtoniſh both the Ears and Eyes of all that come near it. We ferri'd over it in a large Boat; made to carry twenty Horſe and thirty Perſons at a time. But I would not ſuffer any to go along with me at the ſame time, but my own People and my own Baggage. It had four men to manage it. They row'd up about three hundred paces along the ſhoar a this ſide, then let the Barque drive us back with the ſtream; and ſo by the help of a long and ſtrong Rudder guided the Boat to the other ſide. The current carry'd it with an unſpeakable Impetuoſity, ſo that we ran five hundred Paces in an inſtant. And thus it is that the Ferrymen croſs the River *Araxes*. They allow themſelves two hours to go and come; by reaſon of the time they muſt ſpend in pulling up againſt the ſtream. But in the Winter when the Waters are low, you may paſs it upon the Camels Backs: the Ford being half a mile from *Julfa*, in a part where the Channel being very broad, the current is much more gentle.

We have ſaid that *Araxes* ſeparates *Armenia* from *Media*. This Country that formerly rul'd all *Aſia*, with Imperial Dominion, at preſent makes but one part of a Province of *Perſia* which the *Perſians* call *Azerbeyan*, or *Aſupaican*. However it is one of the largeſt in the *Perſian* Empire. It borders to the Eaſt upon the *Caſpian* Sea, and *Hyrcania*; to the South upon the Province of the *Parthians*. To the Weſt upon the River *Araxes*, and the upper *Armenia*; to the North upon *Dageſtan*, which is that Mountainous Country, that confines upon the *Coſaque Muſcovites*, and makes a part of Mount *Taurus*. It encloſes all the *Eaſtern Media*, call'd by the ancient Authors *Azarca*, and the *Weſtern* or leſſer *Media*, which they likewiſe call *Atropatia*, or *Atropatene*. *Aſſyria* is a part of the upper *Armenia*. The *Perſians* affirm, that this Place was call'd *Azer-beyan*, that is, the *Country of Fire*; by reaſon of the famous Temple of Fire which was there erected, where was kept their Fire, which the *Fire-worſhippers*, held to be a God; and becauſe the chief Pontiff of that Religion reſided there. The *Guebres*, who are all that are left of the *Fire-worſhippers*, ſhew this place about

about two days journey diſtant from *Shamaki*. They aſſure us for a certain truth, that the ſacred Fire is ſtill there; that it reſembles a Mineral and ſubterraneall Fire; and that they who repair thither out of Devotion ſee it in the form of a Flame. Nay they add one particular more, which is a ſort of pleaſant ſtory, that if you make a hole in the ground, and ſet a pot over it, that ſame fire will cauſe it to ſeeth, and boyles all that is in the Pot.

To return to the Name of *Azer-beyan*, the *Etymologie* is true: for *Az* is the Article of the Genitive. *Er* or *Ur*, in old *Perſian*, as in moſt part of the Ancient Oriental *Idioms*, ſignifies *Fire*, and *Beyan* ſignifies a *Place* or *Country*. I am not ignorant that ſome people read and pronounce it *Aſur-paican*, and affirm that this geat Province was ſo call'd, becauſe it contains *Aſſyria*; which in the opinion of all Authors, deriv'd its Name from *Aſſur*; which is the ſame thing in my Opinion; for I am apt to think that the Name of *Aſſur*, comes from *Az*, *Ur*, that is *of Fire*. *Moſes* ſpeaking of *Nimrod*, that Idolatrous Prince, who introduced the Worſhip of *Fire*, and invaded *Chaldea*, the ſhare and Patrimony of *Sem*, tells us, that the Sons of that Patriarch retir'd thither, and that *Aſhur* was one. Now 'tis very probable, that this *Aſhur* was ſo call'd from his retiring thither, or from the worſhip of *Fire*; or from *Chaldea*, which was then call'd the *Country of Fire*; as appears C. 11. of *Geneſis*, and in all the ancient Authors; who unanimouſly agree that *Chaldea* was call'd the *Country of Ur*, or the *Country of Fire*. And *Ptolomy* makes mention of a City in that Country which is call'd *Urcoa*, that is to ſay the place of *Fire*: *ga*, with a long or a double *a*, being a *Perſian* word, that ſignifies a *Place*, or *Part of a Country*. But the Ancient Names have been ſo corrupted by the negligence or ignorance of Tranſcribers, or by the differences of Language and Pronuntiation of Authors and Tranſlators, that when we come to compare the Ancients with the modern Name, we muſt not reject every thing that has not an entire Reſemblance. Now what we have already ſaid ſhews us the Errors of thoſe who have written, that *Azer-beyan* is the *Northern* Part of *Syria*, and that the word of *Azer-beyan* is deriv'd from *Ardoebigara*, which was the Capital City of the Country. The *Perſians* divide it into three parts *Azer-beyan*, *Shirvan*, and *Shamalei*. Strabo divides it only into two parts, *the greater* and the *leſſer*: but as for *Ptolomie* and other modern *Geogrophers*, they make no diviſion of it at all.

The 14. we travell'd five leagues, through a Country full

of

of little Hills, following the ſame courſe as the days before, that it is to the *North-Weſt*, leaving that ſpacious Plain upon the left hand, which has been the Stage of ſo many Bloody Battels, fought in the laſt ages; and in the beginning of this, between the *Perſians* and *Turks*. The people of the Country ſhew you a great heap of Stones, & affirm it to be the Place where that Battel began, between *Selim* the Son of *Solymon* the Great, and *Iſmahel* the Great. Our days Journey ended at *Alacou*. The *Perſians* aſſert that this place was ſo call'd *Alacou*, by that famous *Tartar* Prince who conquer'd a great Part of *Aſia*, and there founded a City, ruin'd during the Wars between the *Turks* and *Perſians*.

The 15. our Journey was not ſo long as the day before, but the way through which we travell'd was more ſmooth and eaſie. We lodg'd at *Marant*; which is a good fair Town, conſiſting of about two thouſand five hundred houſes, and which has ſo many Gardens, that they take up as much ground as the Houſes. It is ſeated at the bottom of a little Hill, at the end of a Plain, which is a league broad and five long: and which is one of the moſt lovely and faireſt that may be ſeen; a little River call'd *Zelou-lou* running through the middle of it: from which the people of the Country cut ſeveral Trenches to water their Grounds and their Gardens. *Marant* is better peopl'd than *Nacchivan*, and a much fairer Town. There grows about it great plenty of Fruits, and the beſt in all *Media*. But that which is moſt peculiar to theſe Parts is this, that they gather *Cocheneel* in the Places adjoyning; though not in any great quantity, nor for any longer time then only eight days in the Summer, when the Sun is in *Leo*. Before that time the People of the Country aſſure us, that it does not come to Maturity; and after that time the Worm from whence they draw the *Cocheneel*, makes a hole in the leafe upon which it grows, and is loſt. The *Perſians* call *Cocheneel Quermis* from *Querm*, which ſignifies a *Worme*, becauſe it is extracted out of *Worms*.

Marant is ſeated 37. deg. 50. min. of Lat. and 81. deg. 15. min. of Longit. according to the obſervation of the *Perſians*. Some take it for the City which *Ptolemy* calls *Mandagarana*. I made no Platform of it no more then I did of *Nacchivan*; becauſe neither their Fame nor their Beauty ſeem'd to me to be worth any ſuch Pains. The *Armenians* have a Tradition, that *Noah* lies buried there; and that the Name of the City is deriv'd from an *Armenian* word which ſignifies to *bury*. You may

deſcry from *Marant*, when the Air is clear, the Place where the Ark reſted, which ſav'd the Patriarch from the Deluge: You may alſo ſee the ſame Mountain from *Tauris*, in a ſerene Sky, as the People of the Country aſſure us.

The 16. we travelled four Leagues, turning always among the Mountains, that come very cloſe one to another in ſeveral parts, but never joyn. By ten of the Clock in the morning we arriv'd at *Sophian*: a little Village ſeated in a Plain, full of Rivulets and Gardens; the Soyl of which is fertile to a wonder. Some Authors believe it to be the Ancient *Sophia* of *Media*. Others hold, that it was call'd *Sophian* from the *Sophi's*, who ſettled there, when *Iſmael* the Firſt left *Ardevil*, and remov'd his Court to *Tauris*.

That Evening, Mr. *Azarias*, the honeſt Armenian, already mention'd, went before with my Paſports and Letters of Recommendation from the Governors of *Georgia* and *Armenia*. I ordered him to find out the Toll-gatherer of *Tauris*, and to deſire him in my Name, to give order that I might paſs with my Retinue: and the next day I found he had diſcharg'd his Truſt, and that care had been taken to leave ſuch orders at the Gates as I deſir'd.

That day being the Seventeenth, we arriv'd at *Tauris*, after we had travell'd ſix Leagues upon the ſame Road, as the preceding days, through fair and fertile Plains, where all the Lands were till'd, and where we had a Proſpect of a great number of Villages. It is fifty three Perſian Leagues, every one of which makes five thouſand Paces, between *Irivan* and *Tauris*, which may be eaſily rid on Horſeback in Six days, but the Caravans take double the Time. The Camels ſeldom travel above four Leagues aday, and carry ſix or ſeven Hundred weight: the Horſes and Mules ſeldom carry above two Hundred and Twenty weight with a Man, and travel five or ſix Leagues a day.

The Figure in the Plate annex'd gives ye a very exact Deſcription of *Tauris*. It is really and truly a very large and Potent City: as being the ſecond in *Perſia*, both in Dignity, in Grandeur, in Riches, in Trade, and in number of Inhabitants. It is ſeated at the end of a Plain, at the bottom of a Mountain, which our Modern Authors will have to be the Mountain *Orontes* or *Barontes*, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and *Ptolomey*. The Figure of it is irregular and difficult to be nam'd, as is apparent by the Plate; neither is it wall'd or fortifi'd; only a little River call'd *Spingtcha* run acroſs it. Which

ſome-

TAURIS
A. Cas-sarain The Royall Exchange
B. Baba-assan Captaine Mosques
C. Tasbe Bubastaffe Generalls Lodging Castle
D. Hadgee Bubo Market Cloth Staires Mosques
E. Allah Jamen Mosches The last two Cassa Mo
F. Adam Mosches The Mosques of Congregation
G. Cas Mosches The Royall Monyment
H. Cassarea The Royall Magazens
I. Tebar meyar The Burying place of the Turcks
K. Abdu mesjid Allis Mosches
L. Dhalla Augurd The Mosque Separated Mosques
M. Ales meyar The Mosques of Two Towers
N. Gamcha Mosches The Mosques of Plentie Mosques
O. [illegible] The great Hospitall
P. [illegible] All Mornings
Q. [illegible] The Publicke Place of Exercise

ſometimes makes dreadful havock, and carry's awa, the Houſes that are built by the ſide of it. There is another that runs by the Nort-hſide of the City; Which from the Spring till Autumn is not much larger then the *Seine* is at *Paris* in the Winter time. It is call'd *Agi*, or the *Salt River*, by reaſon of the Torrents that having run through ſeveral Salt Marſhes empty themſelves into it; which is the Reaſon it breeds no Fiſh. The Ci y is diſtinguiſh'd into Nine Wards or Quarters, and divided, as are almoſt all the other Cities of *Perſia*, into *Haydar*, and *Neamet-Olahi*, which are the names of two Factions, which divided all *Perſia* in the Fifteenth Age, like the *Guelphes* and the *Guibellines* in *Italy*. It contains fifteen thouſand Houſes, and fifteen Thouſand Shops. For the Houſes in *Perſia* are not in the ſame place with their Shops; which ſtand for the moſt part in long and large arched Streets forty or fifty Foot high. Which Streets are call'd *Baſar*, or the Market, and make the heart of the City; the Houſes being in the out Parts; and have almoſt all Gardens belonging to 'em. I did not ſee many Palaces or Magnificent Houſes at *Tauris*. But there are the faireſt *Baſars* that are in any place of *Aſia*. And it is a lovely ſight to ſee their vaſt Extent, their Largeneſs, their beautiful *Duomo's*, and the Arches over 'em; the number of People that are there all the day long, and the vaſt quantities of Merchandize with which they are fill'd. The faireſt of all, and where they ſell their Jewels and Wares of greateſt value, is octangular, and very ſpacious; being call'd the *Kaiſerie*, or *Royal Market Place*. It was built about the Year 850 of the *Hegira* by King *Haſſen*, who kept his Court at *Tauris*. Their other Publick Buildings are no leſs Sumptuous, nor leſs full of People. There are reck'n'd to be in the City three hundred Caravanſerais; of which ſome are ſpacious enough to lodge three hundred People. Their Cabarets for Coffee, Tobacco and ſtrong Liquors, the Baths and Moſques are anſwerable to the beauty of the other Buildings.

There are in *Tauris* two hundred and fifty *Moſques*: of which the Principal are mark'd in the Copper Plate. I ſhall not ſay any thing of any one in particular; becauſe they are no otherwiſe built then the fair *Moſquees* in the Capital City of the Kingdom, of which you will find in the following Volume both Deſcriptions and Platforms. The *Moſquee* of *Ali-ſha*, is almoſt totally ruin'd. Only they have repair'd the lower part where the People go to Prayers, and the Tower which is very high, and is the firſt that diſcovers its

ſelf

TAURIS

ſelf to the Eye, coming from *Erivan*. This *Moſque* was built about 400 years ago, by *Coja Ali-ſha*, Grand *Viſir* to *Sultan Kazan*, King of *Perſia*, who kept his Court at *Tauris*; and was there buried. His ſepulchre is ſtill to be ſeen in a great ruin'd Tower, which they call by his name *Monar can Kazan*. The *Moſque* which they call the *Maſter' Apprentiſe*, which lyes half in Ruins at preſent, was built three hundred and twenty years ago by *Emir-ſheic-Haſſen*. That which is mark'd with the Letter (*O*) in the Plate, is the faireſt in all *Tauris*; all the inſide, and ſome part of the outſide, being guilt with Gold. It was built in the year 878 of the *Hegyra*, by a *Perſian* King call'd *Geoncha*, or King of the World. That with *two Towers* is a very ſmall one, but both the *Towers* are of a Peculiar ſort of Workmanſhip; and ſhew the curioſity of the Artiſt. For they are built one over the other; and the uppermoſt is much higher and larger in the Diameter then that below, which ſerves for a *Baſis* to the other. There are alſo three Hoſpitals in the City, very neat and well in repair; however there is no body lodg'd within 'em, only they give Victuals to thoſe that come twice a day. Theſe Hoſpitals at *Tauris* are call'd *Ach-tucon*, that is, *Places where they ſpend a great deal of Victuals*. At the end of the City to the Weſt, upon a little mountain ſtands a Hermitage, a very neat piece of Workmanſhip, which they call *Ayn Hali*, or the *Eyes* of *Haly*. This *Califf*, whom their Prophet made his Son-in-Law, was, as the *Perſians* report, the moſt lovely man that was ever ſeen; ſo that when they would ſignifie any thing that is extreamly handſom they ſay tis *Haly's Eyes*. This Hermitage ſerves the *Tauriſians* for a place of Devotion, and the way to it for a walk of Pleaſure.

Without the City of *Tauris* to the Eaſt, appears a great Caſtle almoſt gon to decay, which they call *Cala-Raſhide*. It was built above 400 years ago by *Cojé Reſhid*, Grand *Viſier* to King *Kazan*. The Story reports, that their King had five Grand *Viſirs*, becauſe he did not believe that one could ſuffice to diſpatch all the affairs of ſo great a Kingdom. *Abas* the Great ſeeing that Caſtle ruin'd, and judging it advantageouſly ſeated as well to defend the City, as to command it, caus'd it to be repair'd about fifty years ſince, but his Succeſſors not being of his opinion, let it go to Ruin.

There are alſo to be ſeen the Ruins of the Principal Edifices and Fortifications, which the *Turks* built there, during the ſeveral times that they were Maſters of it. So that there are

very

very few Rocks or Poynts, of Mountains joyning to the City where nothing but the Ruins of Forts and Heaps of Rubbiſh are to be ſeen. Of which I carefully ſurvey'd a great Part; but I could not diſcover any thing of Antiquity. There is nothing to be digg'd up but Bricks and Flint Stones. The onely Edifice that remains moſt entire among the *Turkiſh* Buildings is a large Moſquee, the inſide of which is inlay'd or rather pargetted with tranſparent Marble; and all the Outſide variegated in Moſaic work. But the *Perſians* account the Place defil'd, becauſe it was built by the *Turks*, whoſe Faith they abominate. Among the heaps of Rubbiſh, of which I have ſpoken, without the City to the South, appear the Ruines of the Palace of the late Kings of *Perſia*. And to the Eaſt, thoſe of the Caſtle where they ſay *Coſroes* lodg'd; and where he laid up the Holy Cros for Security, and all thoſe other ſacred Spoyles which he brought away from *Jeruſalem*.

The *Piazza* of *Tauris*, is the moſt ſpacious Piazza that ever I ſaw in any City of the World, and far ſurpaſſes that of *Iſpahan*. The *Turks* have ſeveral times drawn up within it Thirty Thouſand Men in Battel. Toward the Evening this *Piazza* is fill'd with all the meaner ſort of People, that repair thither for Sport and Paſtime. Where ſome are for Gaming, ſome for Tricks of Activity, ſome for ſeeing Jack-Puddings and Mountebanks act their Drolleries, ſome for Wreſtling, others for Bull and Ram-fighting, others for repeating Verſes, ſome reciting Stories in Proſe; and ſome to ſee Wolves dance. The People of *Tauris* take great delight to ſee that ſort of Sport; inſomuch that they bring thoſe Dancing Wolves a hundred Leagues an end, after they are well taught: And ſuch as are beſt inſtructed are ſold for five hunder'd Crowns a piece: & many times alſo great Quarrels ariſe about theſe Wolves, which are not eaſily appeas'd. Nor is this Piazza empty in the day time; as being a Market for all ſorts of Proviſions, and things of ſmall Price. There is alſo another *Piazza* at *Tauris*, which appears in the Plate before the demoliſh'd Caſtle, call'd the Caſtle of *Jafer-Pacha*. This was a Place for the Rendezvous, and exerciſe of the Souldiers belonging to the Garriſon; now it ſerves for the Shambles; where they kill and dreſs all ſorts of large Meat, which is ſold in all parts of the City.

I have with great diligence endeavour'd to underſtand the number of the Inhabitants in *Tauris*, but could never have a juſt account; but I think I may truly reck'n it to amount to

550 Thouſand Perſons, yet ſeveral Perſons in the City would make me believe there could not be leſs than Eleven hundred Thouſand.

The number of Strangers alſo which are there at all times is very great: for that they reſort thither from all parts of *Aſia*. Nor do I know of any ſort of Merchandize, of which there is not there a Magazine to be found. The City is full of Artiſts in Cotton, in Silk, and in Gold. The faireſt Turbans in *Perſia* are there made. And I have heard ſeveral of the Principal Merchants of the City affirm, that there are above ſix thouſand Bayles of Silk wrought out in Manufacture every year. The Trade of the City extends all over *Perſia* and *Turky*; into *Muſcovy*, *Tartary*, to the *Indies*, and over the *Black-Sea*.

The Air of *Tauris* is cold and dry; very good and healthy: nor can any man complain that it contributes to any bad diſpoſition of Humors. The Cold continues there a long time, in regard the City is expos'd to the North, for the Snow lies nine months in the year upon the tops of the Mountains that ſurround it. The Wind blows almoſt every day, Morning and Evening. It alſo rains very often, unleſs it be in the Summer: nor is the Sky but ſeldom without Clouds any ſeaſon of the Year. It is ſeated in 38. deg. of Latitude, and 82 of Longit. It abounds with all things neceſſary for human Support; ſo that a Man may fare there deliciouſly and very cheap. The *Caſpian* Sea, which is not above forty Leagues diſtant, affords 'em Fiſh. And ſome they alſo take in the River of *Agi* before mention'd; but that is only when the water is low. The uſual price of Bread is three pound for a penny, and of a pound of Fleſh Three half pence. In the Summer there is great plenty of Veniſon and water Fowl. But they kill very little Veniſon or other wild Beaſts. There are alſo Eagles in the Mountains; one which I have ſeen ſold by the Country people for a groat.

Perſons of Quality let fly the Sparrow-Hawk at the Eagle, which is a Flight full of Curioſity and much to be admir'd. For the Sparrow-Hawk ſoaring above the Eagle, ſtoops of a ſudden with that ſwiftneſs, ſtrikes her Pounces into his ſides, and with her wings continually beating upon his head ſends him in a ſhort time to the ground: Yet ſometimes it happens that both the Eagle and the Sparrow-Hawk come both to the Earth together. In the ſame manner the Sparrow-Hawks will many times ſtop the flight of hunted Stags, and render the Chace much

much more eaſie to the Purſuers. But if this were ſo obſervable, that which I am going to ſay is no leſs remarkable: which is, That they aſſur'd me, that in the parts adjoyning to *Tauris*, there grow no leſs then threeſcore ſorts of Grapes.

Not far from the City in the neighbouring Parts, are to be ſeen great Quarries of white Marble, of which there is a ſort that is tranſparent. The People of the Country affirm it to be the water of a Mineral Fountain, congeal'd and hardne'd by degrees: and indeed, there are not far from it two conſiderable Mines, the one of Gold, and the other of Salt. But there has been no working in the Gold Mine for this long time, becauſe they always found, that the Profit never defray'd the Expences of the Labour. There are alſo ſeveral mineral Waters: Of which the moſt frequented are thoſe of *Baringe*, half a League from *Tauris*; and thoſe of *Seid-Kent*, another Village, which is ſix Leagues from the City. Theſe Waters are ſulphureous, but there are others that are cold; others boyling hot.

I do not know whether there be any City in the World, concerning the Original and firſt Name of which, there is a greater Diſpute among Modern Authors. We ſhall produce the Opinion of the moſt celebrated: only it will not be amiſs in the firſt place to take notice that the *Perſians* call the City *Tebris*, and that when we call it *Tauris*, as the People of *Europe* generally do, it is only in compliance with the common Cuſtom; and to the end, I may be the better underſtood. *Teixera*, *Olearius*, and ſome other Authors maintain, that *Tauris* is that City which *Ptolomy*, in the fifth Table of *Aſia*, calls *Gabris*, the *G.* being put in the ſtead of *T.* an Alteration frequent in the Greek Language, as they aſſert. *Leonclavius*, *Jovius*, and *Aython*, will have it to be that City which the ſame Ancient Geographer calls *Terva*, inſtead of *Tevra*, by a tranſpoſition of the Letters of the word. But *Terva* being plac'd in *Armenia*, and it being certain that *Tauris* is ſeated in *Media*, thoſe two Names can never be appropriated to the ſame City. So that without doubt, the Reſemblance of the word deceiv'd thoſe Authors. *Tebris* is a *Perſian* word; and was given to the City in the year 165. of the *Hegyra*, as we ſhall declare more at large. And therefore, in regard it was ſeveral years ago ſince *Ptolomy* wrote, we muſt believe that *Terva* and *Gabris* are both very different from *Tauris*. *Niger* aſſerts it to be *Tigranoama*; other Authors take it to be *Tigranocerta*.

Some

Some there are of Opinion that it is the *Suſa* of *Media*, ſo famous in Scripture: tho others believe it to be the City, which in the Book of *Eſdras* is call'd *Acmatha*, or *Amatha*. Some place it in *Aſſyria*, as *Ptolomy* and his Interpreter. Others in *Armenia*, as *Niger Cedrenus*, *Aython*, and *Jovius*. *Marcus Paulus Venetus* places it in the Country of the *Parthians*. *Calchondylas* removes it a little farther, that is to ſay, into the Province, of which *Perſepolis* was formerly the *Metropolis*. In ſhort, there is a ſtrange Confuſion in the Variety of Opinions upon this Subject. But the moſt rational in my Opinion, is that of *Molets*, who has tranſlated and commented upon *Ptolomy*; of *Ananias*, *Ortelius*, *Golnits*, *Teixera*, *de la Vall*, *Atlas*, and almoſt all the modern Geographers, that *Tauris* is the Ancient and Celebrated *Ecbatana*, ſo frequently mention'd in Holy Writ, and in the Ancient Sories of *Aſia*. *Minadoi*, an Italian Author, if I am not deceiv'd, has ſet forth a Treatiſe to prove it. However, give me leave to add this, that there are no Remainders to be ſeen at *Tauris*, either of the Magnificent Palace of *Ecbatana*, where the Monarchs of *Aſia* kept their Courts in Summer, nor of that of *Daniel*; which was afterwards the *Mauſoleum* for the Kings of *Media*, of which *Joſephus* ſpeaks in his tenth Book; and which he aſſures us ſtood entire in his time. If then theſe ſtately and magnificent Palaces were ſtanding not above ſixteen Ages ago, in the Place where *Tauris* now ſtands, the very Ruins themſelves are now not to found. For among all thoſe that are to be ſeen within the Circuit of that City, there are none but what are of Earth, Brick, or Flint, which were not Materials anciently made uſe of in *Media* for the building of ſumptuous Palaces.

The Perſian Hiſtorians unanimouſly agree the Time when the Foundations of *Tauris* were laid, to be in the year 165. of the *Hegyra*: but they do not concur in other particulars. Some aſcribe the Foundation of it to the Wife of *Haron-Reſhid*, *Califf* of *Bagdad*, call'd *Zebd-el-Caton*, which ſignifies *the Flower of Ladies*. They report, that ſhe being deſperately ſick, a Median Phyſitian cur'd her in a ſhort time. For which the Princeſs not knowing what Reward to give him, bid him make choice of his Recompence; where upon the Phyſitian deſir'd that ſhe would build a City in his Country to the Honor of his Memory. Which after ſhe had perform'd with great Care and Diligence, he call'd the City *Tebris*; as a Memorial that it ow'd its Original to *Phyſick*. For that *Teb*

ſigni-

ſignifies *Phyſic*, and *Ris* is the Participle of *Ricten*, *to power forth*, *ſcatter abroad*, or *give a Largeſs*. This is what ſome relate; to which there are others that tell a Story not much unlike. For they ſay, that *Halacoucan*, General to *Haron Reſhid*, having been two years ſick of a Tertian Ague, of which he never expected to be cur'd, was ſtrangely deliver'd from his Diſtemper by an Herb, which he found in the ſame place where *Tauris* now ſtands. And that to perpetuate the Memory of ſuch a fortunate Cure, he built this City, and call'd it *Tebrift*; *the Ague is gone*. For *Teb* ſignifies alſo an *Ague*, and *rift* comes from the Verb *Reften*, *to go away*. But that afterwards, either by Corruption, or becauſe it runs ſmoother upon the Tongue, it was call'd *Tebris* inſtead of *Tebrift*.

Mirzathaer, one of the moſt Learned Perſons of Quality that are in *Perſia*, the Son of *Mirza Ibrahim*, Treaſurer of the Province, gave me another Reaſon of the Etymology: that is to ſay, that at the Time when this City was built, the Air was extremely wholeſom and preſervative againſt Agues: Which extraordinary Quality drew a world of People to it; and that therefore it was call'd *Tebris*, as if man ſhould ſay, *the Expeller of Agues*. The ſame Lord alſo further aſſur'd me, that there are in the Kings Treaſury at *Iſpahan*, certain Medals with the Inſcription of that *Zebd-el-Caton*, which were found at *Marant*, a city near to *Tauris*, with a great number of others both of Gold and Silver, being the Coyns of the Ancient Kings of *Media*. And that he had obſerv'd others, with Greek Figures and Inſcriptions, wherein he remembred the word *Dakianous*. And then he ask'd me if I knew who that *Dakianous* was! To which I anſwer'd, that I did not underſtand the name, but that it might be very probably the Name of *Darius*.

In the 69. year after the Foundation of *Tauris*, the City was almoſt ruin'd by an Earth-quake. But *Montevekel*, *Califf* of *Bagdad*, of the Race of the *Abas's* who then Reigned, not only repair'd but enlarg'd it. A hundred fourſcore and ten years after that, the 14 of the Month *Sefer*, another Earth-quake, more violent than the former, utterly ruin'd it in one night. The Perſian Geography relates, how that at the ſame time there reſided in the City, a Learned Aſtrologer of *Shiras*, call'd *Aboutaher*, or *Juſt Father*, who foretold that the ſaid Earth-quake ſhould happen upon the Sun's entrance into *Scorpio*, in the year 235. of the *Hegyra*; which anſwers to the year 849. of the Chriſtian *Epoche*; and ſhould over-

throw the whole City: To which, when he found the People would give no Credit, he went and was importunat with the Governor, to force the People out of the City. The Governor, who was alſo the *Califfs* Lieutenant, over all the Province, being always a great Admirer of judicial Aſtrology, gave way to his Importunity, and did all he could to ſend away the People into the Country: But finding that they ſtill look't upon the Prediction of the Earth-quake to be a meer *Chimera*, and ſuſpected ſome miſchievous Deſign in the Governor; he could not perſwade above one half of the People to ſtir; which fell out to their Deſtruction. For the Earth-quake happ'ned exactly at the Hour mention'd in the Prediction, to the overwhelming of forty thouſand Perſons. The next year *Emir Diueveron* the Son of *Mahamed-Rondain-Aredi*, Vice-Roy of *Perſia*, receiv'd Orders from the Calif, to rebuild it larger and fairer than it was before, and to know of that famous Aſtrologer *Aboutaker*, under what Aſcendant he ſhould begin to work: Who bid 'em begin when the Sun was in *Scorpio*, and aſſur'd 'em the new City ſhould never be troubled more with any Earth-quakes: but that it was threatned with great Inundations of Water. To which the Hiſtory adds, that the Event has in all reſpects verifi'd the Truth of the Prediction. After this new Reſtoration, *Tauris* came to be wonderfully enlarg'd, famous and flouriſhing. They aſſure us, that in the Reign of *Sultan Cazan*, which is about 400 years ago, it extended in breadth, North and South, from the little Mountain of *Ain Ali*, to the oppoſite Mountain, call'd *Tchurandog*, and in length from the River *Agi* to the Village *Baninge*, which is two Leagues beyond the City. The ſame Hiſtory alſo obſerves, for a Proof of the multitude of the Inhabitants wherewith that City was peopl'd, that the Peſtilence happening among 'em, there dy'd 40 thouſand in one quarter, before they were miſs'd.

In the year 896. of the *Hegira*, and 1490. of Chriſt, the Princes of the Race of *Sheith-Sephi* having invaded *Perſia*, remov'd the Seat of the Empire from *Ardevil*, which was their own Country, to this City. In the year 1514. *Selim* took it upon Compoſition, two years after the King of *Perſia*, who thought himſelf not ſafe there, retir'd from thence, and ſeated himſelf at *Cashin*. *Selim* ſtay'd not long at *Tauris*, but he carry'd away with him a wealthy Booty, and three thouſand Families of Artificers, the moſt part *Armenians*, whom he ſettled in *Conſtantinople*. Soon after his Departure, the Inhabitants

habitants of *Tauris* rebell'd, and falling unexpectedly upon the Turks, made a moſt famous havock of the Enemy, and became Maſters of the City. But *Ibraim Baſha*, General to *Soliman* the Magnificent, ſeverely reveng'd this Rebellion in the Year 955. of the *Hegyra*, and Year of our Lord 1548. For he took the City by Aſſault, and gave the Plunder of it to his Army, who committed therein all manner of Inhumanity, even to an Exceſs unheard of before. In a word, all that could be call'd Cruelty, Fire and Sword was there put in Execution. The Palace of King *Tahmas*, and all the moſt conſiderable Structures were deſtroy'd, and levell'd with the Earth. Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Calamities, the City lifted up her head again at the beginning of *Amuraths* Reign, and with the Aſſiſtance of ſome few Perſian Troops, put to the Sword all the Turkiſh Garriſon, conſiſting of Ten thouſand men. *Amurath* diſmay'd at the Courage of the *Tauriſians*, ſent a powerful Army under the leading of *Oſman*, his *Grand* Viſir, utterly to deſtroy, and wholly to ſubdue the Inhabitants. This Army enter'd the City and pillag'd it, in the Year 994. by the Mahometan Accompt, and the Year of our Lord 1585. at what time the Viſir caus'd all the Fortifications which the Turks had raiſed before to be repair'd. But eighteen years after this Expedition, in the Year 1603. *Abas* the Great retook *Tauris* from the Turks with a ſmall Force, but with that Policy, Diligence and Bravery, which is hardly to be credited. He divided the ſtouteſt of his Soldiers into ſeveral ſmall Bodies, who ſurpriz'd the *Corps du Guard*, and cut their Throats in ſuch a moment of time, that they had no notice of it in the Town. Theſe Troops were follow'd by a Body of five hundred Men, diſguiz'd like Merchants, who enter'd the City with a plauſible Story, that they had left the *Caravan* 2 days journey behind. Which the Turks readily believ'd, becauſe it is the Cuſtom of the *Caravans*, that upon their Approach near to Great Cities, the Merchants go before; beſides that, the Turks never dreamt but that they had been examin'd by the *Corps du Guard*. *Abas* follow'd cloſe, and ſeeing his men were enter'd, flew into the City at the head of ſix thouſand Men; while two of his Generals did the ſame on two other ſides of the Town. So that the Turks, finding themſelves ſurpriſ'd, ſurrender'd only upon condition of ſparing their Lives. And the Hiſtory farther obſerves, that in this Expedition it was, that that ſame Potent Prince firſt order'd one Brigade of his Army to carry Muſquets, and finding the

good

good Effect of 'em, order'd a mixture of fire-Arms among all his Forces. Whereas before the Perſians never made uſe of Guns in any of their Wars.

Now that we may not omit any thing in the Hiſtory of *Tauris*, that is worthy Obſervation, it behoves us alſo to let ye know, what the *Armenian* Authors have wrote concerning it. They report that this City is one of the moſt Ancient in all *Aſia*, and that it was formerly call'd *Sha-Haſten*, or the *Royal Place*, for that the *Perſian* Monarchs there kept their Court: and that afterwards a King of *Armenia*, who was call'd *Coſroes*, chang'd the Name of it from *Sha-Haſten* into *Tauris*, which in the *Armenian* Language ſignifies a *Place of Revenge*, for that he there defeated the King of *Perſia*; who had murder'd his Brother. The Government of the Province of *Tauris*, is the Chiefeſt in all the Empire, and annext to the Dignity of the Captain General-ſhip. It brings him in thirty thouſand Tomans Yearly, which amount to much above a Million ſterling, beſides Caſualties, which are very conſiderable in the Aſiatic Governments. The Governor bears the Title of *Becler-bec*. He maintains three thouſand Horſe; and has under him the Governors or *Kan's* of *Cars*, *Oroumi*, *Maraga*, *Ardevil*, and Twenty *Sultans*, who altogether maintain eleven Thouſand Horſe more.

I lodg'd at the *Capuchins* Inn, who were arriv'd before me. They were no more then two, whom I deſir'd to keep my Arrival private, for about fifteen days. Which I did to put my ſelf into an Equipage, and my Things in the ſame Order, as they were before my misfortunes in *Mingrelia*; as alſo to methodize thoſe things which I had brought for the King, to the end I might ſhew 'em to the beſt advantage at Court. But my arrival could not be concealed. For *Mirzathaer*, Son of the Treaſurer, and Receiver-General of the Province, and admitted by way of Survivor-ſhip, underſtood that there were Strangers at the *Capuchins* Inn. And therefore he ſent the 22d to tell the Superior, that he wonder'd at his neglect in not coming to give him notice of the Arrival and Quality of the *Europeans*, which he entertain'd in his Houſe. To whom the Father excus'd himſelf, and farther told the Meſſenger, that for my part, I had not fail'd to wait upon him; had I not been ill diſpoſed; but in a few days I would attend and pay him my Reſpects.

The 23. the ſame Lord, whom I had the honour to know in my firſt Travels, made me a Viſit, together with the Son of the Can of *Guenje*, and ſhew'd me great Civilities. He ſate

two

two hours in my Chamber, while I gave him an account of the affairs of Europe, particularly concerning Arts and Sciences. After which he was ſo kind as to tell me the good fortune that had befall'n his Family, and his Brothers Employments. He was the eldeſt of three young Lords, all in good Credit, and advanc'd to Places both of Honour and Profit. His Father is Treaſurer, as I ſaid before, and Receiver-General of all the Kings Demeans, over all the Province of *Azerbeyan*. This is that *Mirza Ibrahim* of whom ſo many Accidents are related in the Story of *Soleiman's* Coronation. He was not then at *Tauris*, in regard his Employments kept him at *Shirvan*, a City near the *Caſpian* Sea: whoſe place this *Mirzathaer* ſuppli'd in his abſence. He is very well read in the *Arabick*, *Perſian* and *Turkiſh* Languages: and beſides a *Capuchin* taught him for ſeveral years the Philoſophy of the Schools, and all our Sciences. He is a very Learned Perſonage, a Man of ripe Wit, and extreamly civil. After two hours diſcourſe he preſs'd me to ſhew him ſome Jewels and Watches. To which I had no deſire, as not being then in a Condition for the Reaſons already mention'd. But he importun'd me ſo earneſtly, and with an affability ſo becoming, that I could not refuſe him. So that I ſhew'd him ſeveral Jewels which I had of a low value, of which he carry'd away ſeveral along with him.

In the Evening *Tahmas-Bec*, who ſupplyes the place of Governor of *Azerbeyan* in the ſtead of *Manſour Can* his Father, who is always at Court, ſent his Goldſmith to me, to tell me, I ſhould oblige him, by coming to him the next Morning, and bringing along with me ſome Jewels and Rarities of ſmall value: To which I anſwer'd that I would not fail him, and accordingly I went the ſame day, and to *Mirzathaer* alſo.

The 25. we heard while we ſtay'd with thoſe Lords, the Confirmation, and full Relation of a Robbery reported a month before, and committed the *December* preceding upon the Great *Caravan* that goes from *Iſpahan* to the *Indies* by land. This *Caravan* ſets out once a Year in *Auguſt*, and goes through *Candabar* which is in *Bactriana*. The Robbery was very conſiderable, as well for the Number of Perſons, for the vaſt wealth that was in the *Caravan*, as alſo for the Conſequences that enſu'd. It was committed three days journey from the *Frontiers* of *India*, by the *Agvan*, a ſort of People much like the *Tartars*, but tributary to the *Perſian*. They had intelligence which way the *Caravan* march'd, and ſurpriz'd it in a very ad-

vantageous place for ſuch a deſign. They were in all five hundred Men, all well Mounted and well Reſolv'd. The *Caravan* had a Convoy of about two hunderd, and conſiſted of about two thouſand Perſons, for the moſt part *Indians*. The Convoy made no Reſiſtance, but betook themſelves to Flight: and the moſt part of the *Caravan*, following the Example of thoſe that ſhould have defended 'em, ſhifted every one for themſelves. So that there were but eleven kill'd, ſo ſmall was the Reſiſtance made. Nor was it a thing to be wonder'd at. For the *Caravan*'s, and particularly thoſe of the *Indians*, are compos'd of *Armenians* and *Indians*, people that for the moſt part will be Scar'd with a ſtick. And they that had any Courage were left alone and abandon'd by thoſe that ſhould have aſſiſted 'em; So that every Man ſtrove to ſave one, and happy he that could ſhift for himſelf. The Robbery was valu'd at ſeveral hundred thouſands of Pounds: but the true and juſt account could never be known, the Merchants upon ſuch occaſions uſually diſguiſing the Truth, ſome becauſe they are afraid of looſing their Credit, others for fear it ſhould be diſcover'd, that they conceal a part of what they ſend to ſave Cuſtoms and Toll. The Inventory which was given into the King, ſign'd by above ſixty Perſons concern'd, amounted to no leſs then three hundred thouſand *Toman*'s, or a million four hundred thouſand Pound ſterling; yet we were aſſur'd it was but the half of the Loſs. The Governor of *Candabar* was accus'd to have been acceſſory to the Robbery. The King therefore ſent for to have him apprehended and brought to *Iſpahan* upon a Camel chain'd about the Neck, with one Servant which he had the Liberty to make choice of. It was affirm'd that they who comitted the Robbery themſelves, were a ſort of People ſo ignorant, that they underſtood not what belong'd either to Gold or Precious Stones. They divided the Coyn'd Money one among another, Gold and Silver intermix'd together by weight, without any diſtinction of Mettal, and jumbled the true Pearls with the falſe ones, without making any Difference. I muſt confeſs I could hardly believe this, nor had I reported it, if it had not been univerſally and conſtantly avow'd by all the People I diſcours'd with upon this occaſion.

The firſt of *May* the Deputy-Governor ſent to the Superior of the *Capuchins*, to know if he had no news of the Arrival of the Patriarch of *Armenia*, and where he had conceal'd himſelf. 'Tis true we all knew well enough, but we had no mind to tell, knowing wherefore they ſought for him; which

was

was for no other reaſon then to apprehend him; and carry him Priſoner to *Erivan*. He had made his eſcape ſix days before, vex'd to the very Soul to find, that while the Governor pretended to take ſo much care to pay his debts, he minded nothing more then how to ſqueeze a good Sum of Money for himſelf. For the Governor according to the foremention'd Order from the Court, had ſent to ſeveral Perſons about *Erivan*, to Levy the money for payment of the Patriarch's debts upon the *Armenian* Villages. But the Officers entruſted to raiſe the Money had ſo far out-ſtretch'd their Commiſſion, in the outrages and violences which they committed, as to demand and levy double the ſum which was impos'd. All which the Patriarch well knew: but conniv'd at it, for the advantage he was to receive thereby. And he would fain have been handling the firſt Money that was brought to *Erivan*; but the Governor was ſo far from ſuffering him to meddle, that he would not pay above half to the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople*'s Truſtees. So that of three thouſand five hundred pounds which were rais'd for his Satisfaction, he would not part with above two thouſand for the payment of the debts. The Patriarch complain'd of this Injuſtice, but could have no Remedy. All the Governor ſaid to him was this, that if the Cuſtomer of *Conſtantinople* were pai'd in time 'twas as much as he could require, and that it did not belong to him to take Cognizance what was levy'd for that purpoſe. But perhaps he could not chuſe but be diſturb'd with the Cryes and Curſes of his own Nation: for they were bitterly enrag'd againſt him, and his Proceedings. And therefore he reſolv'd to appeaſe 'em & withdraw himſelf from the oppreſſion of the Governor of *Armenia*, which made him make his eſcape, with a deſign to make his Complaints to the Court. The Governor on the other ſide, having notice of his flight, ſent away to the neighbouring Governors to ſtop him; and he happen'd to be at *Tauris*, when the Expreſs arriv'd there. But the *Armenian* Inhabitants of the City preſerv'd him, not ſo much by concealing him in any private abſconding Place, as by their Preſents to the Grandees, and for that the Injuſtice that was done him in his private affairs, was ſo publickly notorious, that it was no more then what was reaſonable for them, to let him have his Liberty to go to *Iſpahan* for Redreſs.

The 6. *Ruſtan-Bec* Muſter-Maſter General of the Army ſent to give me notice of his being come to Town. For he underſtood

underſtood at the Governors houſe where he lodg'd, that I was arriv'd at *Tauris*. So that I went to viſit him the ſame day, and to renew the friendſhip which I had contracted with him in my firſt Travels. He is a Perſonage the moſt eminent for his Witt and Valour of any other in the whole Kingdom. He is Brother to the Governor of *Candabar*, who was accus'd for being Acceſſory to the Robbing of the *Indian Caravan*. His Father was Governor of *Armenia*; and *Abas* had a great affection for this *Ruſtan-Bec*, for the ſake of his Learning, his Courage, and his Gracefull Aſpect. Nor was it above a year before, that the King had given him a Commiſſion to go into the Province of *Azer-beyan*, to take a review of the Forces and Ammunitions there; and now his Commiſſion was out, by which as I underſtood, he had gotten above ten thouſand pounds. His Company and Diſcourſe extreamly pleas'd me; for he ſhew'd me ſeveral Mapps of the Province which he had newly made of which he promis'd me copies; and reaching down a Plain-Sphere, which had been lately printed in *Europe*, he ſhew'd me ſeveral Faults in it: I alſo ſupp'd with him, nor would he let me go til midnight.

The 7. he did me the Hónnor to give me a Viſit, and to ſpend all the Afternoon in my Chamber.

The 8, and the three days following, I made it my buſineſs to fetch away ſuch parcels of Goods from *Tahmas-Bec*, and *Mirza-thaer*, which they refus'd to buy, after I had bargain'd with 'em for what they made choice of; tho all that I ſold to both came but to a thouſand Crowns, and that without Profit. So that I had much ado to agree with 'em; however I was paid when we all concluded. The one pretended in abatement of my price, his Fathers being a Favourite at Court; the other the great Credit which his Brothers and his Unckle *Mirza-Sadec*, being Lord High Chancellor, had with the King; and forc'd me to take Letters of Recommendation, which they freely offer'd to compenſate the Profit which I ſhould have got by my goods. For a man would hardly believe the Careſſes, the Flattery, the engaging and familiar Behaviour, which the *Perſians* Grandees will condeſcend to, for their own Intereſts, how ſlight ſoever. And they behave themſelves with ſuch an Appearance of Sincerity, that a Traveller muſt very well uuderſtand the *Genius* of the Country and the Court, to avoid being cully'd by their kindneſſes.

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The 13. I went to take my leave of *Ruſtan-bec*, whoſe occaſions call'd him to *Ardevil* two days after. He did me the favour to permit me a long diſcourſe upon the beſt way to manage my affairs at *Iſpahan*; and how to come off with moſt advantage and ſucceſs. To which purpoſe he gave me very good advice, and Letters of Recommendation to his Kindred and for *Coſrou-Can*, Collonell of the Musketeers who was one of the moſt powerful and conſiderable Lords at Court. Of which the Tranſlation follows word for word.

GOD.

We ſend to the moſt illuſtrious Lord of the Earth, and we give his moſt noble and generous heart to underſtand, that Mr. Chardin *a French Merchant the Flower of the Chriſtians, who had been ſent into* Europe *by the deceaſed King, who has now his* (a) *Habitation in Heaven, to fetch from thence ſeveral coſtly Pieces of Jewellers work, is now return'd, and lately arriv'd at this Royal City of* Tauris. *The Friendſhip and Confidence which we had formerly contracted together induc'd him to impart his buſineſs to me: and he requeſted of me, ſince the great King who ſent him into* Europe, *was flown away to the Kingdom of Spirits, and become a Citizen of Paradice, that I who am his Intimate Friend, would* (b) *recommend him to a Perſon conſiderable for the Prudence of his Conduct, and the Grandeur of his Dignity, and who perfectly knew how to doe kind offices; to the end he might make uſe of him as a Conveyance to bring him into the preſence of the noble, moſt high, and moſt Holy King. He has been alſo particularly inform'd by me, who am your Intimate Friend, of the Great and Royal Qualities which you poſſeſs, and being charm'd by the Recitals which I made of 'em, he diſcover'd to me his extream deſire to have the* (c) *Honour to be recommended to the Favour of the* (d) *Slaves of your Highneſs. I therefore who am his Real Friend, recommend him to your Glorious Cares, and whatever ſhall concern his Affairs and Intereſts. He relyes very much upon your Royal Favour, and aſſures himſelf, that your Highneſs underſtanding his Buſineſs by this Letter from my ſelf your Servant, will uſe your endeavour that the Coſtly Jewels that he has brought ſhall come to the Bleſſed hands of the moſt noble King. A Favour ſo generous will fill this Illuſtrious Chriſtian with large hopes, and all other Merchants of his Nation, whom Trade and Commerce draws to this Kingdom.*

(a) The word which I have tranſlated *Habitation*, ſignifies properly an *Eagles* Airy. And the *Perſians* ſpeaking of their de-

deceaſed Kings uſually make uſe of the words *Krel-coldachion*, that is to ſay, *whoſe neſt is in Heaven.*

(*b*) It is in the *Perſian*, that *I would ſend to the Service.* Which is a Phraſe in the Perſian Language *to ſend a Man to the ſervice of a great Perſonage*, ſignifying to recommend him ſo earneſtly, that the other ſhould take that care of his Buſineſs as if he were his Domeſtic ſervant.

(*c*) The *Perſians* inſtead of ſaying to have the Honour, uſe the word to be *ennobl'd.*

(*d*) We have already ſpok'n of this Rhetorical Figure, whereby the *Perſians* mean the *Lord himſelf*, when they ſay, the Slaves of the Lord.

The 18. I took my leave of the Deputy Governor and *Mirzathaer*; being at that time both together; and both the one and the other offer'd me the favour of a Guide; for which I return'd 'em my humble thanks, and told 'em withall, that if they thought it requiſite for my ſecurity, that I deſir'd they would be ſo kind as to let me have a Guide. They anſwered that the King's Paſſports which I had were a ſufficient Convoy, in regard that upon ſhewing 'em I might command as many men as I pleas'd when or where ever I ſhould have occaſion: that I was in a Country where there was no danger; and that the offer which they made me was only to ſhew, how ready they were to aſſiſt me in my Journey: So that being alſo inform'd by ſeveral Perſons of Quality at the ſame time, that I had no need of any company, I only requeſted *Mirzathaer* to grant me a Paſsport to the Officers of the Toll from Himſelf, that I might not be always troubled to pull out the King's. Which he caus'd to be forthwith diſpatch'd in the moſt civil terms that could be, as may appear by the following tranſlation.

GOD.

This Day being the ſecond day of the Month Sefer *the victorious, in the year* 1084 *Monſieur* Chardin *Merchant, the Flower of Merchants and of* Europeans *ſets forward for the Court. He carrys along with him a wonderful quantity of Coſtly Jewels and other Rareties worthy the Lord of the World, which he had Order to buy in his own Country and to bring to the feet of the Throne, which is the true Seat of* (a) Gods *Vicar. We therefore give notice to all Inferior Officers, Regents, Kings, Lieutenants, Judges both Civil and Criminal, Provoſts of Cities and High wayes; Receivers of Duties and Tools, to the end*

they

they may know, that this Perſon, is a Perſon of High Quality, and that in purſuance of an Order which he has in his Hand, that they are to furniſh him where ever he goes with all things requiſite, and give him all reaſonable ſuccour and aſſiſtance which he ſhall demand, and take care that he arrive not only without any miſfortune or diſguſt, but alſo with all ſatisfaſtiou and Honour at the Palace of the moſt High. They are likewiſe to take care they give him no occaſion to perceive in any manner whatever, that they have any pretence to exact any Duties or Tolls from him; and they ſhall be certain to give an account, and be anſwerable as well for his Perſon, and for what he carrys, as for the leaſt diſguſts, and provocations they ſhall offer him.

The Seal was fix'd to the Margin, the Inſcription of which was a Paſſage out of the *Alcoran*, ſignifying, *My confeſſion of Faith is in the name of God, who is my Refuge, and of Mahumed the Apoſtle of God.*

(*a*) The word which I have tranſlated *Vicar*, is *Caliſe*, and properly ſignifies a Succeſſor. Nor had the firſt ſucceſſors of *Mahomet* any other Title; and now becauſe the People that follow'd his Laws always believ'd, that God had eſtabliſh'd him Univerſal King and Prophet, had created him his *Vicar* and Lieutenant, and had giv'n him a Right to govern all the World both in Spirituals and Temporals, his Succeſſors have conſtantly retain'd theſe pompous Titles; and made people believe that they belong to 'em by right of Succeſſion. Now in regard the Race of the Kings of *Perſia*, that have reign'd for theſe 250. years, pretend to derive their deſcent from *Ali*, *Mahomets* ſucceſſor and Son in Law, they attribute to themſelves all his vain both Qualities and Prerogatives: which is the reaſon the *Perſians* give to their Kings, that Epithet of *God's Vicar.*

The 20 *Mirzathaer* ſent me one of his Domeſtics to know of me, whether I intended to ſet forward the next day with my own Servants; and withal to adviſe me to ſtay for more Company; that there was danger in going alone, eſpecially being a ſtranger and having ſuch a great Charge about me; becauſe now the *Seaſon* was come, that the *Curds*, *Sara-neſhin* and *Turcomans*, and other Shepherds that live in the Fields in Tents, and who are moſt part great Thieves, quit the Plains by reaſon of the great Heat of the Sun; and with their Herds and their Houſes retire to the Mountains for Shade and Paſture. True it is, that I reſolv'd to have ſet forward the next day, but reflecting upon this good Advice, I thought it not worth

worth my while to run ſo great a hazard for the gaining of eight or ten days time. I had alſo a kind of Surmiſe the Lord was unwilling to run himſelf into any præmunire, and thereby ſeem'd to intimate that ſince he had caution'd me, he would not be anſwerable for any miſfortune that ſhould befall me. And beſides ſome other fears poſſeſs'd my mind, which ma deme put off my Journey.

The 26. he ſent me word, that the Brother of the Provoſt of Merchants would ſet out in two days; that he was a very honeſt Gentleman, and that if I pleas'd to have his Company, he would cordially recommend me to his Acquaintance. I returned him a thouſand Thanks for his Care and Affection, and told him withal; that he could not do me a greater Kindneſs then to put me into ſuch ſafe hands. And in the Evening I underſtood, that he had bin to the full as good as his word. And I was the more glad of his diligent care, becauſe it rid me of the trouble of thoſe Reflections I had made upon what he ſent me but two days before.

The 28. I ſet forward from *Tauris* with the Provoſt of Merchants Brother. He was one of the Kings Slaves, of whom we have ſpoken already; attended by ten Servants with fourteen Horſes. We travel'd through a lovely and even Country between Mountains, directing our Courſe Southward. We lodg'd at *Vaſpinge*, a great Borough, conſiſting of Six hundred Houſes; water'd with a great number of pleaſant Rivulet's, that with their winding Streams enfertiliz'd the neighbouring parts on every ſide. It is ſurrounded with Gardens, and groves of *Poplers* and *Tylets*, which they plant to ſerve 'em for building their Houſes.

The 29. we travell'd five leagues; croſſing over a little Hill at firſt; but afterwards over Plains that were wonderful pleaſant, fertil and cover'd with Villages; that where we lodg'd being call'd *Agi-agach*. Theſe Plains are the beſt Paſture-Grounds in *Media*, if I may not preſume to ſay in the world. The Choiceſt Horſes in the whole Province are there put to Graſs, to the number of about three thouſand. For it is the cuſtom in *Perſia* to put their Horſes to graſs for thirty five or forty days together, from *April* to *June*. Which both purges, and refreſhes, fattens, and ſtrengthens 'em: And they feed 'em thus with Graſs, as well in the Stable as in the Field; but all the reſt of the Summer they mingle Straw cut very ſmall with the Graſs. When I beheld thoſe lovely Paſturages I ask'd the young Lord, with whom I travel'd, *whether there*

were

were any better in Media or *whither any other Plains ſo large and ſo delightful.* Who anſwered me, *that he had ſeen as rich plains as thoſe towards Derbent* (which is *Media Atropatiena*) but none ſo large and ſpacious. So that we may with good grounds believe; that thoſe Plains are the *Hypopothon* of which the Ancient Authors write, and of which they ſay that the Kings of *Media* kept there in a Breed of fifty thouſand Horſes; and here it is that we muſt ſearch for the Plains of *Nyſa*, ſo famous for the *Nyſain* Horſes. And *Stephen* the *Geographer* aſſerts that *Nyſa* was in *Media*. By the way I told the Gentleman my fellow Traveller, what Hiſtories related concerning theſe Horſes and particularly what *Favorinus* reports, that all the *Nyſain* Horſes were *Iſabella* colour'd; who anſwer'd that it was more then he ever read or heard of. I made the ſame Enquiry all along as I travell'd of ſeverall perſons, both of Learning and Quality, but never could learn that there was any part in *Media*, nor in all *Perſia*, where all the Horſes were foal'd of an *Iſabella* colour.

The 30. we travell'd a Road that was even enough, but winding among Hills. After two hours travel we paſs'd by the Ruins of a great City, which they ſaid had flouriſh'd there in former times; but being almoſt ruin'd was utterly deſtroy'd by *Abas*. Upon the left hand of the Road are to be ſeen large Circles of Hew'n Stone; which the *Perſians* affirm to be a great ſign, that the *Caous* making war in *Media*, held a Counſel in that place: it being the Cuſtom of thoſe People, that every Officer that came to the Council brought with him a Stone to ſerve him inſtead of a Chair. And theſe *Caous* were a ſort of *Gyants*. *Herodotus* alſo reports ſomthing like to this, of a Perſian Army that went againſt the *Scythians*; for he tells you that the Army being in *Thrace*, *Darius* ſhew'd 'em a place, and commanded that every one ſhould lay a Stone therein as he paſs'd along. But that which is moſt to be admir'd, after obſervation of theſe Stones, is this, that they are ſo big that eight Men can hardly move one, and yet there is no place from whence they can be imagin'd to have been fetch'd, but from the next Mountains, that are ſix Leagues off. We met upon the Road, with three large and fair Inns, and lodg'd at a Village call'd *Caratchiman*, ſeated at the Foot of a little Hill: it was not ſo big as *Vaſpinge*, but altogether as pleaſant.

The 31. we travel'd four Leagues over Hills and Dales, all fertil and delightful to admiration. In the mid-way we

paſs'd through a Village full of Popler Groves and Gardens, and well water'd. It was call'd *Turcman*, becauſe that in the Fields that environ it, there are a great number of Shepherds with their Flocks that are call'd by that Name. We ſtopp'd at *Pervaré*, another Village, as handſome and as large as *Turcman*, ſeated alſo in a bottom at the foot of a Hill, all along by the Banks of a little River.

The 1. of *June* We travell'd two Leagues in a level Country, as even as that we had croſs'd the day before; and four Leagues among the Mountains where the way was rugged and very uneaſie. A little River but very rapid paſſes through the Midſt of it; and by reaſon of it's winding courſe oblig'd us to paſs it ſeveral times, to ſhorten our way. We alighted at *Miana*. This is a Town ſeated in the middle of a fair and large Plain encompaſſed with Mountains; which upon that Road ſeparates *Media* from the Countrey of the *Parthians*. Which is the reaſon that the Village carrys that Name, for that *Miane* properly ſignifies, the parting of ſeveral Countries. To this Town there belongs a kind of Cuſtom-Houſe, where the Officers are ſaid to be very tyrannical in their exactions upon the meaner ſort of People that travel that way. But they underſtood who the Gentleman was who travel'd with me, and who I was; So that they durſt not ſo much as ſhew themſelves; for there is that good order tak'n in *Perſia*, and almoſt all over the Eaſt; that the Receivers of all Sorts of Tolls and Duties, have no permiſſion or Authority to demand any thing of any eminent Perſon, of any Officer of the Kings, how inconſiderable ſoever his office may be, nor of any Stranger of Quality. For ſhould they be ſo bold, as to examin what they carry'd, the offence would be puniſh'd with Baſtinados.

The 2. we ſpent ſo much time in fording the River of *Miana*, and found the Mountain beyond it, that we were to croſs, to be ſo rugged, that we could not travel above three Leagues. We were two hours before we could find the Ford, and get our Sumpters over, which at length we got over ſafe without any Damage, thanks be to God; and five hours croſſing the Mountain which was very high, and very ſteep, being the Bounds between *Media* and *Parthia*. Theſe two ſpacious Provinces are parted by a Ridge of Mountains, which are a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, that extends it ſelf from *Europe* to *China*, croſſing, as has been ſaid, *Circaſſia*, *Mingrelia*, *Georgia*, the Country of the *Parthians*, *Bactriana*,

the Province of *Candabar*, and the *Indies*. At the top of the Mountain upon the point of a Rock, we ſpy'd a large ruin'd Caſtle, which the *Perſians* call the *Virgins Caſtle*, alledging that *Artaxerxes* caus'd it to be built to impriſon therein a Princeſs of the Blood. But *Abas* the Great caus'd it to be utterly demoliſhed, as ſerving only for a Retreat to a number of Robbers that made themſelves as it were ſoveraign Lords of the Mountain. On both ſides of the Mountain are large Cauſeys, which that great Prince caus'd to be made, for the eaſe of Travellers in the Winter. Towards the end of our journey we paſs'd a large River, call'd *Keſil-beuſè* over a fair Bridge, and lay at *Semelé*. Which is an Inn or *Caravanſeray* built near the Bridge to lodge Travellers that can reach no farther.

The River *Keſil-beuzé* is much larger and more rapid than that of *Miana*, and ſerves to bound *Media* from the Country of the Parthians. And now no ſooner have you paſs'd this River, but you may eaſily perceive the change of the Air. For whereas the Temperature of *Media* is ſomewhat moyſt and cloudy, which is the reaſon of high Winds and much Rain, and that the Soil is fruitful of it ſelf, whatever ancient Authors have wrote to the contrary, the Parthian Air is dry to the extremeſt degree; inſomuch that for ſix Months together you ſhall neither ſee any Rain or any Clouds: but the Soil is ſandy, and Nature produces nothing without good Husbandry and Pains.

The Country of the Parthians, which was ſo long the Seat of the Empire of *Aſia*, is the largeſt and principal Province of the Perſian Monarchy. It is all the proper demeans of the King, nor has it any Governor, as the moſt part of the reſt of the Provinces. The Perſians bound it to the Eaſt, by the Province of *Coraſſon*, or *Coromitrena*; to the South, by that of *Fars*; which is properly *Perſia*; to the Weſt, by *Azerbeyan* or *Media*; to the North, by *Guilan*, and *Mazanderaan*, which compoſe the Province of *Hyrcania*. This Province extends it ſelf at leaſt two hundred Leagues in length, and an hundred and fifty Leagues in breadth. The Air is very dry, and and the moſt healthy for the moſt part of any in the world. It is more mountainous then level. The Mountains are alſo very bare, and to ſpeak in general terms, produce nothing but Thiſtles and Briers: but the Plains are very fertile and pleaſant, where there is any Water: o herwiſe the Soyl is very barren. This large Province contains above forty Cities, which is very much in *Perſia*, as not being an Empire peopl'd proportionably to its Extent. The

The *Orientals* call the Country of *Parthia Arac-agem*; that is to ſay, *Perſian Arack*. They call it likewiſe *Balad-el-Gebel*, or the *Country of the Mountains*, for the reaſon's already recited. My Opinion is, that the *Scythians*, from whom, as ancient Authors hold, the *Parthians* deriv'd their Original, were the *leſſer Tartars*, that inhabit to the North of *Perſia*, now call'd *Yuzbecs*, and formerly *Bactrians*; and that that ſame *Arſaces*, who founded the Empire of the *Parthians*, was a Native of the ſame Country with *Tamerlan*, *Halacou* and thoſe other Tartar Princes, that made ſuch great and famous Conqueſts in the Ages laſt paſt.

The *3d.* we travell'd four Leagues keeping on to the South, as when we firſt ſet out of *Tauris*: the Road was very good, only we had Mountains very near us upon the right and left hand. We lay at *Sirſham*; which is a large Inn, adjoyning to three or four ſmall Villages, but ſeated in a ſandy and dry Soyl; and there the Officers that gather the Duties upon Goods tranſported out of the Kingdom keep their Poſt.

The *4th.* we travell'd ſeven Leagues, through bushy Plains and Sands; and we were forc'd to make ſeveral windings and turnings, by reaſon of ſeveral Mole-Hills and little Sand-Hills in our way. Nevertheleſs both on one the ſide and t'other, at a diſtance we could ſee a Champian Country, very delightful and fertile, and Villages here and there, which yielded a very delightful Proſpect; the River *Zenjan* wat'ring thoſe Villages. We lay at a large *Caravanſeray* call'd *Niché*, built between five ſpacious Villages.

The *5th.* we travell'd ſix Leagues through a Road more pleaſant and leſs crooked, and obſerving the ſame Courſe as the day before; and lodg'd at *Zerigan*, a little City, that contains not above two thouſand Houſes. It is ſeated in a very narrow Plain between two Mountains that encloſe it, not above half a League one from the other. The Soyl of *Zerigan* is fertile and pleaſant, and the Air wholſome and cool in the Summer. The City without is ſurrounded with Gardens, that yield both Pleaſure and Profit, but within the Town there is nothing remarkable but the great Ruins.

The Hiſtory of *Perſia* records this City to have been founded in the Reign of *Ardechir-babezon*, ſeveral Ages before Chriſt; and farther adds, that it conſiſted of twenty thouſand Houſes, which is very probable, for that heaps of Rubbiſh, and Ruins are to be ſeen for a mile together round about

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it. *Tamerlan* the first time he passed through it, utterly demolish'd it: but the second time, that is to say, in his Return out of Turkey, he order'd a part of it to be rebuilt, understanding that it had been for a time a flourishing Nursery of Arts and Sciences; and had produced several learned and famous Men. For which reason it is much celebrated among the Eastern Authors. The *Turks* and *Tartars* that ravag'd *Persia*, since *Tama* sack'd and destroy'd it several times, and it is no longer ago then since the beginning of this last Age, that they began to rebuild it.

The *6th.* Our road lay through a Country, the most lovely delightful that every Eye beheld, through a fair Plain where the road was level and very straight. Several pleasant Streams glide through it, that render the Soyl very fertil. The whole Plain is so strow'd with Villages, that they are hardly to be number'd, with so many Groves and Gardens, that for me the most pleasant Land-skips, and charming Prospects in the World. We alighted after a journey of five Leagues at a *Caravanserai* call'd *Queurk-boulag*, over against and within a good Canons shot of *Sultanie*.

This City is seated at the foot of a Mountain, as you may see by the Draught which I have made of it. It seems a far off very neat and well built, and inflames a Man with a Curosity to see it: but when you approach near it, it ceases to be the same thing, and appears less beautiful then when ye are within it. Yet there are some publick Buildings very remarkable, as well for the Structure as the Architecture, together with about three thousand Habitations. The people of the Country affirm, that this City took up formerly half a League of Ground more to the West then it does, and that the ruin'd Churches, Mosques and Towers, which are to be seen at that distance on that side, stood in the heart of the City. Which probably may be true, seeing that Histories assure us that it was once the Metropolis and biggest City of the Kingdom: nor are there many Cities in the world, where there are vaster Ruins to be seen. Provision also is there very plentiful and very cheap. The Air is likewise very wholesome, but subject to change. For in all the Seasons it changes almost every hour. The Evenings, Nights and Mornings being cold, but all the day long very hot; from one Extreme to another. *Sultany* lies in 36. deg. 18. min. of Latitude. and 48. deg. 5. min. of Longitude, and is govern'd by a *Sultan*.

Some Histories of *Persia* relate, that this City is one of the most ancient in all the Country of the *Parthians*; but that it

is not known who was the Founder. Others on the other ſide affirm, that the foundations of it were laid when the Sun was in *Leo*, by the order, and in the Reign of *Ergon Can*, the Son of *Abkei-Can*, and Grand-child of *Halacou-Can*; and that becauſe it could not be finiſh'd in his days, his Son *Jangou-Sultan* compleated the work and call'd it *Sultania*, or the *Royal City*. For *Sultan* properly ſignifies a King: from whence comes *Seltenet*; the uſual Perſian word for a *Kingdom* or *Monarchy*. And the Monarchs of *Aſia*, who reign'd ſince the ſeventh Age, aſſum'd to themſelves the Titles of *Souldans*, from whence came the Title of *Soldan* given to the laſt King's of *Egypt*; and that of the Emperors of Turkey, who call themſelves *Sultans*. Nevertheleſs I have heard ſome learned Men ſay, that this City was never call'd *Sultanié* or *Royal*, till the time that the laſt Kings of *Perſia*, who alſo aſſum'd the title of *Sultans*, came to keep their Courts in this Place. On the other ſide, if this City were built out of the Ruins of *Tigranocerta*, as ſeveral Modern *European* Authors maintain, it may be ſaid that the name which now it bears, was form'd out of that Ancient Name. For *Certa* in old *Perſian*, ſignifies a City, ſo that *Tigranoterta* ſignifies no more then the City of *Tigranes*, who was King of *Armenia*, as is well known to every ordinary Reader. However I cannot tell, how it is poſſible for us to take *Sultanié* for *Tigranocerta*; ſince *Tacitus* tells us that *Tigranocerta* was but thirty ſeven Miles from *Niſibis*, a City which every one knows to be ſeated in *Meſopotamia*, upon the River *Tigris*, 25 Leagues from *Nineve*. And therefore I muſt ſay, as I ſaid before, the Geography of the Ancients is the moſt confuſed thing in the world; the Writers were misinform'd, and it is impoſſible to bring 'em to agree together. I ſhould not aſſert this ſo confidently, did I not ſee, that other Modern Relators commit alſo very great Errors in what they publiſh, either upon the obſervations or report of others: ſo that there is not not any one from whom I might not produce examples ſufficient to confirm this Truth.

This City has been ſeveral times laid in heaps: Firſt, *Cotza Reſhid* King of *Perſia* whom other Hiſtorians call *Giauſan*; for that it had rebell'd, and tak'n up Arms againſt him. After that, by *Tamerlan*: and after him by ſeveral other both *Turkiſh* and *Tartarian* Princes. The Predeceſſors of *Iſhmael Sophi* kept their Court there for ſome time; and it is ſaid that ſome Ages before, the laſt Kings of *Armenia* reſided there; at which time it contain'd above four hundred Churches. And it is very true

true, that there are a great number in it which are ruin'd, but not one that is entire, nor doe there inhabit in it any Christians.

The 7th we travell'd six Leagues in a Country more lovely then that already describ'd, where we came to a Village at the end of every thousand paces: and we could see at a distance an infinite number of others, surrounded with Groves of Willows and Poplers: and environ'd which delightful Meadows. We lay at *Hibié*, a very fair and fair and large Village; and seated near to a Town that is wall'd and well peopl'd, which is call'd *San cala*: which word being abbreviated signifies the *Castle of Hasan.*

The *8th.* Our Horses were so tir'd that we could get no farther then *Ebber*, which is no more then two leagues from *Hibié*; though we travell'd all the way over most of those delightful and pleasant Plains already mention'd, directing our Course still to the South. Now that which makes those places so delightful is the great Number of Rivulets, with which they are water'd, and the good Husbandry of the Inhabitants. For as I have already said, the soyl of the *Parthians* is dry and barren of it self; nevertheless wherever it can be water'd, it produces whatever the Manurer pleases to have it, fair and good in its Kind.

Ebber is but a small City, counting only the buildings; for it contains not above two thousand five hundred Houses; but to those Houses belong so many Gardens, and those so large, that it is good riding for a Horse-man to cross it in half an hour. A small River, that bears the name of the City, runs through the middle of it, from one end to the other. It is said to be the same City which the Ancients call'd *Barontha.* The situation of it is jolly and delightful, the Air very wholsom, and the Soyl produces plenty of Fruit and other Provisions. The buildings are tolerably handsom; and the Inns, the Taverns and other publick Structures very well, considering the Place. It contains three spacious Mosquees; and in the middle of the City are to be seen the Ruins of a Castle built of Earth. It lies distant from the *Equator* 36 deg. 45. min. and from the fortunate Islands, 48. deg. 30. min. Which Longitude, and all others that I observe, are tak'n from the new *Persian* Tables. It is govern'd by a *Darogus*, or *Mayor*; and the *Mirtshecar-bashi*, or *Chief Huntsman*, has his Assignations of Money charg'd upon the Revenue of this City. Which assignation is call'd *Tahvil.* Of the signification of which word we shall speak more at large in another Place.

The

The Perſian Geographers aſſert that *Ebber* was built by *Kei-Coſrou* the Son of *Sia-bouch*, that *Darab-Keiboni*, or *Darius*, began to build the Caſtle, that *Skender-roumy*, that is *Alexander the Great*, finiſh'd it, and that the City has been ruin'd and ſack'd as often as the reſt which are near it. However ſhe has ſo well recover'd her ſelf, that, at preſent, there is but little appearance of thoſe former havocks. The ſame Geographers obſerve, that it is one of the moſt Ancient Cities of that Province; and perhaps it may be either *Vologoo-certa*, or *Meſſabetha*, or *Artacana*, of which there is ſo frequent mention made in the Ancient Stories of *Perſia*.

At *Ebber* they begin to ſpeak *Perſian*, both in the Cities and Country: whereas all the way before the Vulgar Language is Turkiſh, not altogether as they ſpeak it in Turkey, but with ſome little difference. From *Ebber* to the Indies they ſpeak *Perſian*, more or leſs neat, as the people are more or leſs at a diſtance from *Shiras*, where the purity of the Perſian Language is ſpoken: So that at *Ebber*, and in the parts thereabouts, 'tis but a rude and clowniſh ſort of Dialect which the people make uſe of.

The 9*th* we travell'd nine Leagues over Plains delightful ev'n unto Admiration: and indeed more lovely Vales are no where to be ſeen. After we had rode three Leagues, we paſs'd through a large Town, almoſt as big as *Ebber*, call'd *Parſac*; and a little farther we left *Caſbin* upon the left hand, five Leagues diſtant from us: of which I made the following deſcription in the year 1674. during a reſidence of four Months that I ſtay'd at Court.

Caſbin is a great City ſeated in a delightful Plain, three Leagues from Mount *Alou-vent*: which is one of the higheſt and moſt famous Mountains in all *Perſia*, and a Branch of Mount *Taurus*, that croſſes the Northern Parts of *Parthia*, as has bin already ſaid, and ſeparates it from *Hyrcania*. The length of this City is from North to South. In former times it was ſurrounded with Walls, of which the Ruins are ſtill to be ſeen, but at preſent it lies open on every ſide. It is 6 miles in circumference, containing twelve thouſand Houſes, and a hundred thouſand Inhabitants; among which there are forty families of Chriſtians, and a hunder'd of Jews, all very poor. One of the faireſt places that is to be ſeen in this City, is the *Hippodrome*, which they call *Maydan-ſha*, or the Royal *Piazza*, 700 paces in length, and 250 in breadth, and made after the Model of *Iſpahan*. To the Royal Palace belong ſeven Gates, of which

which the chief is call'd *Ali-capi*, or the High-Gate; on which there is an Inſcription in Letters of Gold, to this effect: *May this Gate always be open to good Fortune: by that confeſſion which we make, that there is no God but God.* The Gardens belonging to the Palace are very beautiful, kept in good order, and planted Checquer-wiſe. King *Tahmas*, built this Palace, at firſt a ſmall thing, according to a draught given him by a *Turkiſh* Architect. *Abas* the Great quite alter'd and enlarg'd it. There are but few Moſques at *Caſbin*; The chiefeſt of which by them call'd *Metſhid-guima*, or the Moſque of the Congregation, was founded by *Haron-Reſhid*, *Califf* of *Bagdat*, in the year of the *Hegyra* 170. The Royal Moſque call'd *Metſhid-ſha* is one of the largeſt and faireſt in all *Perſia*, being ſeated at the end of a ſpacious Street, planted with fair Trees, which begins from one of the Gates of the Palace Royal. This Moſque was almoſt all built at the expences of *Tahmas*, and in his Life time: his Father *Iſhmael* having laid the Foundations, but dying before they came to be even with the ſtreet. There are alſo ſeveral handſome buildings among the *Caravanſerai's* or Publick Inns. That which they call the Royal Inn, contains 250 Channels, has a large Fountaine planted with Trees, in the middle of the Court, and two Gates, which the lead in the Court from two ſtreets full of ſhops where the moſt coſtly ſort of Merchandiſes are ſold. But chiefeſt Grace, and Ornament of *Caſbin* conſiſts neither in Inns, nor Baths, nor in *Bazars*, nor in Markets; Tobacco, Coffee, or ſtrong-water Houſes, where the Perſians debauch themſelves; but in the great number of Palaces of the *Perſian* Grandees, which they keep in their poſſeſſion from Father to Son, by reaſon of the long reſidence of the Court at *Caſbin* from time to time. But there are not ſo many Gardens in *Caſbin*, as in moſt part of the other City of that Province, becauſe the ſoyl is Sandy and dry for want of water, there being only a little River which is no more then an Arm of the River *Charoud*, not ſufficient to to ſupply the Grounds about it. So that they are forc'd to bring their water from the Mountain in Subterraneal Channels, which they call *Keriſes*, that empty themſelves into Vaults thirty foot deep; which though it be cool, is nevertheleſs heavy and inſipid. Which want of water is alſo the reaſon that the Air of *Caſbin* is heavy, thick and not very healthful, eſpecially in Summer; by reaſon that the City not having a running ſtream, has neither any ſinks to carry away the filth of the Town. Yet notwithſtanding this ſame ſcarcity of

water, the City abounds in Meat and all manner of Proviſions, for that the Plains that lie round about it are ſo well water'd, that they feed a world of Cattel, and produce a prodigious plenty of Corn and Fruits. Among the reſt the faireſt Grape in *Perſia*, which they call *Shaboni*, or the Royal Grape, being of a Gold Colour, tranſparent and as big as a ſmall Olive. Theſe Grapes are dry'd and tranſported all over the Kingdom. They alſo make the ſtrongeſt Wine in the World, and the moſt luſcious, but very thick, as all ſtrong and ſweet wines uſually are. This incomparable Grape grows only upon the young Branches, which they never water. So that for five months together they grow in the Heat of Summer, and under a ſcorching Sun, without receiving a drop of water either from the skie or otherwiſe. When the Vintage is over, they let in their Cattel to browze in the Vineyards; afterwards they cut off all the great Wood, and leave only the young ſtocks about three foot high, which need no propping up with Poles, as in other places, and therefore they never make uſe of any ſuch ſupporters. There is alſo great Plenty of Piſtachio's in thoſe parts, where the Air is very hot in the Summer all the day long, by reaſon of the high Mountain that lies to the North. But on the other ſide the Nights are ſo cold, that if a Man expoſe himſelf never ſo little to the air, after he is undreſt, he is ſure to fall ſick. *Caſbin* lies in 85. deg. and 5. min. of Long. and in 36. deg. and 35. min. of Latitude.

The moſt part of our *European* Chorographers who have diſcours'd of the Cities of *Perſia*, affirm *Caſbin* to be the ancient *Arſacia*, and that before it was call'd *Europa* till the *Parthians* gave it that name from *Arſaces*, the firſt of their Emperors; that is it the ſame with that City, which the Greeks call'd *Ragea*, and the holy Scripture *Rages* of *Media*. Some are of opinion, that it was that ſame *Caſbira* of which *Strabo* makes mention, but the Perſian Hiſtories will not allow it to be ſo ancient. The Hiſtory entitl'd *Elbeijon*, or the *Explication*, relates, That this was founded by *Shapour* the Son of *Ardeſhir-babecon*, and that he gave it the name of *Shaepour*, as much as to ſay, the *City of the Kings Son*. For *Shae*, ſignifies a *King*; and *Pour* in the ancient *Perſian*, a *Son*. Whence the name of *Sha-pour*, which the ancient Greeks call *Sapores*. The Hiſtory entitl'd *Teduine*, affirms, that the City which was call'd *Shaepour* was not *Caſbin*, and that it was not built on the ſame place where *Caſbin* now ſtands; but at leaſt three Leagues above, toward the Weſt, at the Concourſe

of

of two Rivers, the one named *Haroud*, already mention'd, which ſprings from the Mountain *Alou-vent*, and the other call'd *Ebber-roud*, or the River of *Ebber*.

I have heard ſeveral Perſons of Quality affirm, that there are in that place vaſt heaps of Ruins to be ſeen; and all Authors agree that the two Towns, call'd *Sartſhé*, not far from thence, were built in the Reign of *Ardeſhir-babecon*. Another Perſian Hiſtory, compos'd by an Author call'd by the name of *Ambdalla*, relates that *Casbin* had its firſt Riſe from a Caſtle which the King laſt mention'd caus'd to be built, to ſtop the Inroads of the *Deilemites*, that came down from Mount *Alouvent*, and ravag'd all the Territory. That this Caſtle was ſeated in the middle of the City, where is now the Royal *Piazza* of *Caſbin*, and that it was ruin'd by the *Arabians* in the time of *Oſman*, one of *Mahomets* firſt ſucceſſors. And indeed almoſt all their Hiſtories make mention of this Caſtle, and ſay, that after it was demoliſh'd it was rebuilt again much larger then before, and a great Town rais'd round about it. *Mouſael-badibilla*, the Son of *Mahomet-mehdy*, Califf of *Bagdat*, caus'd it to be ſurrounded with walls in the 170. year of the *Hegyra*, and about a thouſand paces from it built a little City, which he call'd by his own name *Medina-Mouſſi*, which name one large Ward or Quarter of *Caſbin* carrys to this day. *Moubarec-ſuzbec* one of the *Califfs* free'd Servants, who had the Government of the Province, and to whom the work was recommended, built another City, at an equal diſtance, and call'd it *Moubarekié*, for the preſervation of his name, which the *Perſians* ſome time after call'd *Moubarec-abad*. *Moubarec* ſignifying bleſſed, *abada habitation*.

Haron-Reſhid Brother and Succeſſor to *Mouſa-elhadi*, joyn'd theſe three little Cities into one, by filling up the void ſpace with a great number of buildings; and then order'd the whole to be encompaſs'd with Walls and Fortifications. Which work was begun in the 190 year of the *Hegyra*. *Haron* alſo had a deſign to have made it a Bull-wark againſt the Incurſions of the *Hircanians* and *Deilamites*, and a *Magazine* for the warr which he was intending againſt *Iberia*, and withal a place of Trade: but dying not long after, the work remain'd imperfect. In the year 245, in the Reign of *Muktadis-billa-Mouſi*, *Nuſa's* ſon, who had ſhaken off the Yoak of that *Pontiff*, and uſurp'd the Royal Authority in *Perſia*, finiſh'd the Walls and Fortifications, and gave to the City, the name of *Caſbin*, or *Caſvin*, for the word is ſometimes pronounc'd with a *b*, and ſometimes with a *v*, from a word that ſignifies Puniſhment

or

or pain, becauſe he impriſon'd in that Gaſtle all his *Grandees* which he deſign'd to puniſh. There is alſo another reaſon giv'n for the Denomination, that is to ſay, becauſe this City was once a place of Exilement. Tho *Acemberg*, an *Armenian* Author, is of a different opinion; for he believes that the City of *Caſbin* was ſo call'd by King *Caſbin*, after his own name.

In the year 364. a part of the Wall being fall'n down, *Saheb Califf Iſhmael*, chief miniſter of ſtate to *Alié-fecre-deulet*, King of *Perſia*, caus'd the Ruins to be repair'd, and being almoſt utterly deſtroy'd in the Civil Wars, *Emir ſherif-abouali Jafer*, took care of its Reſtauration, and in the year, 411. caus'd the work to be follow'd ſo cloſe, that within two Years, there was no ſigne of any Ruins. The Hiſtory of *Caſbin* makes mention of two other fatal diſaſters that befell it, occaſion'd by Earth-quakes. The firſt in the year 460. that overturn'd all the walls and a third part of the Buildings: And the ſecond which did not ſo much miſchief as the firſt, in the year 562. at what time *Mahomet*, the Son of *Abdalla-elmegare*, who reign'd in the Country of the *Parthians*, remov'd his Court near *Caſbin*, to view the Ruins, and take care of the Reparations. And becauſe that the walls which were then only of Earth did not ſeem ſufficiently beautiful nor ſtrong enough for ſo great a City, he caus'd that which the Earth-quake had left ſtanding, to be pull'd down, and rais'd up other Walls of red Brick. The Walls were a hundred thouſand and three hundred paces in compaſs, and at the end of every five hundred paces fortifi'd with Towers. The *Tartars* and *Turks* utterly ruin'd theſe Towers and Walls at ſeveral Times, and thoſe that were rebuilt in their Room, after the deſtructions of every new invaſion. The Ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen, as I have ſaid already.

After all *Caſbin* was reſtor'd and rebuilt as you ſee, it has enjoy'd for above theſe three hundred years both peace and plenty, by the Advantage of its ſituation, which renders it ſo convenient for the Trade of *Iberia*, *Hyrcania*, and *Media*, with the Southern Provinces of the Kingdom. In the 955. year of the *Hegyra*, King *Tahmas*, deſpairing to defend *Tauris* againſt *Solyman*, retir'd to *Casbin*, and made that City the *Metropolis* of his Kingdom: finding it convenient for all Seaſons in the Year. There he ſpent the Winter; in the Summer he retir'd three or four Leagues into the Country, and liv'd in Tents, at the foot of Mount *Alouvent*, in a place abounding with cool Springs

and

and pleaſant Shades. His Succeſſors liv'd after the ſame Rate, till *Abas* the Great, who the firſt year of his Reign remov'd his Court to *Iſpahan*. And there are ſeveral Reaſons alledg'd for this Change. Some attributed it to the Air of *Casbin*, which the King did not find ſo healthful: Others affirm that he was frighted by the *Aſtrologers*, who told him, that the Stars threat'ned him with ſeveral Misfortunes if he ſtaid at *Casbin*. But others aſſert, it was only the better to accompliſh the deſign of building a new City, as being over perſwaded, that it was the ſurer way to Eternize his Memory then all his great Actions. But the moſt probable Reaſon was one which I heard from a great Lord, who was highly eſteem'd by that Potent Prince, That when he had laid the deſign of thoſe Conqueſts which he made with ſo much Renown, as well to the Eaſt as to the South, he forſook *Casbin* and remov'd to *Iſpahan*, that he might be nearer the Country which he intended to Conquer.

However it were, the City is much decay'd, ſince the Removal of the Royal Reſidence, and that it has loſt all thoſe Perquiſites that ſet forth the Pomp and Grandeur of a ſumptuous Court. The Succeſſors of *Abas* have reſided there for one or two years together, and the deceas'd King was upon his way thither when he dy'd. For the City had earneſtly importun'd him by Preſents and Requeſts, and were ſo overjoy'd to underſtand his Majeſty was coming, that they preſented the Meſſenger that brought the news with a Preſent of three hundred *Tomans*, which amounts to about one thouſand Guines.

Now the chief advantage which accrews to the City from the Court's reſiding there, is the conſumption of a vaſt quantity of Proviſion which the Country produces, and which they cannot export, in regard the Countries round about have no need of ſupplies.

Now beſides all that has been ſaid, that renders *Casbin* a famous City, we muſt not forget that it has been a place celebrated for the Birth of ſeveral great men: among the reſt *Locman*, highly eſteem'd for the Fables which he ſo well compos'd in imitation of *Eſop*, that ſome learned Men uphold it to be the ſame Book.

The City is govern'd by a *Darogué*, or *Mayor*, who is choſen every Year, and in that Year makes his office worth him ſix hundred *Tomans*; or two thouſand pounds. In their Judicial Acts and Records, they give to this City the additi-

onal name of *Daral-Seltenet*, or *the Seat of Royalty*; becauſe the Kings of *Perſia* who reign'd in the 15. and 16. Ages there kept their Court as has been ſaid.

We ended our days Journey at *Kiaré*, a large Village conſiſting of five hundred Houſes; in the midſt of which upon a riſing Ground ſtands a Caſtle of Earth half ruin'd. The Remainder of ſeveral ſtrong Places in this Country demoliſh'd in the 13. Age: Before which time Invaſions were ſo frequent, and ſo ſudden, and the Civill Warrs ſo tedious and ſo furiouſly carry'd on, that they were forc'd to fortify themſelves every where, and defend themſelves from all ſorts of Perſons: for ſuch like Caſtles are to be ſeen in all the Villages, and great Towns, that are under the Juriſdiction of *Caſbin*.

The 10. we travell'd four Leagues in a plain and pleaſant Country, as in the preceding days; ſtill directing Courſe to the South. And our manner of travelling all the way, particularly from *Miané*, which is upon the Confines in the Evening an hour or two before Sun ſet, rode a Journey, of five or ſix Leagues by Midnight, or thereabouts. Longer Journeys of eight or nine Leagues held us almoſt all night long which is the general way of travelling over all the Eaſt in Summer time, to avoi'd the heat of the Sun, which would melt both Man and Beaſt in the day time. In the night we travell'd a greater pace and more at eaſe: the Servants walk a foot with leſs trouble; and the Maſters themſelves are glad to walk ſometimes, when they find themſelves ſleepy, and to ſhake off thoſe little ſhiverings caus'd by the Coolneſs of the Air; beſides that it is a great eaſe to the Horſes. When you get to your Inn, you go to Bed, and fetch up that ſleep in the day, which you loſt in the night. Another advantage of travelling by night is this, that the Beaſts of Carriage, reſt all the time that the Heat and the Flies moleſt 'em, and are better lookt after, while the Servants dreſs 'em by day-light; beſides that in the day time Proviſions both for Horſe and Man are more ready to be had. And then again the Hoſts of the *Caravanſeray*, having ſlept almoſt all the day for want of Employment, are then up and ready at all Commands.

The firſt thing which the Grooms do, at the firſt coming into the Inn, is to walk the Horſes, then they cloath them and looſen their Girts. About an hour or two after, they give 'em to eat, and then the Grooms go to ſleep: about nine or ten a Clock every body riſes, and eats a light Breakfaſt;

after

after that the Grooms dreſs their Horſes, and the Cooks get ready their Victuals. In the mean time the Maſter betakes himſelf again to his Reſt, or elſe otherwiſe employs himſelf. About four a Clock they meat their Horſes with Barley (for they never give 'em Oats in the Eaſt) and then put on the Saddle: at which time Supper is ſerv'd in. While the Maſter Sups, the Cook cleanſes the Kitchin Furniture, and the *Valet de Chambre* puts up the *Maſra's*, which is a kind of Portmantle where the Bed and Bed-cloaths are put up, with as much Convenience as in a Cheſt, of which one Horſe will carry two. Then the Servants go to Supper, while the Maſter gets himſelf ready and puts on his Boots. When the Servants have ſupp'd, which is ſoon done among the Aſiatics: the Cook puts up his Utenſils, and the Groom bridles and girts up the Horſes, and the reſt fold up the Carpets, or do what elſe belong to their Duties: laſtly, they load and ſo depart. They that have not ſeen the Faſhions of the Eaſt, will hardly believe with what Conveniency Men travel in thoſe Parts. However it is very great, though a man may be ſaid to carry a whole Houſe a long with him: and the reaſon is, becauſe every Servant knowing what he has to do, every thing is diſpatch'd in an Inſtant.

We lodg'd at *Segs-abad*, which ſignifies the Habitation of Dogs; being a Town as large as *Kiare*; ſeated in a fair Plain, where there are a great number of Villages. There are no Inns at either of thoſe two places, but in each fifteen or twenty great Houſes, which the Owners keep open for the Entertainment of Travellers, and which are kept much more cleanly than the *Caravanſerais*. There is alſo much better Accommodation, but at a dearer rate: For the Hoſt not daring to demand either for his Lodging or his Trouble, which is not the Cuſtom, he pays himſelf by the Provender and Proviſions which he ſells his Gueſts at his own price, whereas in the *Caravanſerais* every thing is tax'd.

The 11. we travell'd eight Leagues: the firſt two over Mole-hills and little hills, where the way was ſomwhat rugged; the reſt over a fair champaign Ground full of Villages, and for the moſt part well manur'd. It is ſaid to be the place where the Battel was fought between *Lucullus* and *Mithridates*, and which the defeat of *Craſſus* render'd yet more famous in the Roman Hiſtory.

We alighted at an Inn call'd *Koskeirou*, one of the faireſt and largeſt that ever was built in *Perſia*. There are belonging

ing to it two Gardens, two Ciſterns, a Bath, and a ſmall Canal: being altogether the Gifts of the Chief Wife of *Abas* the Great. She founded this place, and ſettled a Revenue of Fourſcore Pounds to pay four Servants that were to lodge in the Inn, meerly to keep it clean, and to wait upon Travellers. But the fourſcore Pounds have bin ſince converted to other uſes, through the Covetouſneſs of the Truſtees. Which is the reaſon that the *Caravanſerai* lies very naſty every where, and runs to ruin for want of good keeping. It coſt four Thouſand *Tomans* the Building, which comes to eighteen thouſand Pounds. There are alſo in *Perſia* other Inns, beſides Bridges, Cauſeys, and Hoſpitals, remaining Monuments of the Charity of that Princeſs; which have render'd her Name famous, and if we may believe public Report, ſhe expended in Pious Works, no leſs than a hundred thouſand *Tomans*, which make about four hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling.

The 12. we travell'd eight Leagues, three over the pleaſant Plains where ſtands *Koskeiron*; and five in a deep Country, where the Road is ſomewhat crooked and rough. Two hours before day we arriv'd at *Sava*, and lodg'd in the Suburbs that lie upon the high Road.

Sava is a great City ſeated in a ſandy and barren Plain, within ſight of Mount *Alouvent*. It is two miles in Circuit, and girt with walls, but thinly peopl'd: for unleſs it be the Heart of the City, the reſt runs to ruin for want of Inhabitants. The Walls are alſo in a bad condition, nor is there any thing remarkable round about it; tho formerly it has been a fair City, as the ruins of ſeveral great Structures demonſtrate. There runs a ſmall River through, and a good number of Canals. The Soyl is dry and ſandy; producing nothing without Art and Induſtry; yet it is beautify'd with a great number of Gardens. The Air is there very hot, and unhealthy. It lies 35. deg. 50. min. of Lat. 85. deg. of Longitude; and is govern'd by a *Derogué* or Mayor.

The Hiſtories of *Perſia* unanimouſly conſent, that the whole Plain of *Sava*, was formerly a Salt Marſh or Lake, like to that Lake which is call'd the *Salt-Sea*, not above twenty Leagues from this City to the Eaſt, and which is croſs'd over a Cauſey thirty Leagues in length, as ye travel from *Iſpahan* into *Hyrcania*; but thoſe Hiſtories do not agree upon the time that this Marſh was dry'd up. Some fabulouſly report that it was the ſame night that *Mahomet* was born. Others that it was *Haly*, his Son-in-Law, who drain'd away the waters

by

by a Miracle. And the ſame Hiſtories report, that he wrought that Miracle, onely by the pronuntiation of one word; and that he did it in favour to the Inhabitants of *Com*, who took his part againſt the Father-in-Law of *Mahomet*. They alſo add, that thoſe People, to preſerve the Memory of ſo great an Accident, built a City in the midſt of that ſame drain'd Fenn, and laid the firſt Stone upon the Sun's entring into *Gemini*. The northern People ruin'd it in the fourth Age of *Mahumetiſm*. But *Coja-Sehid-el-din* the Son of *Melec-Sheref-el-din-Savegi* rebuilt it forty years after that, much more ſtately than it was before its Deſtruction, wall'd it, and pav'd it with red Bricks. Sometime after that *Coja-Séhid-el-din* enlarg'd it to the North, and brought the water to it through ten Channels, and built a ſpacious Moſque in the Eaſtern part of it, upon the ſame Foundation where *Suyed-Eſhac*, the Son of *Imam-Mouſa-Cazem* had built one ſeveral Ages before. Cloſe adjoyning to that Moſque ſtands the ſumptuous Tomb of *Bercordar-bec* Grand Maſter of the Ordnance of *Perſia*, who dy'd of a Dropſie in that City about ten years ago.

Juſt over againſt *Sava*, to the Eaſt, at the diſtance of four Leagues, ſtands a place of Pilgrimage, the moſt famous for the Devotion of the *Perſians*. They call it *Ech-mouil*, that is to ſay, *Samuel*; for they believe that Prophet was there interr'd; over his Tomb there is built a moſt ſumptuous *Mauſoleum* in the midſt of a magnificent *Moſque*. Oppoſite to this, that is Weſtward, nine miles from the City, under the ſame Parallel, are to be ſeen ſome footſteps here and there of that famous City of *Rey*, the biggeſt City in *Aſia*. The Wonders that are recounted of it are incredible, nevertheleſs they are generally aſcertain'd by all Hiſtorians; and by ſome as if they had been Eye-witneſſes. The Perſian Hiſtories report, that in the Time of *Calife Medybilla-abou-Mahamed-Darvanich*, who liv'd in the ninth Age of Chriſtianiſm, the City of *Rey* was divided into 96 Quarters, of which every one contain'd 46 Streets, and every Street 400 Houſes and ten *Moſques*. That there were moreover in the City 6400 Colleges, 16600 Baths, 15000 Towers of Moſques; 12000 Mills, 1700 Channels, and 13000 Inns. I dare not inſert the number of Houſes, becauſe I cannot believe there were half ſo many people: Nevertheleſs our Geography is in that particular aſſerted, and juſtifi'd by all the Oriental Authors. The Arabian Writers affirm in like manner, that in the third Age of Mahumetiſm, which is exactly at the ſame time, that *Rey* was

the beſt peopl'd City in *Aſia*; and next to *Babylon* there never was any City ſo conſiderable, either for the Number, Wealth, or Trade of her Inhabitants. And hence it was, that thoſe pompous Titles were given her in Hiſtories, *The firſt of Cities, the Spouſe of the World, the Gate of the Gates of the Earth,* and *the Market of the Univerſe.* Nor is the Original of *Rey* leſs remarkable. The Chronicle of the *Magi* makes *Chus*, the Grand-Child of *Noah*, to be the Founder of it, and adds that he laid the firſt Stone when the Sun was in *Scorpio.* But the Vulgar Opinion is, that it was founded by *Houſheing-Piſhdadi*, or *Chief Juſticiary.* The Orientals give this Title to all the Kings of *Perſia* of the firſt Race, as being the firſt Governors and Legiſlators that came to their Knowledge. *Houſheing* was the ſecond King of that Race. *Manourſher*, the firſt King after *Houſheing*, greatly enlarg'd it: and it continu'd in its Splendor till the Conqueſt of the firſt Mahumetans that deſtroy'd it. *Mehdi-billa*, ſurnam'd *Manſour*, or the Victorious, the third *Califfe* of *Babylon*, rais'd it to be greater and more populous then before; and under his Succeſſors it was, that it arriv'd to that degree of Grandeur which we have related. The laſt deſtruction that befel it happen'd in the Time of the Civil Wars, at what time the Tartars extended their Incurſions into the Country of the Parthians. The Religion of the Mahumetans was then divided into Sects, as at this day: ſo that the Sect of *Shia*, which was that which the Perſians ſtuck to, and that of the *Sunnis* which the Turks follow'd, divided the whole Country. Theſe two Factions were at War for ſixty years together, and the Sect of *Shia* being born down, by the the Aſſiſtance of the petty Tartars, who are *Sunnis*, the victorious Sect ſub-divided themſelves into two other Opinions, which they call from the Name of their firſt Broachers, *Shafai* and *Hanifei*, which flouriſh to this day among the Mahumetan *Sunnis.* Theſe Wars, together with the Incurſions of the Tartars, deſtroy'd the Potent *Rey*, and reduc'd it to nothing before the end of the ſixth Age of the Mahumetan *Epoche.* Threeſcore years after that *Facré-Eddin* Prince of *Parthia*, having made a Peace with *Cazan-Can* King of *Perſia*, of the Race of the Tartars, endeavour'd to rebuild this unfortunate City, but could not accompliſh his Deſign. *Ptolomy* calls this City *Raquaja*, and the reſt of the greek Authors call it by ſuch Names, as ſeem to be form'd from the word *Rey.* It lies in 35. deg. and 35. min. of Latitude, and 76. deg. 20. min. of Longitude. The Soyl is fertil and pleaſant; and produces plenty

plenty of good Fruits. The Air is unhealthy, makes the Skin look yellow, and breeds Agues; nevertheleſs it is ſaid the People liv'd there as long as in other places, which is a wonder, and occaſion'd that Perſian Diſtick.

Dreaming I ſaw, and naked in his Shirt
The Angel of the Dead;
Who of the City Rey, *by break of day*
Th' unwholſome Vapors fled.

This City has produc'd a great many Learned Men, and hoarded within its own boſom for ſeveral Ages, the chiefeſt part of the Riches of the Eaſt. It is reported that during its Splendor, the ſmaller Moſques had no leſs then a hundred Branches of all ſorts of Metal, furniſh'd with burning Tapers, and the larger Moſques five hundred, that were kept lighted all night long.

The 13. we travell'd ſix Leagues through a plain and level Country: but the Road was full of turnings and windings, by reaſon of the turning and winding of the River, and the ſeveral Canals in ſeveral parts of the Plain that water the Grounds. We paſs'd over one large Bridge, and ſeveral ſmall ones, and lodg'd at a great Inn built upon a flat piece of Ground, near to four others which are not ſo big. It is call'd *Jafer-abad*; or the Habitation of *Jafer*, from the name of a great Perſian Lord, who caus'd the firſt Inns to be built that ever were built in this place.

The 14. we travell'd five Leagues over the ſame Plain. When we came about half way, we rode along by the ſide of a little Hill call'd *Coub-Teliſme*; *Coub* ſignifying a Mountain, and *Teliſme* that which we call *Taliſman*, or Hyeroglyphic. This Mountain has one thing remarkably peculiar to it, which I never could believe till now; Which is this, That ſtill as you approach nearer and nearer to it, it ſhews a different form; and varies both in its bigneſs and figure. The Top or Point of it is always in ſight, and you would think, that it turn'd that ſide which way ſoever you ſtood to look upon it: which I have experienc'd to be true, as having beheld this Mountain from all the points of the Compaſs. Which natural Inchantment may proceed in my Opinion, from the variety of the Optick *Mediums* through which that little Mountain is beheld, Nature having there ſported ſomething that reſembles thoſe Ingenuous Pictures, that vary the Object by turning the Poſture

ſture of the Picture this or that way to the Eye. It conſiſts of a black Earth, that crumbles like the burnt Mould at the foot of Mountains that vomit fire: and it is full of Caves and blind Corners, that ſeem to have been made of purpoſe. This made me enquire of the People of the Country, whether that Mountain was wont to caſt forth fire; but I could, meet with no body that ever ſaw or heard of any ſuch thing. But this is a publick Caution to all men: For they tell ye, that they who deſire to aſcend that Mountain never come back; and it is reported that *Abas* the Great one day ſent a Foot-Boy up with a Creſſet Light upon his Shoulders, but that the Light preſently went out and the Fellow never appear'd more. This Mountain lies upon the left hand as you go to *Com*.

To which City as we drew near, we ſaw on every ſide the little *Mauſoleums* and Moſques, where the Grand-Children and Deſcendants of *Aly* lie interr'd. The Perſians call the firſt Deſcendants from this *Califfe*, *Yman Zade*, or Sons of the *Apoſtles*; and theſe are the Perſian Saints, of which there are an infinite number buried in this Kingdom; for they reckon four hundred Sepulchers about *Com*. We made this City the end of our Journey at ten a Clock at night: and I was afraid I ſhould have ended my Life there too by an Accident altogether unexpected. For I alighted at the Door of the *Caravanſeray*, and held my Horſe by the Bridle, expecting my Groom to come and take him, and what time another led Horſe perceiving me at his Tail, up with his hind Legs, and with all his force yerk'd with his Heels at my Breaſt; ſo that had I been never ſo little farther from him, he had broken my Bones. I confeſs I did not fall; for I was ſupported by my Horſes head, but for a quarter of an hour I was almoſt ſtifl'd, not being able to fetch my Breath. God in his Mercy took Compaſſion of me, ſo that I eſcap'd the fury of the Blow; tho I felt it ſix weeks afterwards; yet not ſo, but that I could go about my Buſineſs as I was wont.

Com is a large City ſeated in a Plain by a River ſide, half a League from a very high Mountain. The Figure of it reſembles a long Square, taking its length from Eaſt to Weſt, as may be ſeen in the Draught. It contains fifteen thouſand Houſes, as the People ſay: It is ſurrounded with a Moat and Wall flanqu'd with Towers half ruin'd; and encompaſs'd with Gardens; of which there are ſome very large on that ſide of the water. In one of the faireſt of which Grounds the *Mauſoleum* of *Ruſtan-Can*, a Prince of the Race of the laſt Kings of

Georgia,

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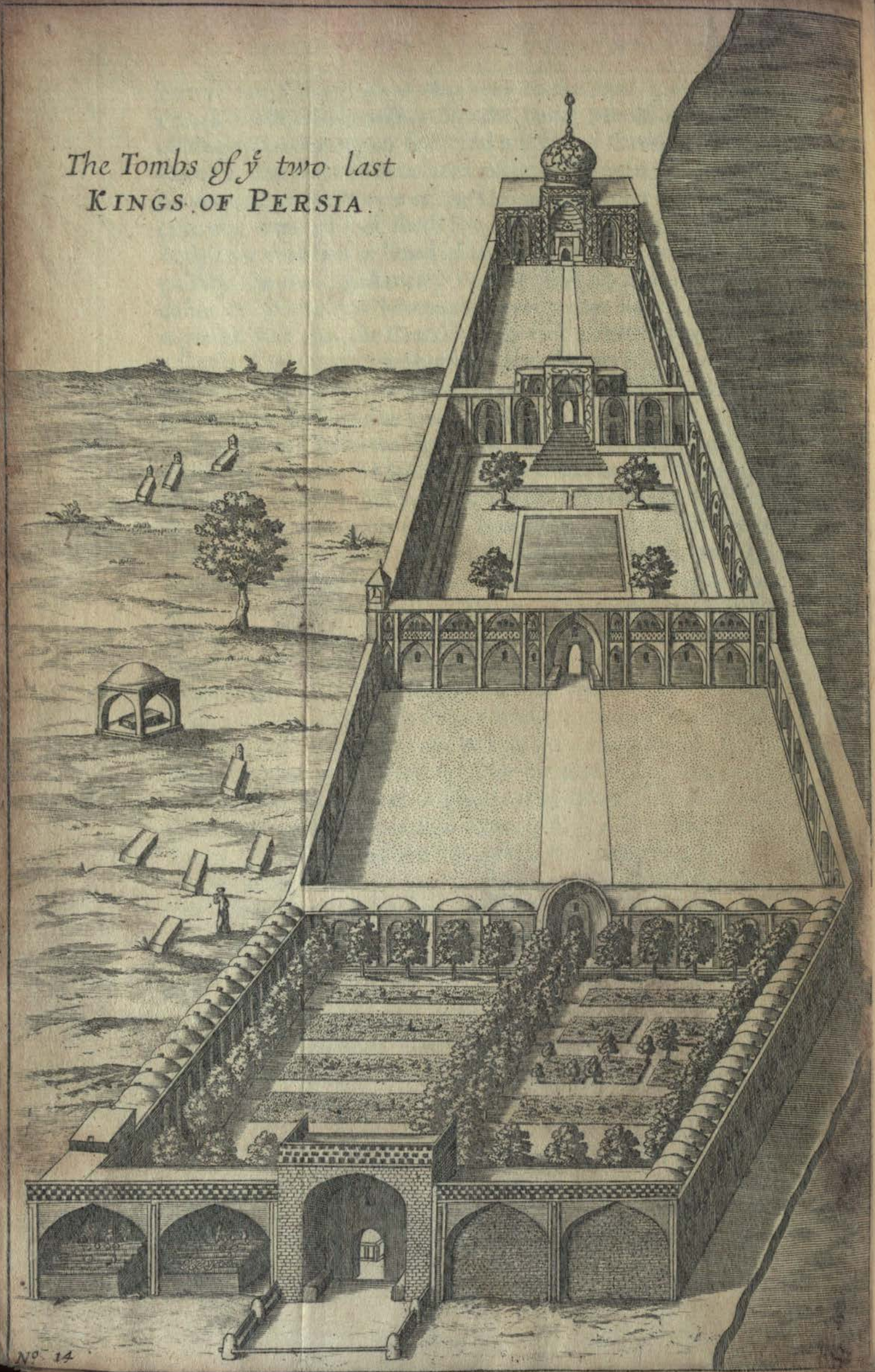
The Tombs of ye two last
KINGS OF PERSIA.
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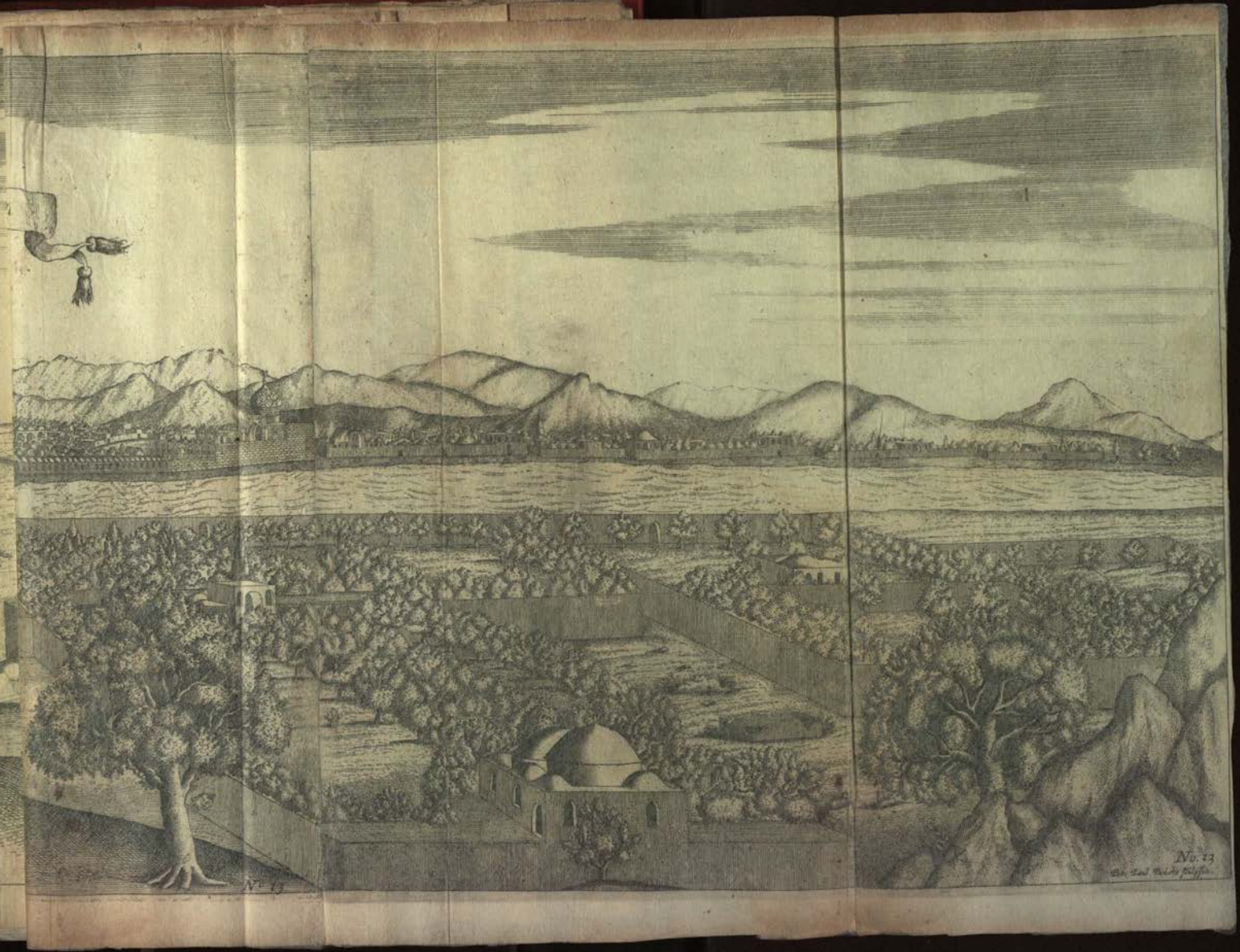
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Georgia, who embrac'd the Mahometan Religion, to obtain the Government of that Kingdom: and in this Garden it is that the common people of *Com* moſt uſually take their Recreation. There are alſo two fair Keys all along the River, the whole length of the City; and at the Eaſt end a fair Bridge. It contains alſo very large and beautiful *Bazars*, where the Markets are kept both for Whole-Sale and Retail. Nevertheleſs *Com* is no place of great Trade: they export from thence vaſt Quantities of Fruit dry'd and raw, eſpecially *Pomegranates*, great ſtore of Sope, Sword Blades, and Earthen Ware both white and varniſh'd. And this is peculiar to the white Ware, which is thence tranſported, that in the Summer it cools the water wonderfully and very ſuddenly, by reaſon of continual Tranſpiration. So that they who deſire to drink cool and deliciouſly, never drink in the ſame Pot above five or ſix days at moſt. They waſh it with Roſe-Water the firſt time,, to take away the ill ſmell of the Earth; and they hang it in the Air full of water, wrapt up in a moiſt linnen Cloth. A fourth part of the water tranſpires in ſix hours the firſt time, after that ſtill leſs from day to day, till at laſt the Pores are clos'd up, by the thick matter contein'd in the water, which ſtops in the Pores. But ſo ſoon as the Pores are ſtopp'd, the water ſtinks in the Pots, and you muſt take new ones. There are in this City a vaſt number of deep Cellars, out of which the People draw water to drink: to the greateſt part of which Cellars, you muſt go down a deſcent of forty or fifty Steps, that are very ſteep to boot. But the water which they fetch from thence is as cool as any Ice; coming from Fountains that are ſtopt with Cocks: So that this Water is a moſt delicious Refreſhment in the Summer, which is furiouſly hot at *Com*, and all the adjacent Parts. This City alſo contains a great number of fair Inns and *Moſques*, of which the faireſt is that wherein the two laſt deceas'd Kings of *Perſia* lie enterr'd.

And here I ſhall give you the Platform of that Celebrated *Moſque*, ſo much talk'd of over all the Eaſt. It has four Courts belonging to it, as you may perceive by the Draught. The firſt is planted with Trees and Flowers like a Garden: being a long Square, having an Alley in the middle which is ſeparated from the Beds and Plots by a Baluſtrade. There are alſo two Terraſſes an each ſide, running the full length of the Garden, three foot high. Upon each ſide of which there are twenty Chambers vaulted, nine foot ſquare,

one Chimney and a *Portico*. At the Entrance into this Court, upon the left hand, there's one of theſe deep Cellars, and upon the right hand an Aviary. It is a place deſign'd for Recreation. For it is moreover encompaſs'd with a Canall of clear water, that runs out of one Fountain at the Entrance, and empties it ſelf into another at the end. Ten Diſticks in Letters of Gold, over the Top of the Portal, compoſe the Inſcription of this *Mauſoleum*; of which the Tranſlation is as follows.

The Date of the Portal of the Tomb of the moſt Venerable and Pure Virgin of Com, *upon whom be Salvation.*

In the time of the happy Reign of Abas *the Second, the Support of the World, to whom increaſe of days, This Gate was open'd in the face* of the *People. Whoever caſts up his Eyes,* looſeth the *Idea of Paradiſe.*

Who has ever croſs'd her Courts, whoſe Aſpect *rejoyces Hearts, has not paſſ'd 'em ſwiftly like the wind.*

The Word ſignifies deſire.

Maſoom *Vicar to the Great* Pontiff, *whoſe ſage Counſels teach the Sun to govern his Motion, caus'd this Portal to be made by one of his Subſtitutes* Aga Mourad, the *Height and Excellency of which ſurpaſſes the Celeſtial Throne.*

This is the Entrance into the Palace Royal of the thrice Venerable pure Virgin, deſcended from the Houſe of the Prophet.

Happy and Glorious that faithful Perſon that ſhall proſtrate his head upon the Threſhold of this Gate, in Imitation of the Sun and Moon. Whatever he ſhall demand with Faith from above, *this Gate ſhall be like an Arrow that hits the Mark,* that is to ſay, ſhall anſwer his Deſires.

Certainly Fortune ſhall never moleſt the Enterpriſes of him, who for the Love of God rais'd this Portal in the Face of the People.

O thou Faithful, if thou demand'ſt in what Year this Portal was built, I anſwer thee, from above the Portal, from *Deſire* demand thy Deſires.

To underſtand this laſt Diſtich, you muſt underſtand, that whereas in our Alphabet, there are but ſeven Numeral Letters, or which ſerve inſtead of a Cipher, as V. for five, X. for ten; L. for fifty, *&c.* The Alphabet in the Oriental Languages, ſtands for Arithmetical Numbers: and ſo for a knack of Wit, which indeed requires a quick Fancy, they denote the Year of any thing by words that have ſome reſemblance to the Thing done, and are compos'd of Letters, which according to their arithmetical Value, make up juſt the Year of their *Epoche*: and the Letters of this word make 1061. Year. Of which I ſhall produce another Example.

The

The deceas'd King of *Perſia* caus'd a Tent to be made that coſt one hundred and fifty Thouſand Pounds. It was call'd the Houſe of Gold; becauſe there was nothing but Gold that gliſter'd in every part of it. I ſhall give you the Deſcription of it in another place. It may be eaſily conjectur'd that it was a ſumptuous and coſtly Piece, as well by the Price that it coſt, as by the number of Camels which were requir'd to carry it, that were in all 280. The Anti-chamber was made of Velvet with a Ground of Gold. Of which the Corniſh was embelliſh'd with Verſes that concluded in this manner, *If thou demandeſt at what time the Throne of this Second* Salomon *was built*, I will tell thee, Behold the Throne of the Second *Salomon*; where the Letters of the laſt words being tak'n for Ciphers make 1057. Years. Which is look'd upon as meer Gibbriſh in our Language, but among the Orientals paſſes for Wit and Ornament.

The ſecond Court is not ſo beautiful as the firſt; but the third is nothing inferiour to it. It is ſurrounded with Apartments, every one containing two Stories, a Terraſs, a *Portico*, and a Canal, in like manner as the former. Four large Trees ſtand at each Corner, and cover it with their Boughs. Out of this third Court you enter into the fourth, by a Marble Aſcent conſiſting of twelve Steps. The Portal which is at the Top, is a moſt magnificent Piece. It is cover'd below with white Marble, tranſparent like to Porphiry or Aggat. The top of it which is a large half *Duomo* is painted with *Moreſco* Work of Or and Azure laid on very thick. In this fourth Court are alſo Chambers both at the lower end, and on both ſides, with Terraſſes and *Portico's*, like the other three. Thoſe are the Lodgings for the Prieſts, the Governors and Students, that live upon the Revenues of that ſacred Place.

Fronting theſe Courts ſtands the Body of the Structure, conſiſting of three great Chappels upon a Line. To the middlemoſt belongs an Entrance eighteen Foot deep, every way magnificent, the Portal being of the ſame white Marble already mention'd. The Top, which is alſo a large half *Duomo*, is over-laid without, with large ſquare Tiles of Cheney, painted with *Moreſco* Work, and within embelliſh'd with Gold and Azure. The Door which is twelve foot high, and ſix broad, is all of tranſparent Marble. The folding Doors are plated with Silver, embelliſh'd with Vermillion guilt, carv'd Work and poliſh'd, which make a Moſaic altogether coſtly and full of Curioſity. The Chappel is Octogonal, cover'd with a high *Duomo*; the lower part of which Chappel is cover'd with

with large Tiles of Porphiry wav'd, and painted with Flowers in Gold and Colours, ſo lively and full of Luſtre that they dazle the Eye. The upper part is of *Moreſco* Work, of lively and glittering Gold and Azure, and the Bottom of the *Duomo* is all of the ſame. This *Duomo* is very large and wonderfully beautiful, being overlaid without like the Portal. From the top of all ariſes a Spire, with a Creſcent fixt at the top, the ends of which are reverſe, as you ſee in the Figure. This Pinacle, which is of a remarkable Bigneſs, is compoſs'd of ſeveral Bowls of ſeveral Proportions, ſet one upon another, and appears as you ſtand below to be about twenty foot high with the Creſcent, the whole of fine Gold. The Perſians affirm it to be all Maſſy: which if it be true, the Pinacle is worth Millions; but let it be what it will, 'tis a noble Ornament, of which the Value cannot but amount to a large Summ.

In the midſt of that Chappel ſtands the Tomb of *Fatima*, the Daughter of *Mouſa Caſem*, one of the twelve *Califfs*, which the Perſians believe to have been the lawful Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, after the Death of *Ali* his Son in-Law. It contains eight feet in length, five in bredth, and ſix in height. Over-laid with Tiles of *China*, painted *alamoreſca*, and over-ſpread with Cloth of Gold that hangs down to the ground on every ſide. It is enclos'd with a Grate of Maſſy Silver, ten foot high, diſtant half a foot from the Tomb; and at each Corner crown'd as it were with large Apples of fine Gold. Which is done to the end the People ſhould not ſully the Tomb with their kiſſing and handling it: for the Tomb is lookt upon as a ſacred Piece. Several breadths of Velvet hung about the inſide of the Grate, hide it from the view of the People: ſo that only Favor or Money can procure a ſight of it. The Flooer likewiſe is cover'd with a Carpet of very fine Woollen: over which at great Feſtival Times, are ſpread others of Silk and Gold. Over the Tomb, about ten foot in height, hang ſeveral Silver Veſſels which they call *Candil*; being a ſort of Lamp, of which there are ſome that weigh ſixty Marks: and are otherwiſe faſhion'd then the Church Branches, as may be ſeen in the Figures. But they never light up any fire therein, which they are not made to hold, nor any ſort of Liquor, as not having any Bottom.

Upon the Grate hang ſeveral Inſcriptions in Letters of Gold upon thick Velloms, as large as a large ſheet of Paper. Which Inſcriptions contain the Elegies of the Saint and her Family. The Inſcription upon the Front of the Entrance contains

the

the Prayer which they all generally ſay, that come in the Pilgrimage to the Sepulcher. The Pilgrim, when he enters, kiſſes the Threſhold and the Grate three times; and ſtanding upright with his Face towards the Tomb, one of the *Molla's*, that attend there day and night, comes to him, who cauſes him to ſay the Prayer word for word. After the Prayer ſo ſaid, the Pilgrim again kiſſes the Grate, and the foot of the Door; then giving the Prieſt four or five pence, more or leſs, according to his ability, he retires. If he deſires a Certificate of his Pilgrimage, they write him one in due form; the diſpatch of which coſts him half a Piſtole, or eight or nine ſhillings. All the money which the Pilgrims and other Votaries give, is put into a little iron Cheſt, like the Trunk of a Tree, that ſtands at the entrance into the Chappel, which is open'd every *Friday*, and what is found therein is diſtributed among the people that belong to the *Moſque*, and do Duty in that conſecrated place. It would be too long, and perhaps to irkſome, to inſert all the Inſcriptions I have mention'd: and therefore I ſhall only give you the Tranſlation of the two Principal Prayers, which the Pilgrims are bound to ſay.

In the name of God clement and merciful.

I *Viſit my Lady and Miſtreſs* Fatima, *the daughter of* Mouſa, *the ſon of* Dgafar, *upon whom be all Salvation and Peace eternally. And out of my zeal to approach to God by her Interceſſion, I invoke her for my ſelf, my Father and Mother, and all the truly Faithful.*

In the name of God ſoveraignly pitiful, I wiſh thee Health eternal, O Apoſtle of God, I wiſh thee Health eternal, O Elect of God. I wiſh thee Health eternal, O the beſt and moſt perfect of all men, Mahamed *the ſon of* Abdalla. *God grant thee his Mercy, his Grace and his Benedictions, and to all thy Family. I wiſh thee eternal Health, O Prince of the Faithful, O Lord and Chief of the true Vicars of God. I wiſh thee eternal Health, O thou that art the Truth it ſelf. I wiſh thee Health eternal, and the Mercy and Benedictions of God ô* Ali *who art the true Balſom, for the wounds of ſin. I wiſh the Health eternal, O virgin moſt Pure, moſt Juſt, and moſt Immaculate, glorious* Fatima, *the daughter of* Mahammed *the* Elect, *the beſt beloved Wife of* Ali, *the Mother of twelve true Vicars of God, of Illuſtrious Birth; and I alſo wiſh the Mercy of God, and his Benedictions, to thy Mother the moſt precious, the moſt pure, and high-born* Khadidge. *I wiſh the mercy of God and his Benedictions to* Haſan *and* Heuſſein, *true Di-*

rectors of the way of Truth, Celeſtial Flambeaux's of the dark Night of the World, Great Standards of true Piety, unreproachable Teſtimonies of God againſt the World, Lords of all the young Men who are in the Glory of Paradiſe. I wiſh thee Eternal Health O Fatima, *the Daughter of* Mouſa, *Virgin Holy, Vertuous, Juſt, Directrix of the Truth, Pious, Sanctifi'd, worthy of all our Praiſes, who Soveraignly loveſt the Faithful, and who art Soveragnly belov'd: Virgin without blemiſh, and exempt from all Impurity. May God take his Greateſt Delight in thee, look upon thee as pleaſing to Him, and Eſtabliſh thee in Paradiſe, which is thy Eternal Habitation and Refuge. I am come to ſeek thee, O Miſtreſs and Lady of my Soul, in hopes that I may approach the moſt High God by this Act of Piety, and of his Apoſtle and his Holy Children. The Mercy of God be upon him and them Eternally. I Abhor and I Deteſt my Sins, of which I have made me an unhappy Burthen, that ſinks me to the Earth; and I do my Endeavour to break the Yoke of Hell: Vouchſafe me thy Interceſſion, O moſt Holy Virgin, at the Day when the Good ſhall be ſeparated from the Wicked. Be then a propitiation in my behalf, for thou art deſcended from a Race and Genealogy of Parents, that will not ſuffer thoſe that love 'em to fall into Misfortune; that never refuſe any thing to whoever they be that call upon 'em in Prayer; who divert all evil from thoſe that tenderly cheriſh 'em; but whoſe Enemies on the other ſide ſhall never proſper. O God moſt High, the Holy Doctors of the Race of the Prophet, upon all whom be eternal Mercy, thy Peace, and thy Salvation, have truly declar'd and taught that whoever ſhall devoutly viſit* Fatima *of* Com, *ſhall have Paradiſe for his Portion. I am the Man, O my God, who come to viſit her in this manner, perſwaded and convinc'd, as I am, of her Grandeur and her Excellency, and of that of her glorious Anceſtors, pure and clean from all Sin, upon all whom be Mercy and Peace. O God, be favourable to* Mahamed *and the Family of* Mahamed. *Render profitable to my Salvation the Viſit which I make to this Holy Virgin, and confirm me in the favor of her Love. Suffer me not to be depriv'd of the favor of her Interceſſion, and crown me with the Glory of Paradiſe, as thou haſt promis'd to do, for that in thee is Sovereign Power.*

I viſit my Lady and Miſtreſs Fatima, *the Daughter of* Mouſa, *the Son of* Dgafar. *Peace be upon 'em, and let it be wiſh'd 'em eternally by all the Faithful Believers, whoſe Devotion enclines 'em to approach to God by her Interceſſion.*

In the Name of God Clement and Merciful, Peace be upon Adam, *the Elect of God. Salvation be upon* Noah, *the Prophet of God. Salvation be upon* Abraham, *the intimate Friend of God. Salvation upon* Moſes, *the mouth of God. Salvation upon thee* Mahomet, *the*

the ſeal and laſt of the Prophets. Salvation upon thee, the Prince and Director of the Faithful, Aly *the Son of* Abitaleb, *Vicar of the Apoſtles of the Lord of human Creatures. Salvation upon thee* Fatima, *the Lady of the Women of the world. Salvation upon both you, the Graud Children of the Prophet of Mercy, and Lord of the young men that inhabit Paradiſe. Salvation be upon thee* Ali *the Son of* Heuſein, *the Lord of pious Men, and Joy of the Eyes of the glorifi'd Saints. Salvation upon thee* Dgafar *the Son of* Mahomed *the Juſt. Salvation upon thee* Mouſa *the Son of* Dgafar *the* Pure. *Salvation upon thee* Ali *the Son of* Mouſa, *whom we all agree to. Salvation upon thee* Mahomet, *the Son of* Ali, *the tenderly cheriſh'd. Salvation upon thee* Ali *the Son of* Mahomet *the Faithful Counſeller. Salvation upon thee* Haſan *the Son of* Hali. *Salvation upon thee, the Light and Sun of the World, the laſt Apoſtle, and upon the Friend of thy Friends, and upon the Vicar of thy Vicars. Salvation upon thee, the Daughter of the Apoſtle of God. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of* Fatima *and of* Khadidgeh. *Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Director of the Faithful, and the Friend of God. Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Race of* Haſſan *and* Heuſein. *Salvation upon thee the Daughter of the Friend of God. Salvation be to thee the Aunt of the Friend of God. Salvation be to thee the Daughter of* Mouſa *the Son of* Dgafar. *The Mercy of God, his Benedictions and his Salvation be upon ye all. God grant that ye may all know one another in Paradiſe. God grant that we may be aſſembled together in your Company, that we may drink out of our Prophets Fountain, and that you may drink out of the Cup of your Grandfather, from the hand of* Hali *the Son of* Abitaleb. *The Bleſſings of God be upon all us. I pray to God that he may fill us with Gladneſs and Joy, that he may aſſemble us into the company of your Grandfather* Mahomet, *upon whom be the Mercy and Peace of God, and may he never deprive us of your Knowledge; for he is a moſt Powerful Protector. I approach to God under the ſhadow of your Favor, deteſting your Enemies; I make him the Offering of my ſelf, devoting my ſelf for a victim without Ignominy or Pride; and I confeſs with all my heart, that whatever* Mahomet *preach'd is Truth, and I ſubmit thereto. Therefore it is, that we implore thy Aſſiſtance, O Lord our God, thy Compaſſion, and the glory of the day of Judgment. O* Fatima, *intercede for me, for thou art in high Eſteem with God, and thou haſt power in Heaven. O God I pray thee, that thou wilt grant me to make a happy end, nor take away from me any thing that I enjoy. There is moſt certainly neither power nor ſtrength, but by the Favor of the moſt puiſſant and great God. Hear me O God, and accept my Pilgrimage, through thy Liberality, thy Favor, thy Mercy, and thy Clemency.*

mency. Be favourable to Mahamed *and his Family, and grant 'em Salvation and Peace, O ſovereignly-merciful Being.*

To conclude, this *Fathma's* Tomb was rebuilt three times. Her Father carry'd her to *Com*, by reaſon of the great Perſecution, wherewith the *Califfs* of *Bagdat* moleſted his Family, and all thoſe that took *Aly's* part, and held him and his Offſpring for the true Succeſſors of *Mahomet*. She erected ſeveral fair Structures in that City, and there at laſt ended her days. The People believe that God carry'd her to Heaven, and that there is nothing in the Temple, but only a Repreſentation of her Body.

In the two Chappels on each ſide, ſtand the Tombs of the two laſt Kings of *Perſia*: the Portals of which are not ſo large, as the Portal of *Fatima's* Monument: but the folding-Doors are over-laid in the ſame manner with Plates of Silver. They are of an equal Diameter, both the one and the other, at the end of a Gallery twelve foot broad and thirty five in length. At the entrance there is alſo a kind of Veſtry, were the Ornaments and Moveables are kept. The Chappel, where *Abas* lies enterr'd, is an irregular Twelve-Angle: the other where *Sephi* is buried, is an irregular Square. The Veſtries, Galleries and Chappels are hung with rich Tapeſtries: thoſe wherewith the Chappels are hung, are of Gold and Silk woven together. And indeed there can be ſeen nothing more beautiful, nor more magnificent then theſe *Mauſoleums*. The lower part is over-laid with large Tiles of Porphiry, painted with Gold and Azure: the Roofs are a moſt ingenious and delicate Piece of Architecture, all painted with rich *Moreſco* Work in lively Colours, that even dazle the Eye. For the Gold and Azure is laid on ſo thick, that you would ſwear it was all Maſſy in its Subſtance. The *Domo* opens toward the lower part, with a double row of four and twenty Windows; and there is one very large one equal with the Ground, that looks into the Garden, with another oppoſite to it, which looks into the great Chappel. The Glaſing Work conſiſts of Panes of Chryſtal, painted with Gold and Azure, and faſten'd in maſſy Silver. But I remit the Reader to the Draughts, to take a more perfect view of theſe ſumptuous Monuments, contenting my ſelf to relate what they cannot expreſs. *Abas's* is four foot high, four in breadth, and eight foot long. The three Lamps that hang over it are of pure maſſy Gold, of which the biggeſt is worth four and twenty Marks, the reſt twelve apiece; and they hang by rods

of

Jeſus *the great Chymiſt made uſe of the Earth of the Portal of thy Prudence, for red Sulphur; of which he compos'd the* Takſir, *and the* (11) *Stone* Phale, *by means whereof he underſtood all things, and heal'd all men.*

(11) Stones of Divination. The Mahumetans ſay: that when *Jeſus* Chriſt was living Phyſick flouriſh'd in its higheſt degree of Excellency; and that God gave him ſo many ſecrets of that Art, that he rais'd the Dead, and penetrated the very thoughts of Men.

The eternal Painter painted a great many Images, and brought to light a great many Ideas, *with a deſign to form thy lovely Countenance; but he found none that came near thy Beauty.*

The Faulcon of thy Umbrello *having extended his wings, has found the* (12) *Birds of the ſeventh Heaven neſtling under the large Feather of thy left wing.*

(12) That is to ſay the greateſt Prophet.

Who ever has (13) *ſeal'd his Heart with thy Love, has found that his Heart is become a Mine of precious Stones.*

(13) A figure taken from the Cuſtom of the Perſians, to ſeal their Mines with the King's Seal, and of his Officers, becauſe all Mines belong to the King.

The moſt powerful Creature of all things, admir'd upon the ſixth day of the Creation, that Superiority of Excellency, which thou haſt above all his other Creatures.

Upon the memorable day of thy Victory, the Sweat of thy hands was to thy Enemies a profound Deluge that ſwallow'd 'em up like the Sea.

Thou Vulture of the heav'nly Conſtellation didſt fly upon the Blood as a Dog upon the water.

Inſipid Poet, who compareſt to the Sea the ſweat of the hand of thy Hero. *Thou art aſtoniſh'd at the Thought that comes into thy Head, that the Sea which reſembles that Sweat is the* (14) *blew Sea.*

(14) The Heaven.

Who ever has lifted up the hand of Neceſſity toward the Portal of thy Beneficence, he has it always return'd back full of what he deſir'd.

O divine and Sacred Hoſt! who giveſt the Saints to drink out of the Baſon of Paradiſe. To ſpeak ſomething in thy Praiſe, we muſt needs ſay, that Nature is only adorn'd and enrich'd by thee.

A thouſand and a thouſand Years together the heavens, conſidering the high Price of thy pure Eſſence, beheld the Water of the Fountain of Paradice *muddy, in compariſon of that.*

As well God *as* Mahomet *has always found thy Opinion the moſt juſt. The one gave thee a Sword with two poynts, the other a moſt incomparable Virgin.*

Had not thy perfect Being been in the Idea *of the Creator,* Eve *had been eternally a Virgin, and* Adam *a Batchelor.*

SEPULCHRE DE
ABAS SECOND
No. 15.

Principal Type of things created. Inſtrument of the Creation of the World, the higheſt of the Race of Adam. *Soul of the great Apoſtles and Meſſengers.*

Thou art that Lord, through whom, one Verſe in the Alcoran promiſes the fulfilling of our deſires. Thou art that Sun, through whom another Verſe tells the Sovereign Beauty ſhall be ſeen. Light of Eyes! Crown of Propheſie. Idol of the Angel Gabriel!

Thou art in the world, a world of vertue and dignity. Thou art upon the Earth a Sun of Majeſty and Grandeur.

The Sea is not rich and liberal, but by the gifts of thy munificent Hands. The Angel Treaſurer of Heaven reapes his Harveſt in the Fertil Gardens of the purity of thy Nature.

Moſes, *who divided the Sea, is the Porter of the Throne of thy Juſtice.* Jeſus, *the Monarch of the Fourth Heaven, keeps guard before the veil of the Throne of thy Glory.*

That incomprehenſible Painter, who drew the Mole at one ſtroke of his Pencil (a) koun-fikoun *never made ſo fair a Portraiture as the globe of thy Viſage.*

(a) *Let it be ſo, and it was ſo.* Gen. 1.

From thy deſcent into the Cradle to the laſt day of thy Life, the Angels who Regiſter Words, never heard thee ſpeak a word which did not raviſh God himſelf with Joy.

The Mahometans hold that every man has two inſpecting Angels; the one who writes down the good, the other the evil which he does.

No man in whatſoever condition he is, can reſemble God ſo much as thou doſt. But if there could be an Image to repreſent God as he is, it could be no other then thy ſelf; that Embaſſador whom out of his extraordinary Clemency he ſent to the Earth.

Happy and holy is the man who believes all that God has ſpoken in the Alcoran, according to the ſence which his Prophet has obſerv'd in the Book of his ſentences. If he ſhould be compar'd with any other exalted Being, there could not be found a more perfect exemplar then Mahomet.

The ſecond Song.

O unexpreſſible man! who haſt no Equal but Mahomet *the Elect Prophet. God has aſſign'd upon thy* (7) *Love the Dowry of the Ladies of Paradiſe.*

(7) The Perſians affirm, that *Aly* was the handſomeſt Perſon that ever was: and that his Beauty was unconceivable. For which reaſon the Painters uſually cover his Face with a Veil, and will not let it be ſeen. But what the Poet here ſpeaks of *Haly* ſignifies that the Bleſſed in Heaven account it their chiefeſt felicity to be belov'd by him.

The Primum Mobile, *would never dart the Ball of the Sun through the Trunk of Heaven, were it not to ſerve the morning out of the extreme Love ſhe has for thee.*

What is the power of the Stars and Deſtiny, in compariſon of thine and what is the Light of the Sun, compar'd with that of thy Underſtan-

ing

of Silver, that deſcend from the bottom of the *Duomo*. The Tomb is pav'd with Tiles of Cheney, and cover'd with Rich Perſian Cloth of Gold, that coſts between ſixty and ſeventy Pounds Sterling an Ell, the moſt gorgeous imaginable, with a Scarlet Counter-Poynt over that, and over head a Canopy of Gold. The Counter-poynts are tack'd below to the Carpets under foot, with a ſmall Silk ſtring, that runs through Rings of maſſy Gold. And the Claſps and Hooks at the Corners are of the ſame Metal.

Round the Gallery of *Abas*'s Tomb, runs a *Frize*, divided equally into Cartridges of Azure, wherein are written in large Characters of Gold, the Elegies of the Famous, *Haly*, the Great Saint and Idol of the Perſians, made by the Learned *Haſan-Caza*. Of which I ſhall inſert the Tranſlation, as being a Piece of Eloquence, wherein may be ſeen not only the *Genius* of the Perſian Poetry, but the Tranſports of Mahumetan Devotion. The whole is divided into ſeven Songs in Diſtichs, of which the firſt runs all upon Mahomet, and the other ſix all upon *Haly*.

The firſt Song.

I Salute the glorious Creature, of whom the Sun is but the ſhadow. Maſter-piece of the Lord of Human Creatures, Great Star of Juſtice and Religion.

Infallible Expounder of the (1) four Books, *Conductor of the* eight (2) Mobiles; *Governor of the* (3) ſeven Parts. Chief of the Faithful.

(4) *Doctor of that Knowledge which is infus'd into the Prophets. Royal* Hero, (5) *celebrated by* twelve Succeſſors, *though the Veil ſhould be taken away, yet would not my Belief be encreas'd. Light of God. Illuminating Soul of Propheſie; Guide of true Believers.*

The firſt Object of God, when he bethought himſelf of ſending his Orders to Earth, and Embaſſador, Center of divine Secrets, concerning what is paſt and to come, who has caus'd the Acknowledgment of God to ſhine forth out of the darkneſs of Errors; as the Morning goes before the Sun, before he mounts the Horiſon, thwart an obſcure Night.

(1) *The Pentateuch, the Pſalter, the Goſpel, and the Alcoran.* The Mahometans believing that theſe Books ever were and always ſhall be the Rule of their Faith.

(2) The Heavens of the Planets of the *Primum Mobile.*

(3) The ſeven Climates which was the Ancient Diviſion of the Earth.

(4) It is in the Original, Doctor in the Knowledge of the Prophets, who knew not their *A, B, C.* For the Mahumetans affirm, that *Mahomet* was ſo ignorant in human Learning, that he could not read. To the end they might the better from thence conclude, that his Knowledge was ſupernatural.

(5) The twelve Heirs and Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, the laſt of which was carry'd to Heaven; and ſhall return to confound the Reign of the unfaithful.

SEPVLCHRE DE
SEPT PREMIER

ing? Deſtiny does but execute thy Commands. The Sun is enlightned by the beams of thy Knowledge.

When the numerous Train of thy Majeſty goes in its Pomp, we ſee the (8) Sphear *bound to the hand of the Captain that guides it, like a little Bell at the neck of a Mule.*

(8) Or *Fortune*, The ſence is, thou knoweſt how to turn the world at thy pleaſure, as a Mule turns the little Bell that hangs at his neck.

Let not Hercules *vaunt any more the Force of his Courage. For who would endre a Fly to brave it upon the wings of the great Phœnix of the Eaſt.*

Had Hercules *ſeen the Valour of thy Arm in one Action, aſſuredly the Bird of his Soul would have brok'n the Cage of his Body, and fled for fear.*

The immenſe Sea of thy merit, toſſes up ſurges above the Heavens, and upon this Sea of Vertue the Tempeſts of Adverſity cauſe no more diſorder then Ruſhes in the Water.

If thy Glory be weigh'd in the Balance of exalted Sence, the higheſt mountains weigh'd againſt it, would appear no more then the Seed of Lentils.

In the great Career of Happineſs, where the (Tranſparts of thoſe who run the Race, makes 'em like Horſes, that get the Bit in their Teeth and throw their Riders.

And cauſes 'em with the force of their Spurs to prick an Artery, at what time the Angel of Death comes like a fatal Phyſitian to take 'em by the Arm of the Soul)

Thou ſhalt eſcape this rude Career, as the Sun paſſes on from the Eaſt. They ſhall carry before thee the honourable Standard of the Supreme Majeſty; and behind thee, the Spoyls, as marks of the Victory.

And in this Race, were all the Inhabitants of the world as brave as Hercules, *the moſt undaunted of 'em all would not have the Courage to ſtand a moment before thee.*

God ſhall create a Body of (9) *Air, that ſhall cry with a loud voice on his behalf, Victory, Victory. There is none ſo ſtout as* Aly. *There is no Sword like to* (10) Sulfagar, *that* Hero's *Sword with two Poynts.*

(9) Renown or Fame.

(10) *Sulphagar* is the name of *Haly*'s ſword which the Mahometans ſay divides it ſelf at the end with two points.

The third Song.

Thou from whoſe purity the Heav'n of Unſinfulneſs draws its Luſtre. The Sun is made a Crown of Glory of the ſhadow of thy Umbrello.

Jeſſes

The fourth Song.

Great Saint, who art the true Mansion of God, as the Prophet teaches in the Book of his Sentences. Thou art also the (16) Kebleh *of the World and of Religion, the Soul of the World of* Mahamed.

Thy Mouth is the Treasure of sublimest Sense, thou hast placed thy Mouth upon the Fountain of understanding and knowledge, which is the (17) Mouth of *Mahamed*.

Thou art the Pontiff, who art only found worthy to *enter into the* Sanctuary of the Great Prophet, and only Capable *to stand* upon the Foot-pace of *Mahomet*.

The hearts which thy victorious Sword continually leads to the true Religion, are the Flowers with which the vapors of the Ocean of thy Puissance cover the Garden of Mahomet.

Since the Sphere of the Law has been illuminated by several Stars, the Moon never appear'd so clear and bright, till thou took-est upon thee the Empire of the Heaven of Mahomet.

The Angel Gabriel, *Messenger of Truth, every day kisses the Groundsil of thy Gate, as being the only way that leads to the Throne of* Mahomet.

Thy Grandeur above all human Possibility is an impossible Comparison, but if any thing may compare with it, it must be the Power and Authority of Mahomet.

O sovereign King, if in the celebrating thy Praises, I should study upon what once the Wise Hassan *did in the time of* Mahomet.

I should not dare to presume to praise thy Majesty, since God himself has spoken thy Elogy by the Mouth of Mahomet.

The explication of thy Being cannot proceed from the Tongue of mortal men, unless we except what has been spoken of thee by Mahomet.

But it is not the same thing with the unfolding of our own wants; for that is needless with thee. Thou knowest what they are, and thou knowest also that I am the devoted Slave of thy House, and of the Family of Mahomet.

My soul desires to fly to thee, press'd by the Obligations which I have to men; do me some Favor that may deliver me from my Obligations to Men, I conjure thee by the Soul of Mahomet.

(16) The place toward which they are obliged to turn when they say their Prayers. Thus *Jerusalem* was the *Kebleh* of the Jews, and *Mecca* of the Mahometans.

(17) An allusion to the Kiss which the Mahumetans say that *Mahomet* gave *Haly*, when he publickly appointed him his Heir and Successor, and is a prophane imitation of the manner of Christs giving his Holy Spirit to his Apostles.

Turn not away thy compaſſionate and favourable Looks from my Countenance. O love of my Heart, caſt a tender glance upon me, O heart of the Heart of Mahomet!

The fifth Song.

Miniſter eſpecial elected of God for the Maſter of the Faithful. Thou art the Soul of the Prophet of God. We ought not to give thee any other name, O Maſter of the Faithful!

Thy always victorious Arm has brought under the Yoak the Heads of the moſt haughty Hero's *of the Age, O Maſter of the Faithful!*

The Treaſures which Nature hides, and thoſe with which it covers the Univerſe, are without Luſtre and Price, to what thou liberally beſtoweſt upon us, O maſter of the Faithful!

The ſparkling Rubies cover themſelves with Earth in the hollow of the Mine, aſham'd of their not being bright enough to be put into thy Treaſures, O maſter of the Faithful!

I will not ſay what was the difference between the Gentle Zephirus, *and the Breath of thy Mouth, which refreſhes the Soul and the Heart, O maſter of the Faithful!*

All that Jeſus *did with his Breath was an Emblem, but afterwards this is all. That was an Emblem which ſignifi'd what miracles were to be wrought by the words of thy mouth, O maſter of the Faithful!*

How can an underſtanding, ſo ſhort and confus'd as mine, repreſent the Excellency and Price of thy Majeſty? O maſter of the Faithful!

The Univerſal Spirit, with its ſublime Knowledge, cannot arrive at the Portal of thy wondrous Eſſence, O maſter of the Faithful!

Were there a place more exalted then the moſt high Throne of God, I would affirm it to be thy Place; O maſter of the Faithful!

That we may give thee Praiſes worthy of thy ſelf, it behoves us to depaint thy wonderful Eſſence; but for that reaſon alone it is impoſſible to praiſe thee according to thy Merit, O Father of the Faithful!

Thou art all that thou deſervedſt to be; but who can comprehend thy merit unleſs it be thy God. O maſter of the Faithful!

We beg all as poor Beggars at the Gate of thy Beneficence, and the Kings of the world are in the number of thoſe Beggars, O maſter of the Faithful!

The price of thy Favors ſurpaſſes the Capacity of human Underſtanding. The weight of thy Majeſty and thy Glory is too heavy for the ſhoulders of human Underſtanding.

The ſixth Song.

Being of an unconceivable Puiſſance, the Commands of Providence are executed by thy Orders. Thou canſt turn with thy hand alone the paſt celeſtial Sphere.

The Sun, under whoſe ſhadow and auſpicious Omens *Nature rowls, is but a glittering Beam of the Claſp of thy Girdle.*

The Eternal Fountain of which the viſible Ocean is not ſo much as a ſingle drop, is it ſelf but a drop to the Sea of thy Bounty.

Human Wit that divided the World into four parts, is no more with thee then an Atome of Duſt. He divides his Knowledge into ten degrees: But how many degrees are requir'd to be a Canton of thy Knowledge?

(18) *The Superior of the College of the Creation,* Gabriel, *with all his Art and Knowledge, is but a meer Scholar to thee.*

(18) In the Elogy of the Mahumetans, it is ſaid, that God created the World by the Miniſtry of Angels, which is drawn from the Theology of the Jews.

The Verſes of the Alcoran, *which aſſure men of the Favor and Mercy of God, were ſent from Heaven for thy ſake.*

'Tis too ſmall a Praiſe of thy ineffable Power, to call it the Zenith of Power, ſince the Zenith is no more then the Nadir of the Power of thy Porter.

Theſe two Stars which are the Eyes of the world, are two Globes, which not having been thought beautiful enough to make a part of the Structure of thy Manſion, were plac'd at the Avenues.

The Famous Bird, which is plac'd over the Roof of thy Palace, raiſes from the Earth the nine Vaults of Heaven like a Grain of Wheat.

Whatever the Gulph of Predeſtination encloſes, its Wonders and its Prodigies came not to light, nor were made manifeſt but by thy Commandment.

The humble Slave of thy Grandeur, poor Haſſen *employs himſelf day and night every year, every month in the Country of* Amul *to ſing thy Praiſes.*

Devoutly he proſtrates his Face to the Earth at the Gate of thy glorious Palace: He expoſes to thy Eyes a ſick Heart, of which he implores from thee the Cure.

Can a man conceal his Diſtemper from a wholſom Remedy? Certainly it is no piece of Wiſdom, for a man to conceal his Diſtemper from an infallible and ſovereign Cure.

The

The ſeventh Song.

Glorious City of Nedgef, *ſince thou art become the Manſion of the Son of the Faith, thy Territory is become more honourable then the Country of* (19) Zemzen *and* Mecca *the Holy.*

(19) *Abraham*'s Wells, of which mention is made in *Geneſis*; and with whoſe Water the Pilgrims of *Mecca* are oblig'd to purify themſelves, a certain number of times.

(20) The houſe of *Abraham*, to which the Alcoran commands Pilgrimage once in a man's life.

Nedgef *is the true* (20) Kabeh *for people that ſeek the Truth; becauſe the Adamant of Religion has there his Habitation.*

Which is alſo the Son of pure Belief, the maſter of the Faithful; the Governor of the Kindonm of the Love of God, the Chief of the Citizens of the Heavenly Babylon.

O deſtroyer of Hereſie! Thou art the Secretary of the Commandments of divine Inſpiration: the Judge of things commanded or forbidden.

If the Idea *of thee, the moſt noble in divine Sence were not in the world, the world would be but an imperfect and ſenceleſs Figure.*

Supreme Majeſty, who haſt augmented the Luſtre of the Supreme Throne, all Creatures inceſſantly praiſe thy Name.

The Sun is leſs then an Atome in the heav'n of Aſſemblies where thou art honour'd. And the Atomes are greater then the Sun, upon thoſe places of the Earth where thou haſt wrought thy Miracles.

(21) The ancient Kings of *Perſia* of the firſt Race and Monarchs of the Eaſt.

The Crown of (21) Geraſhid *is cloudy and tarniſh'd before the Heron Tufft of thy Turban. The Throne of* Fereydon *is a woodden Bench in compariſon of thy Seat.*

The Glory of Salomon, *who was the Glory of the Earth, was a ſmall thing in compariſon of thee, becauſe it was only borrow'd of the durable Glory of thy ſervant* Selmon.

The Infallibility of Predeſtination depends only upon thy Conduct. She is ſo modeſt as never to ſet her Foot before thine.

'Tis a ſin to compare thee with man: for how can a lump of Earth pretend to compare with a Diamond of the cleareſt water?

Human Wit cannot find a man equal to thee; but by turning toward Mahomet. *This is our firm and clear Faith, and I ſay no more.*

They cry with a loud Voice upon the Gates of Paradiſe to thoſe that come to viſit thy Highneſs. You that have repented and are become good People, receive your Salary entring there for ever.

The Tomb of *Sephy* the firſt is no leſs Sumptuous then that of *Abas*. The Lamp that hangs over it is of pure Maſſie Gold. The Tomb which is of the ſame Form, of the ſame Bigneſs with that of *Abas*, is a piece of rare and wonderful

derful Workmanſhip. The Materials of which are Ivory, Ebony, Braſile, Camphir, Lignum Aloes, and other Sweet Woods.

The Workmanſhip is of ſeveral peices of rapport-work after the Moſaic manner, upon a bottom of Tiſſue in a Feild Or. The Pieces that compoſe the Workmanſhip are thin, an faſten'd together with Rivetings and Clenchings of Fine Gold. The Enchaſements, Hooks, Pins, Hinges, Claſps, and in a word, whatever joynes the Pieces one to another, (for the whole Work may be taken to pieces) are all of pure Maſſie Gold. The Baſis that ſupports the Tomb, is ſurrounded with a Liſt in the Middle of two Frizes, upon which are written in Golden Characters of Rapport-work the 61. Chapter of the *Alcoran*; of which this is the Tranſlation.

In the name of God clement and merciful.

Whatever is in the Heavens, and upon the Earth, celebrates the Grandeur of the moſt Holy and Wiſe God who is without compare, (in Puiſſance.) *He has ſent to his People of* Mecca, *a Prophet choſen from among 'em, to reveal his Teſtimonies to 'em.* (The Verſes of the Alcoran) *to purifie 'em, and teach 'em the true Faith and the true Knowledge; for that aſſuredly before that time they wander'd in manifeſt Errors. Other men have not been favour'd with the ſame Graces. But God, who is without compare for Power and Wiſdom, cauſes his infinite Abundance to deſcend where he pleaſes himſelf. The Example of thoſe who carry'd the* Old Teſtament *in their Hands, but never in their Works, like to an Aſs that carrys a Burden of Books, is a fatal Example to all Impoſtors, that have falſifi'd the Ancient Teſtimonies of God (the* Old *and* New Teſtament) *and they are to underſtand, that God ne're takes upon him the Conduct of Impoſtors. Tell 'em, O you that are become Jews! if you believe your ſelves to be more the Sons of God then other Men, wiſh for death, wiſh for it if you are real (in your words.) But they have no mind to wiſh for it, becauſe of what their Hands have committed. Now God knows the unjuſt. Tell 'em, that Death which you flee, ſhall overtake ye; then ſhall ye return to him, that knows as well what is conceal'd, as what is diſcover'd. He ſhall ſet before ye all your Actions. Oh you true Believers! when they call ye to* Friday *Prayers, run to Celebrate the Praiſes of God, and let alone your private Affairs. In this it is, that reall Good conſiſts, if you have the Wit to know it. When prayers are ended, go where you pleaſe, but never hope for the Relief of your Neceſſities, but in the Abundance of God; and al-*

ways have God in your Minds, perhaps you may (thereby) become happy. As for thoſe who, drawn away in hopes of Gain or Divertiſement, have left thee to enjoy their Pleaſures, tell 'em, That which is with God is far better than Gain and Pleaſure, and that God moſt aſſuredly is the beſt Provider for our Neceſſities.

The Tomb of *Sephy*, like that of *Abas* is cover'd with a Pall of the rich Tyſſue of *Perſia*, the richeſt that is made in any part of the world; and another over it of fine Scarlet, with a Gold Fringe round about. And the ſecond Covering was faſt'ned to the Carpet below with a ſtring, that runs through Rings of Gold, as in *Abas*'s Tomb. The Lecterns, or Desks, which are over-againſt it, and are made to fold one upon another are of all ſweet Wood: near to which in ſeveral Niches are a great number of Books of the Law, put up in Bags of Tiſſue. So that a man can hardly ſee any thing more Beautiful and Magnificent. There is ſuch a Neatneſs and Gravity mixt together with Pomp and Riches, that I never ſaw any thing in *Perſia* that better pleaſed me.

All the Veſſels that belong to the Chappels are of Gold and Silver. It conſiſts in large Flambeau Branches of four and five hundred Ounces apiece in flat Diſhes, wherein they ſerve the Poor with Victuals; in Pots to ſpit in, in Chafing-Diſhes, Fire-ſhovels and perfuming Pans, and in Boxes for Greaſe and ſweet Odors. But they never make uſe of the Gold Plate, unleſs it be upon Feſtivals. In the Evening they light up ſeveral Flambeaus in the Tombs and Galleries, that burn till day-light; which is alſo done in the middlemoſt Chappel, and at the Entrance. They alſo light up two very large ones, which they ſet up upon ſo many Stands. And eight Prieſts are paid and entertain'd, to read the Alcoran by turns day and night. Twelve more likewiſe perform the ſame Duty in *Sephy's* Tomb, and twenty five more in the Monument of *Abas*.

Behind the Chappels, and upon each ſide, are very neat Gardens, with Apartments very well furniſh'd and kept in good Repair, with little Gardens belonging to every one, extremely pleaſant and delightful: upon the left hand is a large Church-Yard, fifteen hundred Paces ſquare. In which Church-Yard they bring Bodies to be bury'd from all parts of *Perſia*; where it is in great Requeſt, and every where lookt upon to be Sacred Ground. On the right ſide of the Structure, there is nothing but a high Brick Wall, very broad and very thick;

and

and ſerves for a Damm againſt the Inundations of the River of *Com*, that runs at the foot of it.

The Perſians call this famous place *Maſſouma*, that is, *Innocent* or *Pure*, by reaſon of the pretended Saint that lies there enterr'd, and to whom they likewiſe give the ſame Epithet. For this word *Maſſouma* in the Perſian Theology, ſignifies a Perſon that has acquir'd a Sanctity ſo habitual as never to ſin more. There belongs to it a Revenue of three Thouſand four Hundred Tomans, which make eleven Thouſand Pounds Sterling, that is to ſay, fifteen Hundred Tomans for *Abas*'s Tomb, a Thouſand for *Sephy*'s, and ſeven hundred for *Fathma*'s. This Revenue is employ'd to keep the Places clean and neat, to repair the Decays of time, in the Building and Moveables, for the buying of Lights, and maintaining ſeveral Churchmen, and a great number of Regents and Governors, of Students and poor People. They diſtribute Victuals every day to all that come, and to people that are hir'd. And of all theſe Legacies and Revenues, three Great Lords of *Perſia* have the Superintendency; every one being appointed his Chappel. He that at preſent takes Care of the ſhe-Saints Chappel, is an illuſtrious Ancient Perſon, who has been *Courtſhi Baſhi*, or Collonel of the Courtches, which is a great Body of the *Militia*, conſiſting of thirty Thouſand Men. And the ſame Perſon is alſo Governor of *Com*.

This City contains alſo ſeveral other Edifices, very beautiful and ſumptuous. It is a very pleaſant Place, but for the Heat which is very exceſſive. In the Summer the River that paſſes by it is no bigger then a ſmall Rivulet, but the Winter Thaws ſwell it to that degree with the Water that falls from the Mountains, that it not only fills its own Channel, which is as broad as the *Seine* at *Paris*, but overflows a great part of the City. They call it generally the River of *Com*; but the true Name of it is *Joubad-gan*. This City lies in 85. deg. 48. min. of Longitude, and 34. deg. 30. min. of Latitude. The Air is wholſom, but extremely hot, as I ſaid before: for it ſcalds in the Summer, there being no place in all *Perſia* where the Sun ſcorches more violently. It abounds in all manner of Victuals and Fruits, particularly in *Piſtachios*. The people alſo are very courteous and civil.

The moſt part of Topographers will have *Com* to be the ſame place which *Ptolomy* calls *Gauna*, or *Guriana*. And his Tranſlator aſſerts it to be the ſame with *Choana*, tho others will have it to be *Arbacte*, or *Hecatompyle*. Several Hiſtories

of

of *Perſia* likewiſe relate this City to be very Ancient; and that it was built by *Tahmas*, when the Sun entred into *Gemini*; that it was twelve thouſand Cubits in compaſs, and as big as *Babylon*. I muſt confeſs there is no doubt but it was very large; for there are many Ruins and Footſteps of Habitations to be ſeen round about it: but it is much to be queſtion'd whether it were ſo Ancient as the Reign of *Tahmas*. Other Perſian Hiſtories deduce its Original from the firſt Age of Mahumetiſm; and affirm that in the time of *Mahomet* there were in that place ſeven large Villages, and that in the 83 Year of the *Hegyra*, *Abdalla Saydon*, *Califfe*, coming into that Country with an Army, joyn'd thoſe ſeven Villages together with new Buildings, enclos'd 'em with a Wall, and made 'em one City; and that afterwards this City encreas'd to that degree, that it became twice as large as *Conſtantinople*. For *Mouſa* the Son of that *Abdalla* came from *Baſra* to *Com*, and brought with him the Opinions of *Haly*, which they call the Religion of *Shia* or *Imamiſm*: which was always profeſs'd in that place even to Martyrdom, nor would the People ſuffer any other; and therefore *Temur-leng* being of a contrary Belief, utterly deſtroy'd the City. Nevertheleſs by degrees they repair'd one part of it again; but it did not begin to reflouriſh until this laſt Age, and ſince that *Sephy* was there interr'd. *Abas* the Second, his Son and Succeſſor, baniſh'd thither ſuch Perſons as were fallen from his Favour, to the end they might pray to God for his perſon, and give thanks to heaven for their Lives which he had ſpar'd 'em. *Soliman* at preſent reigning had made uſe of it, to the ſame purpoſe, ſending thither all thoſe whom he thought convenient to puniſh with Exile; and the great number of exil'd perſons of Quality it was, that has reſtor'd the City to that Splendor wherein now it ſtands. In the Year 1634. an Inundation of Waters ruin'd a thouſand Houſes: and it is but three Years ſince, that an Accident of the ſame nature had like to have ruin'd it all together. For two thouſand Houſes, and all the Ancient Houſes were laid level with the Earth. The Name is pronounc'd with a double *m*, as if we ſhould write the word *Komm*. It is alſo call'd *Darel mouvhel-din*, that is to ſay, *The Habitation of pious People*. The Governor bears the Title of *Darogué* or Mayor.

The 15. we ſtaid at *Comm* to reſt our Horſes, and departed the 16. at ſix a Clock in the Evening. We travell'd four Leagues over delightful Plains as level as could be, fertile, and well ſtor'd with Villages: and yet the Soyl of *Com* appear'd

to

to be ſomwhat dry. We found the people every where, were treading the Corn, the Harveſt being already reap'd. We lodg'd at *Caſſem-abad*, a Town conſiſting of about three hundred Houſes, belonging to the Queen Mother, as her Dowry.

The 17. we travell'd five Leagues croſs the Plain. We found it all the way cover'd with a moving Sand, dry, without either Villages or Water. We lodg'd in a place call'd *Abſhirin*, or *Sweet Water*, becauſe there is in that place a Fountain of fair Water and Ciſterns in the midſt of ſix *Carevanſerais*.

The 18. our Journey reach'd to *Caſhan*, where we arriv'd, after we had travell'd ſeven Leagues, ſteering toward the South, over the Plain already mention'd: and at the end of two Leagues, we found the Soyl delightful and fertile, ſtor'd with large Villages. We paſs'd through ſeveral, and about half the way left upon the left hand, at a near diſtance, a little City call'd *Sarou*, ſeated at the foot of a Mountain.

The City of *Caſhan* is ſeated in a large Plain, near a high Mountain. It is a League in length, and a quarter of a League in breadth; extending it ſelf in length from Eaſt to Weſt. When you ſee it afar off, it reſembles a half Moon, the Corners of which look toward both thoſe Parts of the Heavens. The Draught is no true Repreſentation, either of the Bigneſs or the Figure; as having been taken without a true Proſpect. And the reaſon was the Indiſpoſition of my Painter, who being extremely tir'd with the former days Travel, was not able to ſtir out of the Inn, where we lay. All that he could do was to get upon the Terraſs, and take the Draught from thence.

There is no River that runs by the City, only ſeveral Canals convey'd under Ground, with many deep Springs and Ciſterns as there are at *Com*. It is encompaſs'd with a double Wall, flank'd with round Towers, after the Ancient Faſhion; to which there belong five Gates. One to the Eaſt, call'd the *Royal Gate*; as being near the Royal Palace, that ſtands without the Walls. Another call'd the *Gate of Fieu*; becauſe it leads directly to a great Village, which bears that name. Another between the Weſt and North, call'd the *Gate of the Houſe of Melic*; as being near to a Garden of Pleaſure, which was planted by a Lord of that Name. The two other Gates are oppoſite to the South-Eaſt, and North-Eaſt. The one call'd *Com Gate*, and the other *Iſpahan Gate*; be cauſe they lead to

thoſe Cities. The City and the Suburbs, which are more beautiful then the City, contain ſix thouſand five hundred Houſes, as the People aſſure us; forty Moſques, three Colleges, and about two hundred Sepulchres of the Deſcendants of *Aly*. The Principal Moſque ſtands right againſt the great Market Place, having one Tower, that ſerves for a Steeple, built of Free Stone. Both the Moſque and the Tower are the Remainders of the Splendour of the firſt Mahumetans, who invaded *Perſia*.

The Houſes of *Caſhan* are built of Earth and Bricks, of which there few that are remarkable. But the Bazars and Baths are lovely Structures, well built and well kept. There are alſo ſeveral Inns. That which is call'd the *Royal Inn* without the City, joyning to the Gate that looks toward the Eaſt, is the faireſt not only in *Caſhan*, but in all *Perſia*. It is four ſquare, every front within-ſide being two hundred Geometrical Paces, and two Stories with an Anti-Chamber, or Hollowneſs below that runs all-along the length of the two Fronts, rais'd about the height of a man above the Court, and four Inches below the level of the Chamber. It is eight foot deep, pav'd with white Marble, almoſt as tranſparent as Pophiry. The Stories on the ſides contain fifteen Chambers of the ſame Figure: the two others had but ten, with a large one in the middle, having five Chambers. The other Apartments conſiſted of one Chamber, fifteen foot long and ten broad, high and vaulted, with a Chimney in the middle, and a ſquare *Portico* before, ten foot wide, cover'd with a half *Duomo*, with a Contrivance for a Chimney on each ſide; which was for the Servants to lodge in. The ſecond Story was contriv'd like that below, with a Baluſter four foot high, that let in the the Light, and ran round the Structure. In the Geometrical Part of the Draught, you may perceive a Hexagonal in the midſt of the Entrance, every Front of which is a large Shop, where are to be ſold all manner of Belly-Timber, Wood and Forrage. The Entrance is under a high and magnificent Portal, adorn'd with *Moſaic* Work, like all the reſt of the Building; and upon the ſides runs a *Portico*, where you may lie in the day time as conveniently and as pleaſantly, as in the Inn it ſelf. The Fountain in the middle of the Court is rais'd above five foot: and the Brims of it are four foot broad, for Convenience of thoſe that will ſay their Prayers after they have perform'd their Purifications.

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There is alſo ſomewhat that does not appear in the Draught; that is to ſay, the hinder part of the *Carevanſeray*, which is worthy to be obſerv'd in this place. For it conſiſts of very large Stables, with places for Servants and Luggage, built almoſt according to the ſame Symmetry, as the Apartments already mention'd; at leaſt as to the Form and Bigneſs of ſtore-Houſes, and Lodgings for the Poor, and the Country people that bring their Goods to ſell; and the large Gardens, that lie behind this lovely *Palace of a Caravanſeray*: no leſs famous for its Founder *Abas* the Great, who caus'd this ſumptuous Structure to be erected. Near adjoyning to it ſtands the Palace Royal; and over againſt it, another deſign'd for the Lodging of Embaſſadors. Both the one and the other, with very large Gardens behind 'em, were built at the Charges of that Renowned Monarch: beſides that there is in the middle a void Space for their Carouſels, and other Exerciſes on Horſe-back.

The Wealth and Trade of *Caſhan* conſiſts in the Manifactuary of all ſorts of Silk, Stufs, and Tiſſues of Gold and Silver. There is not made in any place of *Perſia* more Sattin, Velvet, Tabby, Plain Tiſſue, and with Flowers of Silk, or Silk mingled with Gold and Silver, then is made in this City, and the Parts round about it: ſo that one ſingle Borrough in this Territory, contains a thouſand Houſes of Silk-Weavers. That which is call'd *Aron*, ſeeming at a diſtance to be a good big City, as containing in it no leſs than two thouſand Houſes, and ſix hundred Gardens: It is about two Leagues from *Caſhan*.

The City of *Caſhan* ſtands in a good Air, but violently hot, inſomuch that it is ready to ſtifle yee in the Summer. Which extream Heat is occaſion'd by its Situation; as lying near a high Mountain oppos'd to the South. The Reverberation of which ſo furiouſly heats the place in the Dog-Days, that it ſcalds again. Beſides, there is one greater Inconvenience more troubleſome and more dangerous, which is the great number of Scorpions that infeſt thoſe parts at all times, eſpecially when the Sun is in *Scorpio*: Travellers are terribly threatned by 'em. And yet for my part, (thanks be to God) I never ſaw any in all the time that I paſs'd through the Country. Neither could I hear of any great Miſchief that they had done. It is ſaid, that *Abas* the Great's Aſtrologers in the Year 1623. invented a *Taliſman* to deliver the City from thoſe Vermin;

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since which time there has not appear'd so many as before. But there is no Credit to be given to these idle stories; no more then to that same other, that if Travellers stopping at *Cashan*, are but careful at their entrance into their Inns, to speak these words, *Scorpions, I am a Stranger, meddle not with me*, no *Scorpion* will come near 'em. For these are meet Tales. However certain it is, that their sting is very dangerous: And therefore it has given occasion to an Imprecation frequently in the Mouths of the Persians, *May the Scorpions of Cashan sting thy Balls.* However there is no Body, but has by him several soveraign Remedies against the sting of this Creature. This City lies in 35. deg. 35. min. of Lat. and 86. deg. of Longitude. Cattel and wild Fowl are not very plentiful in those parts; but it abounds in Corn and Fruits. They carry from thence to *Ispahan*, the first Melons and Water-Melons which are eaten in that City; which they furnish with vast numbers, as long as the season for Fruit endures.

Several European Authors hold *Cashan* to be same place, which the Ancient Greek Authors call *Ambrodux*, or else that which was call'd *Ctesiphon of the* Country of the *Parthians*. The Persian Historians aver, that it owes its Restauration to *Zebd-le-ca-ton* the Wife of *Haron-Reshid*, Califf of *Bagdat*. They observe moreover, that this Princess was a Virgin when she first began to build the City, and that for that reason she laid the first Stone when the Sun enter'd *Virgo*. She gave it the name of *Casan* in honour of *Casan* her Grand-father, the Grand-child of *Haly*, who di'd and was enterr'd in that Place; of which there happened some alteration afterwards, through the error of poining: For it is well known to people versed in the Eastern Languages, that such a mistake so easily committed, changes the letter *S*, into that which is call'd *Shin*. *Tamerlan*, being become Master of this City, spar'd it in a Humour, as they say, when he had destroy'd almost all the other Cities of *Persia*. It is call'd by another name *Darel-mou-menin*, or the *Habitation of the Faithful*; either because the Descendants from *Aly*, and his first Followers made it a Sanctuary and Retreat during the Persecutions of the *Califfs*, who would not embrace his Opinions, but held a contrary belief; or else because a great number of the Descendants of that Califf lie there enterr'd Their Graves are confus'd among those that lie buried round bout; the Monuments that were erected over 'em having bin beaten down by the *Turks* and *Tartars*, that invaded those

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THE GREAT INN IN CASHAN.

places; and sacrific'd those structures to the honour of their Saints, the grand Enemies and Persecutors of the Descendants of *Aly*. They made search for these Graves, after the Califf became Master of the City again: but how easily they may be deceiv'd in this search is no difficult thing to conjecture. For in the Year 1667. they found out one that put the whole City into confusion. For they affirm'd the Grave upon which a large Monument had been built a hundred years before, out of an assurance that one of *Aly*'s descendants was buried there, to be the Sepulcher of one *Yuzbet*, a Preacher. The People enrag'd that they had worshipped for a whole Age together a Place in their Opinion more worthy of Execration, ran in a heat to pull down the Monument, dug down the Earth that was at the top, and round about it, and made a common road over it. But what happen'd afterwards is much more Remarkable. And that is this, that one of the great *Persian* Doctors undertook to write a Treatise, on purpose, that there was never any such person as *Yuzbet* buried there. Upon which the People again offended to see themselves made the sport of their Doctors fancies, have left the place as indifferent, and will neither pollute, nor give it Reverence. The *Governor* of *Cashan* carries the Title of a *Darogué*, as do all the other Governors of the City's of *Parthia*. A Lord that was one of my good Friends, call'd *Rustan-bec*, Brother to several Governors Provinces had the Government of that City, the first time that I pass'd through it. The two years of his Government being ended, the City was so well satisfi'd in his conduct, that they sent some of their Members to petition that he might be continu'd two years longer, but their Petition was rejected, as being contrary to custom to continue such Officers longer then the usual time.

The 19. our Horses were so tir'd that we were forc'd to stay at *Cashan*. We departed the 29. and travell'd seven Leagues; the two first cross the Plain where the City was built: the rest over a Mountain which was of a good height, but not difficult to ascend. At the top we met with a very large and fair *Caravanseray*, and a little further with a wide Lake, which serves for a Receptacle to receive the melted Snow and Rain that falls from the Parts thereabouts; from whence they let go the water into the Plain of *Cashan*, as they have need.

Abas the Great, rais'd up two ſtrong Dams about it, to the end it might hold more Water; and to prevent the Water from waſting. He alſo caus'd ſeveral Cauſeys to be made in the ſame place for the Convenience of Travellers. Being deſcended from the Mountain, you enter into a deep Valley, very narrow and about a League in length: all which ſpace of Ground is ſtor'd with Houſes, Vineyards, and Gardens ſo cloſe one to another, that it ſeems to be but one Village of a League in length. Several delightful and clean Streams derive their Springs from that Plain, which preſerve the Air wonderfully cool all the Summer; ſo that it is a place the moſt charming and delightful that a man ſhall meet with in that ſcorching Climate. For the Sun has ſo little Power there, that the Roſes were not then blown; the Corn and Fruit were alſo then green and but half ripe; and yet they had reap'd their Harveſt, and had eaten ripe Fruit a *Caſhan* at month before. We lodg'd at the end of that lovely Plain, in a *Caravanſeray* there built, which they call'd *Carou*.

Some of our own modern Authors aſſert, That this Valley was the Place where *Darius* was murder'd, which is not improbable; for that the Hiſtory obſerves, that *Beſſus* and *Nabarzanes*, after they had committed that Treacherous Murder upon the Prince, took ſeveral Roads, the one for *Hyrcania*, and the other for *Bactriana*; and *Caſhan* is exactly the Place that leads directly to thoſe two Provinces.

The 21, we travell'd eight Leagues; two along the foot of the Mountains between which that Valley lies; and ſix in a pleaſant Vale, ſtor'd with a great number of Villages: where we met with ſeveral *Caravanſeray's* upon the Road; we alighted at one that was larger and fairer then the reſt, call'd *Aga-Kemal*, from the name of a rich Merchant that built it, and ſeveral other publick Structures about *Iſpahan*.

The 22. our Journeys was not above five Leagues in the ſame Plain, where *Aga-Kemal* ſtands. We travell'd ſo hard, that by nine a Clock at night we arriv'd at *Mouſhacour*, which is a large Village conſiſting of about five hundred Houſes, where there are ſeveral Inns and Gardens, and great plenty of Water.

The 23. we ſet forward late, to the end we might not come to *Iſpahan* before day. We travell'd the nine Leagues, which we had to ride, over lovely Plains, ſtill directing our Courſe

Courſe to the South as in our former Journeys: and paſs'd by ſo many *Caravanſerays* and Villages, drawing near that great City, that we thought our ſelves in the Suburbs, two hours before we got thither. We enter'd the City by five a Clock in the Morning, all in good health, Thanks be to God.

The end of the Firſt Book.

THE CORONATION OF SOLYMAN III. THE PRESENT King of Perſia.

By Sir JOHN CHARDIN.

The CORONATION of SOLYMAN

The Third of that Name

And the Two hundred thirty fourth King of Perſia.

SUch was the End of *Habas* the ſecond of Glorious Memory, that his Death may well be look'd upon to have been a Judgment of Heaven upon that Potent Empire which he all along ſo prudently governed; and as a Misfortune that at the ſame time befel ſeveral Millions of People that were under his Dominion. The *Perſians* never ſpeak of him, but they give him all the *Encomiums* of a Magnanimous Prince, whoſe Courage and good Conduct had already contributed, in an extraordinary manner, to the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Country: and who had queſtionleſs reſtored it to its ancient Splendor, and to a perfect Proſperity, had his Life been of a longer continuance. In a word, they had great reaſon to promiſe themſelves, that he would have rendred both the one and the other Diuturnal as well as Univerſal, in regard his Heroic Vertues had Crowned him with Victory before he had arrived to the Age of nineteen Years, by the Conqueſt of the City and whole Province of *Kaud-dar*, bordering upon the utmoſt Confines of the whole Kingdom; and that too, from an Enemy no leſs Powerful than the *Indian* Monarch; and afterwards when he defended it againſt the whole Force of the ſame Prince, Muſtered together in one Body to regain it. The ſame Virtues they were that made him formidable to his Potent Neighbours, the Duke of *Muſcovy*, the Monarch of the *Tartars*, and the Puiſſant King of *India* himſelf: Who being diſcouraged by the Ill ſucceſs of his firſt Enterprize of which we have already given an account, would never venture any more to moleſt him.

The ſame tranſcendent Virtues in a Breſt ſo truly Royal, even at the very time that Death ſurprized him, ſpur'd him on to extend his Dominions towards the North and Eaſt. And the Preparations which he had made for that purpoſe, gave the whole World occaſion to fear that his Deſign would infallibly ſucceed. The Chriſtians, who had the happineſs to live under his Subjection, to this day lament in private his Deceaſe, not only as a King, but as a Parent. For his Juſtice and his Good-

neſs would never ſuffer any violence to be offered them, or that they ſhould be diſturbed for their Religion, which they had free Liberty to exerciſe during his Reign, as being a Perſon in whom thoſe Royal Virtues were ſtedfaſt and unalterable: which always prevented the Fury of the Cruel and Impious *Mahometans* from moleſting the Peace and Tranquillity of their Lives or Eſtates. And hence it is that Strangers ſtill and ever will bewail his loſs and bear in Remembrance his more than ordinary Endowments; as He that by by his Affability and Liberality invited them continually to his Court and Cities under his Obedience, and employed a great part of the Tribute which he drew from his Subjects in the purchaſe of their coſtly Merchandiſe which they brought along with them, paying both generouſly and punctually what they in reaſon demanded.

Toward the Concluſion of that account which we have given of the Life of this Great Prince, we have ſhewn that the cauſe of his Death was that ſame nauſeous Diſtemper which good Manners will not permit to be named, and of which the Pollution is yet more unſeemly; and which notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of Art to conceal it, diſplays it ſelf in the Faces of the Diſeaſed, and publiſhes with Ignominy their frequent Converſe with lewd Women: We have alſo told you that his Death happened in one of his Houſes of Pleaſure ſeated in the Province of *Teber Eſtoon*, two Leagues from *Damagaan*, according to the Perſian Geographers lying in 78. *Degrees*, and 15. *Minutes* of *Longitude*, and 37. *degrees*, 20. *Minutes* of *Latitude*, twelve days Journey from the Capital City of the Empire, and nine days Journey from the *Caſpian Sea*: And this houſe of Pleaſure inviting ſeveral of the Country People to ſettle round about it, was the Reaſon that at length it grew to be a conſiderable Village, to which the *Perſians* gave the Name of *Coſroe-Abaad*, or the Habitation of *Coſroes*, who was a Prince, formerly Governour of the Province where this Village is ſituated; and the ſame that built this Palace of Pleaſure, in the Reign of *Sefi* the firſt, Grandfather to the preſent King. But not long after this *Coſroes* falling into Diſgrace, the King confiſcated his Houſe and all his Eſtate after he had put the Governour himſelf to Death, of which I ſhall ſay no more at preſent, as being a Subject not proper for this Place.

We have alſo in the ſame Relation ſet down the Time of this Prince's unfortunate Deceaſe, which happened upon the 26. of the Moon which they call *Raheia el Atier de l'Egere* 1077. or according to the Chriſtian Account, upon the 25. of *September*, 1666.

1666. about four a clock in the Morning, at what time the first glimpse of Daylight-Dawn began to appear, Eternal darkness closing the Eyes of that Great Monarch at the very Moment that Day began to give Light to his Subjects in their several Callings.

We have also farther related, how that an Hour before, the Principal Eunuchs observing in the Prince's Eyes the Signs of Approaching Death, thought it fit to put out of the Room all the Women that were with him, for fear lest at the moment of his last Gasp, the Transports of their Grief, and their loud Outcries, might discover a Secret, which it was so necessary at that time to conceal. To that purpose they perswaded them that the King was asleep, and desired them therefore to retire for fear of disturbing his Repose. This had been prudently done, if the persons that seemed to be so wise, had had sufficient Resolution and Courage themselves. But at the Fatal Moment they could not themselves forbear to cast forth those loud sighs, which betrayed the Truth to the Ladies, so that they had presently alarm'd the whole Camp with their Piercing Cries and Lamentations, had not the Eunuchs besought them to forbear but for a while, at a time when the welfare of the Empire lay at Stake. To which the disconsolate Princesses submitted as much as the Importunity of their Grief would give them leave.

And here we are to observe by the way, that the Reason why the Women upon such occasions are so deeply afflicted, is not only for the loss of the King their Husband, but for the loss of that shadow of Liberty which they enjoyed during his Life. For no sooner is the Prince laid in his Tomb, but they are all shut up in particular Houses, pleasant enough tis true for their Situation, and where they want for nothing, but what is all in all to them, their only happiness in this World, Conversation with Men. Which is a Satisfaction so severely debarred them, that they are not allowed so much as the sight of a Man.

The Eunuchs therefore having consulted among themselves, in the midst of their fears lest the Croud of over-hasty Visitants pressing in at unseasonable hours, should awaken suspicious Curiosity, resolved to stay till the Sun was up, and then to give Notice of the Kings Death to the two Chief *Ministers* of *State*, who were two Illustrious Personages, that had had the Management of Affairs under the deceased King, with an Authority almost equal to his own. To which purpose they deputed two of their Society, the *Mehter*, whose Office in the *Persian* Court answers to that of our *High-Chamberlain*, according to the mean-

ing of the *Arabian* word, which ſignifies the *Higheſt*. The other deputed Eunuch was called the *Aga-Kafour*, a Perſon already well in years, and the chiefeſt of thoſe that had the Cuſtody of the Kings Treaſury; as to whom the Prince had more particularly entruſted all his Jewels.

Theſe two came to the chief Miniſters Lodgings; as if they had been ſent by his Majeſty, cauſed them to put forth all the Women out of the Room, and then informed them of the Death of *Habas* the Second, giving them an exact and punctual Account; which was, That the day before, toward the Evening, after thoſe Miniſters were retired from the Kings Preſence, the Prince had eaten heartily certain Sweet-Meats which his Wives had provided; after which he ſeemed to be much better than he had been for ſome time before, till about Nine of the Clock at Night; at what time of a ſudden he fell into a Swoon, whereupon they ran to him and laid him upon his Bed: That about Eleven of the Clock he came again to himſelf, not without ſome diſturbance of his Senſes. That after that his Pains augmented, not having received any Benefit from two Medicins that he had taken by the Direction of his Phyſicians: That about Two of the Clock in the Morning the Violence of his Diſtemper ſlackned, but returning about Three, put him into a *Delirium* that laſted about half an Hour: but the next half hour he took ſome Reſt. But toward four in the Morning, his Eyes then faintly rolling in his Head, gave evident ſigns of Deaths Approach: ſo that at the ſame inſtant he expired without any other Motion, that they could ſay, they perceived him die. Nor indeed had he teſtified during the whole Courſe of his Sickneſs that he had the leaſt Apprehenſion or Fear of Death: Inſomuch that he had left no Orders either as to the Diſpoſal of his Body, nor as touching his Family nor Succeſſor, only in the height of his laſt Fit, turning his Head toward the Publick Apartment, he utter'd with ſome kind of Fury theſe words; *I know that you have poyſoned me, but you ſhall drink a good ſhare of the Poyſon; for I leave behind me a Son who after my Death ſhall devour your very Hearts.*

This News did not a little ſurpriſe the two Miniſters, who did not believe the Kings Sickneſs had been ſo mortal, or at leaſt that it would have killed him ſo ſoon: and they had juſt reaſon, both, to bewail their loſs; but the ſecond diſplayed more viſible ſigns of his Grief, as loſing infinitely much more than his Companion.

For *Habas*, obſerving a Piece of Policy not uſual among the *Perſians*, reſolved to counter-balance the Power of his Prime

Miniſter,

Miniſter, believing it would be of advantage to the Government, that Emulation ſhould render his Miniſters more intent upon their Duty: Which was the reaſon that he advanced this ſecond Perſon to that Degree, that he was nothing inferior in Authority to the firſt, and put into his Hands the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom.

It was very probable that *Habas*'s Succeſſor, would not be of his Fathers judgment, but that all things would return to their firſt Method. Which moſt ſenſibly touched the ſecond Miniſter, who ſaw himſelf tumbling into a more Private Condition; and that there was no higher Employment to be expected for him, unleſs it were the Superintendency of the Kings Houſhold; which was nothing comparable to the preſent Offices which he enjoyed.

So that he could not forbear at firſt from manifeſting the Exceſs of his Grief, but the *Perſian* Lords being accuſtomed to diſſemble, he ſoon compoſed his Countenance and moderated his Sorrows. Which having done, he told the Eunuch, that the Grandees of the Empire ſhould be privately called together, and that he would forthwith appoint both Time and Place for their Meeting, which was the Anſwer alſo of the firſt Miniſter to the High Chamberlain.

In the mean time the two chief Phyſicians *Mirza-Sabid* and *Mirza-Koudchek* his Brother, conſiderable Lords in the *Perſian* Court (for in the Eaſtern Countries Phyſicians are much more highly eſteemed and advanced than in *Europe*,) theſe Lords, I ſay, coming to the Door of the Royal Apartment for the Women, preſently after the two great Eunuchs were gone, there had notice of the Kings Death, and conſequently of their own Ruin. For that according to the Cuſtom of that Empire, the Life of the two chief Phyſicians, or at leaſt their Fortune and Eſtates depend upon the Life of the Prince whom they attended in his Sickneſs. For the ſame Week that the King died, they are exiled to ſome remote and prefixed Place, whither they are not ſuffered to carry any more of their Eſtates along with them than will ſuffice for a bare Maintenance; the reſt is Confiſcated. Which was alſo their lot, as ſhall be ſaid in due place.

But neither the loſs of their Maſter, nor of their Liberty had ſo diſordered their judgments, as to hinder them from conſulting their own preſervation at ſuch a tickliſh Conjuncture. Only one thing diſturbed them more than all the reſt, and that was the Report of the Kings laſt words, when he complained of being Poyſoned. For there was enough in thoſe words to condemn them

them to the ſevereſt of Torments, if the ſucceeding Prince ſhould give credit to thoſe laſt Speeches of a Dying Monarch.

To rid themſelves therefore from theſe Fears, they reſolved between themſelves, to throw the Election upon the Youngeſt of all *Habas's* Sons, who being as yet but an Infant, would in all likelihood continue a long time under the Tuition of his Mother, and his Miniſters, from whom they could not expect to ſuffer any thing that was Fatal or Dreadful.

And here we muſt obſerve that *Habas* the ſecond left behind him two Sons; or at leaſt I never heard that he left any more. Nor is it known whether he left any Daughters or no. For what is done in the Womens Apartment is a Myſtery concealed even from the Grandees and Prime Miniſters. Or if they know any thing, it is meerly upon the account of ſome particular Relation or dependence which the Secret has to ſome peculiar Affair which of neceſſity muſt be imparted to their Knowledg. For my part I have ſpared neither for pains nor coſt to ſift out the Truth: But I could never diſcover any more, only that they believed he never left any Daughter behind him that lived. A man may walk a Hundred days one after another by the Houſe where the Women are, and yet know no more what is done there, than at the farther end of *Tartary*.

Now of theſe two Sons of *Habas* the Eldeſt who was called *Sofe-Mirza*, was then entring into his one and twentieth Year; being Born in the year of the *Egire*, 1057. for the ſuperſtition of the *Perſians* will not let us know the Month or the Day. Their Addiction to Aſtrology is ſuch that they carefully conceal the Moments of their Prince's Birth, to prevent the Caſting their Nativities, where they might meet perhaps with ſomething which they ſhould be unwilling to know. His Father begot him at Eighteen years of Age enamoured of a *Circaſſian* Slave, or *Cherkes*, in the *Perſian* Language; whoſe extraordinary Beauty and rare Endowments ſo won the Affection of that Monarch that ſhe was the firſt of all his Women that he choſe for a Wife; For which reaſon during her Husbands Life ſhe was called *Nekaat Kanum*, or the *Lawful Dutcheſs*; tho there were alſo other Women, which were his Lawful Wives according to the Law and Cuſtom of that Country.

This Eldeſt Son, according to Cuſtom was bred up in the Womens Palace, and committed to the Care of certain Eunuchs under the Eye of his Mother and his Nurſe. who was a Lady of great Quality, and the Wife of *Muſtauſie-Elmemalek*, which according to the force of the *Perſian* words, ſignifies a *Watcher*

over

over Kingdoms. There he was bred up with all the Tenderneſs and Pomp, that his High Birth required, and enjoyed all the Liberty that could be allowed to a Perſon of his Quality; which was to go up and down over all that ſpacious Palace where he pleaſed himſelf: for to go further into the Mens Apartments is by no means permitted thoſe young Princes.

When he arrived at the Age of ſeventeen Years, an Accident befel him that rendered his Confinement much more cloſe. For it happened that an Eunuch brought him ſome Peices of Cloth of Tiſſue, at what time the Prince being of a haughty Temper, and not thinking them Rich enough, rejected them with very ſcornful and ſlighting Language: nor was he better pleaſed when it was told him that the Peices were ſent him by the Order of the King his Father. Which being carried back and perhaps aggravated to the jealous Monarch, his Majeſty believing that the overmuch Liberty which was allowed the young Prince did but ſerve to heighten his Arrogance and augment his natural Pride, confined him to the remoteſt Part of all the Palace.

Some perſons were of opinion that he would have cauſed his Eyes to have been put out. But when they found that the Walls of the Place to which he was confined were ordered to be raiſed, the more Intelligent Sort believed that the King would not proceed to that Extremity of Rigour; for that he would not have been ſo careful to prevent the Eſcape of one that was Blind, whoſe Misfortune would have been ſufficient to render him incapable to attempt any Enterprize of that nature.

However when the King was ſetting forward for *Mazendaran* in the year 1665. according to our Computation, his Actions were ſuch, that even the Grandees and moſt Politick Courtiers began to ſuſpect that he had then determined the Dreadful Execution. For he was not gone above Eight Leagues from *Iſpahan*, when he turned back again of a ſudden toward the City with a very ſmall Retinue, without imparting his Deſign to any one of all his Favourites: but when he arrived, all that he did was to enter unexpected into the Womens Apartment, where after he had ſtaid about two hours, he came forth again very Penſive and Melancholy.

Of which the Courtiers not being able to conjecture any other apparent Cauſe, attributed it to ſome Fatal Reſolution which the King had taken againſt the Prince his Son. Tho as it appeared afterwards they were all deceived in their judgments, and that there was another Motive that put him upon this ſwift and ſudden return.

For

For as to what concerned this Young Prince, his Father was ſatisfied with his cloſe Confinement in a Quarter of the Apartment remote from the reſt, in the Company of his Mother and ſuch Ladies as the King had appointed to attend her without ſtinting her any Number: commiting him alſo to the farther care of the Great Eunuch *Aga-Nazir*, or the *Perſpicacious Lord*, to obſerve his Action, and to prevent him from attempting any dangerous Enterprize.

This Word *Nazir* moſt uſually ſignifies ſome Superintendant or General Overſeer. And therefore the Perſon laſt mentioned, beſides that he had the Tuition of the Prince, was Entruſted alſo with the Government of the Womens Palace, and to overlook the Management of all Affairs of the Royal Houſhold in *Jepahan*, an Employment which gave him great Credit and cauſed him to be reſpected both in the Court and City. In both which Places he was highly eſteemed till the Death of his Maſter, being as it were the Lieutenant and next to the Grand Superintendant of the Kingdom, who is likewiſe ſtil'd the *Nazir*.

As for the Younger Son, he was about Eight Years of Age when his Father Died, being Born in the year of the *Egira* 1069. of an *Iberian* Lady or *Gurgi*, as the *Perſians* call them; to whom they gave the Title of *Nour-Niſſa-Kanum*, which Signifies word for word, *Dutcheſs the Light of Women*: the Young Prince himſelf being called by the Name of *Hamzeh Mirza*: Tho I never could find or learn the true Signification of this word *Hamzeh*, I muſt confeſs in the *Perſian* Language it anſwers to the word *Apoſtroph* in our Tongue; but in that ſence I do not apprehend how it can ſignifie a Proper Name. Nevertheleſs a Proper Name it is, whether it ſignifies ſomething or nothing, and that muſt ſuffice.

As for the Title of *Mirzah*, it is as much as to ſay the Son of a Prince, as we have obſerved in another Place, where we have diſcovered more at large of the *Perſian* Names and Titles.

This Illuſtrious Infant, as I have been informed by ſeveral of the Great Eunuchs, who ſometimes Attended upon him while He was with his Father in the Province of *Mazendaran*, where I was alſo a little before his Majeſties Deceaſe, was a Prince whoſe Blooming Virtues promiſed ſomething more than Ordinary. For notwithſtanding the tenderneſs of his Corporeal Organs, the Strength of his Soul appeared in all his Actions, diſcovering ſuch ſigns of Nobleneſs and Generoſity, as plainly preſaged that one day he would be a Glorious Prince.

Now whether theſe Signal Endowments had begot in *Haba's* a

greater

greater Affection for him, than for his other Son; Or whether he were ſwaid by the moſt uſual Inclinations of Nature, which generally infuſe into Parents moſt Tenderneſs for their Younger Children, he would needs have this Younger Son of his to accompany him in his journey. Tho others believed that it was rather to gratifie his Mother, with whoſe Beauty the King was extremely enamoured, ſo that contrary to cuſtom he made her a Partaker with him in his Royal Bed, tho two and twenty years of Age, and carried her along with him where ever he took his Progreſs. And in this laſt Progreſs wherein ſhe accompanied the King, ſhe had the ſatisfaction to enjoy the Company of her beloved Son, to whom the King aſſigned for Tutor and Guardian a Noble Eunuch, called *Aga Mubarik*, or the *Bleſſed Lord*.

Thus this Young Prince hapning to be in this Houſe of Pleaſure, or of Sorrow rather, ſeeing here it was that his Father expired, was at hand to have Received the Diadem which the Grandees of the Aſſembly might have preſented him, had the Conſpiracy of the Two chief Phyſicians taken effect.

Nor was it their fault that it did not. For they managed their part with all the Prudence imaginable. And perhaps they might have laid their Plot before the Kings Death which by the Rules of their Art, they might eaſily foreſee. Not that they thought their Lives ſo much in danger till they had notice of the Dying Kings laſt words, but only to ſerve themſelves in their Eſtates and Employments.

To this purpoſe they went to the Prime Miniſter and under pretence of Informing him of the Kings Death and the Nature of the two laſt Medicins which they had preſcribed him, they fell into diſcourſe of more Important Affairs; and talking of the Election, they put him in mind how much it concerned him and all the Grandees of the Council to take care of themſelves: that the King ſome Minutes before he Died, had made loud Complaints of being poyſoned by his chief Miniſters, but that he left a Son that wolud devour their very hearts: that theſe his laſt words and Complaints could not be concealed from his Succeſſour. So that if they gave the Crown to the Eldeſt, who beſides that he was of the Age to take the Government into his own hands, and was of a haughty and cruel Diſpoſition, and therefore would not ſtick to make uſe of this pretence to rid himſelf of all his chief Miniſters and Nobility, to render himſelf by that means more abſolute, and make room for other New Creatures of his own; more eſpecially when he came to conſider how unkind his Father had been to him, for the two years laſt paſt, which

he would certainly attribute to the bad Counſel of his chief Favourites. Upon this they concluded, that ſince he could not chuſe but ſee that the Eldeſt Son would never have any kindneſs for the preſent Grandees, that it would be a great piece of Imprudence, to advance him to that Dignity which would empower him to do all the Miſchief that came into his Mind; and therefore at ſuch a juncture of time their ſafeſt way would be to confer the Election upon the Youngeſt, *Hamzeh-Mirzah*; a Prince of great hopes, and from whom the Grandeur of the *Perſian* Empire might expect a long Continuance for the Future, and they at preſent have no reaſon to fear the Diſturbance of a ſweet and calm Repoſe, or the loſs of their Authority under a Prince that would not be capable of the Government in fourteen or fifteen Years.

Theſe Arguments thus delivered by the two Lords, firſt to the *Prime Miniſter*, and then to the *Second*, wrought upon the Minds of Both as effectually as they could deſire.

Both the One and the Other were convinced, and agreed to advance the Younger Son, in prejudice of the Eldeſt. Their infallible Ruin hovered before their Eyes if the Eldeſt came to the Crown: as one that ſeeing himſelf from a Captive become an abſolute Sovereign, would ſoon be tranſported by his Youth and Pride, and the pleaſure of unlimited Controul to change the Face of Affairs, and to take ſuch Reſolutions as Humour and Capricio ſhould inſpire into him. And who knows, cried they to themſelves, how far he may attempt upon our lives? But above all the Rumour of the Kings being poyſoned, was that which put them all upon the Rack: For tho they might be all very Innocent, yet the pretence was ſo Plauſible, that the very Terror of the Accuſation repreſented the continual fears of Death to their Eyes as dreadful as if they were under preſent Torment, ſhould the Succeſſour to the Empire give Credit to the Rumour; whereas if they Elected the youngeſt, they ſhould ſtill keep their high Stations of Honour and Dignity; have leiſure and opportunity to advance their Families and raiſe Creatures of their own; Ruling all the while almoſt with an abſolute Dominion one of the greateſt Empires of the World.

But now, that I may not ſeem to contradict my ſelf by ſpeaking frequently of the Kings being poyſoned, when I have already at the beginning of this Diſcourſe attributed his Death to another Cauſe, I muſt beg of the Reader to make a ſmall Digreſſion, which I ſuppoſe will not prove unpleaſing, upon the ſeveral ſuſpicions which his Death begot

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in the various minds of thoſe that enquired more curiouſly into the nature of his Diſeaſe.

Moſt true it is then, that the moſt certain cauſe was that which I have already ſet down, that is to ſay, the Foul diſeaſe attended with a *Cancer*, which ſeizing the Griſtle that forms the Conveyances of ſmelling, preyed not only outwardly upon the Noſe, but inwardly upon the Palate, and then falling upon the *Uvula* ſtopped up the paſſages of Reſpiration. But they who imagined themſelves to be more quick-ſighted, and to underſtand the bottom of things much better, would ſtill be whiſpering the Curious in the Ear, and I my ſelf have been one of thoſe to whom it has been told for a great Secret, that ſeveral of the chief Officers of the outward Court, and ſome of the Eunuchs alſo of the inward Court, or Womens Apartment, had for ſome time before agreed among themſelves to rid themſelves of this Great Monarch, and to that purpoſe had made choice of Poyſon, as the moſt ſecure way, and leſs apt to be diſcovered. And that which inſtigated them to this deviliſh Reſolution, was the frantick and furious humour of the Prince, of which every day ſtill produced extravagant and bloudy Teſtimonies; which was come to that height, that being one day overcome with Wine, to which he was extremely addicted, he had cut the Throat of one of his moſt beautiful and legitimate Wives without any offence or other cauſe given: that he had done the ſame to ſeveral of his Domeſtick Servants; ſo that the reſt dreading the like Misfortune, and untimely Ends, ſuffered themſelves to be tempted into this execrable deſign of giving him a Potion, that ſhould waſte him by degrees, and give him a ſlow Death, which ſhould not be perceived till it came to paſs. Others confeſſed that in his drunken fits he had committed thoſe cruel Acts of which he was accuſed, yet that never any body attempted to poyſon him for all that; but that it was rather a ſecret ſhame and inward grief for having abandoned himſelf to ſuch wild and extravagant Tranſports that gnawed and devoured his heart. However it were, the Rumour of his being poyſoned was never any other than a Rumour, and was always looked upon as a Dream for which there was no ground; tho had the buſineſs been more exactly enquired into, the truth perhaps might have come to light according to the Report.

After the two chief Eunuchs, and chief Phyſicians had given an account of the Kings Death to the Prime Miniſters, they went alſo to inform the other Lords of the Council, ſtill

keeping the Secret as private as they could for fear the People or the Soldiers ſhould come to have the leaſt ſuſpicion of it. At the ſame time alſo they deſired them to conſider the neceſſity of aſſembling together for the Welfare of the Empire, in regard the King was dead without declaring a Succeſſor either in writing or by word of Mouth. Whereupon the Lords approved their prudent Management, and agreed upon a Place where to aſſemble, ſuch as ſhould give no occaſion to any perſon living, no not to their moſt familiar acquaintance to take the leaſt Alarm.

To that purpoſe they made choice of the Place before the Gate of the Palace where the King lay ſick, where not only They, but all that belonged to the Court, were wont to appear about ſeven of the Clock in the Morning when the King reſides in the Country. Whither repaired the whole Throng of Courtiers, not knowing any thing of the Accident. There alſo appeared the Lords who have their ſhare in the Government, and went into certain little Tents, according to their uſual Cuſtom, as well to expect the Kings coming forth, as to be ready at hand to receive his Commands; or for the diſpatch of Affairs, which either need no anſwer at all from the King, or upon which they already know the King's mind.

For the better underſtanding of which, you are to know, as already has been declared in our Treatiſe of the Government of the *Perſians*, that when the King reſides in the Country, they pitch him a large Camp in the Form of a City. In one of the extreme Quarters of which Camp they erect the Royal Pavilions: and about fifty Paces from thence the Tents of the Grand Maſter of the Royal Houſhold: near to which they alſo ſet up ſeveral leſſer Pavilions richly furniſhed on purpoſe for the Lords to ſit down, diſcourſe one with another, or for the diſpatch of Buſineſs, ſuch as I have already mentioned.

Nor is this Order of Encamping ever altered, although the King himſelf be lodged in a Houſe.

Thus it was an eaſie thing for the Lords of the Council to aſſemble together without giving the leaſt ſuſpicion to others; however to keep their deſign the more cloſely ſtill concealed, they came with their uſual Trains and Habits, and with Countenances ſo well compoſed, that notwithſtanding the various Emotions that agitated their different Paſſions, there outwardly appeared nothing but ſuch a ſetled ſatisfaction and contentment of Mind, as would not permit them one among another to dive into each others Breaſts.

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The Lords being aſſembled in one of theſe forementioned Pavilions, which by accident was then erected in a Garden of the Village adjoyning to the Palace, next to the Pavilions of the grand *Maſter of the Houſhold*, placed themſelves in the ſame Order as they uſed to ſeat themſelves in the Kings Preſence. That is to ſay; on the Right Hand ſate the *Athemad-doulet*, or chief Miniſter, ſo called from a compound word which ſignifies the *Confidence of the Empire*. For the word *Doulet*, tho literally taken for Riches and Grandeur, yet Metaphorically and in a borrowed ſenſe, the *Perſians* make uſe of it to ſignifie *Dominion* in general, or particularly for that which we call Rule or Empire in our Language, as we have ſhewed in another place. Next to him ſate the *Koelar-Agaſia* or Lord of the Slaves. By which is to be underſtood the General of the ſecond Body of the Perſian *Militia*, whom they ſtile the *Kings Slaves*. Below him ſate the *Nazir*, or *Seeer*; Superintendant General of all the Royal Demeſnes; and who alſo takes particular care of the Treaſuries, Furniture, Buildings, Manufactures, Magazines, Stores, and Servants, and in a word, of all things that relate to the Kings Houſhold.

Next to him ſate the *Divaan-Beki*; a word ſo formed from the corruption of two other, *Divaanum-Bek*, or *Lord of the Council of Juſtice*. And he that bears this Title is the ſupreme Judge in all Civil and Criminal Cauſes, which come before him by way of Appeal from all parts of the Kingdom. Nor is there any one but the King himſelf who can ſtop the Execution and Sentence by him once pronounced. Next to whom ſate the *Mir-Ateuer-Bachi*, or *Grand Eſquire*. For thoſe Perſian words ſignifie, *The Chief of the Princes of the Stables*. The *Hakiem-Bachi*, or *Chief of the Phyſicians*, that is, the chief Phyſician and his Brother, were they that ſate lowermoſt upon the Right Hand.

On the Left Hand, he that held the uppermoſt Seat was *Toefenktchi*, or the *Lord of the Musketeers*, being the General of the third Body of the Perſian *Militia*. Next to whom ſate the *Vateaa-Noviez*, or the *Notary of Occurrencies*, or of ſuch Tranſactions as relate to the Empire, and may be therefore ſaid to be the principal Secretary of State. Next to him ſate the *Mir-Schekar-Bachi*, or Prince of the Chace, an Office well known in *France* by the Title of *Grand Veneur*, or chief Huntſman of *France*; and next to him the *Munebizjim-Bachi*, or the Lord of the *Aſtrologers*, who is one of the moſt conſiderable Peers in the Court of *Perſia*. On the ſame ſide, but at ſome diſtance

diſtance below, ſtood the two Eunuchs *Aga-Kafour* and *Aga-Mahacire*, of whom we have already made mention, as not being permitted, no more than the reſt of the Eunuchs, to ſit before his Majeſty.

The *Meihter*, or High Chamberlain ſtood ſomewhat higher upon the left hand, and a little behind, the High Steward of the Houſhold, whom the Perſians call *Ichikagaſia-Bachi*; or *Chief of the Maſters*, or Lords of the *Footſtool to the Throne*, becauſe his Authority extends over all the Porters, Uſhers, Guards, Maſters of the Ceremonies, and other Officers of the like nature belonging to the Court. But becauſe he performs the Office of Chief Gentleman Uſher night and day in the Kings Preſence, he has no Seat in the publick Aſſemblies, notwithſtanding his Authority be very great, and renders him more conſiderable than many that have right to ſit. Nor do I find that any other Lords than theſe were preſent at this Grand Aſſembly.

The chief Miniſter was the firſt that ſpoke, and declared at the ſame time what the High Chamberlain had informed him concerning the Kings Death, and which had been confirmed to him by the two chief Phyſicians: and then proceeding, he told him, "That he made no queſtion but the ſame Informa-" tion had already reached their Ears, and that they were not " ignorant how that their deceaſed Monarch was departed this " Life without declaring either in writing or by word of Mouth, " to which of his two Sons he had bequeathed his Scepter, and " that therefore it was their duty to proceed to an Election " with all the ſpeed imaginable, not only becauſe it was not " fit that the Prince to whom Providence had deſtined the " Crown ſhould remain in a Private Condition any longer, " but alſo for the ſecurity of the Kingdom, which was al-" ways in jeopardy ſo long as it wanted a Governour, ſince it " was with Monarchies as with living Bodies, that ceaſe to " live when deprived of the Head. For the preventing there-" fore of ſo great a Misfortune, it behoved them before they " brake up, to make choice of ſome glorious Scien of the *Imamic* " Race to ſit upon the Throne which *Habas* the II. had quitted " for a more bleſſed Manſion in Heaven. That that great Monarch " of victorious Memory had left two Sons, as he was aſſured " that none of all the Aſſembly had any reaſon to queſtion in " the leaſt, *Sephie-Mirza*, who was about twenty years of Age, " and had been left in the Palace of *Grandeur*, under the Tui-" tion of *Aga-Nazir*; and *Hamzeh-Mirza*, about ſeven Years

of

" of Age, who was there among them at Court under the " care of *Aga-Mubarek* preſent in their Aſſembly: That of theſe " two, after they had invoked the moſt High God, they were " to chooſe him that the well King had in a manner deputed " to be Lieutenant to the glorious *Succeſſor in Expectation*,

By *Succeſſor in Expectation* the *Perſians* mean the laſt of the *Imaans*, who according to their Religion is their hoped for *Meſſia*, whoſe return to Earth they expect every hour.

Now the Prime Miniſter having pronounced theſe words with all the Demonſtrations of a profound ſorrow, and an Aſpect full of Majeſty, which from his Aged Countenance ſhot both Awe and Reverence, made a ſudden ſtop, expecting that ſome other of the Aſſembly ſhould ſpeak and give his Advice. But obſerving that the whole Aſſembly out of a particular deference and reſpect to his Dignity and high Place, applauded his beginning, and by their frequent repetitions of *Biſm Allah'*, or *ſo be it, in the name of God*, ſeemed deſirous that he ſhould proceed: the aged *Miniſter* modeſtly reſumed his Place, and beholding the Grandees one after another, told them further, " That conſidering the Neceſſity, and the Reſolution which " they had taken to Elect one of thoſe two Princes, it was " his Opinion, That they were to the Rigorous but poſitive " neceſſity to which they were reduced, and which conſtrained " them to prefer *Hamzeh Mirza* tho the younger, and to fix " him in the Throne, tho to the Privation of his elder Brother. " The reaſon was, becauſe it was well known to all the World, " how ſevere *Habas* had been always toward him: ſo that it " was to be feared that the young Prince had been deprived " of his ſight. Of which the Report had ran very hot, " ever ſince the deceaſed Monarch at his departure from " *Iſpahan*, diſplayed ſuch a diſmal diſſatisfaction in his Coun- " tenance, that portended nothing but fatal; and which they " had more reaſon to believe, becauſe the King at the be- " ginning of his ſickneſs, had ſent in great haſt, without im- " parting his deſign to any of his Council, an Eunuch with " private Orders to the ſame City. Which Orders could be " no other than either to take off the Head, or pluck out the " Eyes of the young Prince, to the end he might be uncapable " of ſucceeding to the Crown after his death: For in all other " things the King never failed to communicate his Secrets " to ſome one of his Council, and particularly to the Prime " Miniſter, who was always accuſtomed to ſeal with his own " Seal, all ſuch Commands and Orders to which the King

affixed

"affix'd his Signet, which if it were ſo, they could not Elect him, "without running themſelves into a great Confuſion, if he "ſhould be already either Dead or Blind. For you know "*ſaid he*, that the ſacred Laws of the Elect of God not permit- "ing any perſon under that unfortunate Circumſtance to be "our Sovereign Monarch, we ſhould be conſtrained after all to "apply our ſelves to *Hamzeh Mirza*. And what thanks I would "fain know, will he then give us for our Election? Will "he not have reaſon to tax us with our want of Affection, for "chooſing him at a force put, when we knew there was no "poſſibility for his Brother to govern? Will it pleaſe him, do "you think, to accept a Crown at our hands, which we have "offered to another? Will he think himſelf beholden to us for "our ſuffrages which we did not give him out of Kindneſs or "Affection to his perſon, but merely out of invincible Neceſſi- "ty? And God grant he may ſtop there, with being only ſa- "tisfied that he ows us nothing. Who knows but that he may "ſtudy Revenge, and whether our Coldneſs may not kindle in "his Breſt a Fire that will not be quenched without our Ruin "and the deſtruction of our Families? But this is not all that we are "to conſider; when the Welfare of the Kingdom lies at ſtake, "particular Intereſts muſt give way. Mind therefore my Lords, "what I have obſerved at the Beginning of my Diſcourſe. It be- "hoves us to avoid the Dangers of an *Interregnum*, which will "continue long, while time is waſted in Meſſages to and fro "from hence to the Capital City. But Providence hath put in- "to our Hands *Hamzeh-Mirza*. What remains then but to follow "the Commands of Providence, and forthwith to advance the "Favoured of Heaven to the Sacred Throne of Prince of the "World.

The Prime Miniſter having thus delivered himſelf, gave no ſmall occaſion to the reſt of the Lords to muſe from whence this Opinion of his ſhould proceed. But in regard he was a Perſon that had always lived in high Reputation for his Integrity, and for that his being ſtriken in years, and his long experience in Affairs rendered him greatly conſiderable, they never ſuſpected the Advice which he had given had been the Effect of ſelf-intereſt; more eſpecially becauſe there was nothing propounded but what the whole Aſſembly believed to be very real. At length the greateſt part entertained a Propoſal ſo acceptable to their wiſhes with great Joy: and they who only had in their view their own particular Eſtabliſhment, were no leſs willing, in purſuance of the Prime Miniſters Counſel, to be thought as well

well affected to the publick Welfare, when indeed they minded nothing but their own Grandeur: For the ſame Conſiderations that had ſway'd the Prime Miniſter, and the *Chief Superintendant*, as we have ſaid already, had got poſſeſſion of their Minds likewiſe, and infuſed into them an Apprehenſion of the uncertainty of their Conditions, if *Sephie-Mirza* were advanced to the Throne. For that the Young Prince, were it only to ſhew his Abſolute Power, would Rule according to his own Fancy, and change his Officers as he pleaſed himſelf. Nor could they think otherwiſe but that ſome ſecret Inſtigations of Revenge would govern his Proceedings againſt them, as being perſwaded, that their Complacency had contributed to his Misfortunes; and that they were ſo far from pacifying the diſpleaſure and complaints which the deceaſed King his Father made againſt him, that they had applauded and flattered his Indignation. On the other ſide, if the report were true of *Habas*'s being poyſoned by the Conſpiracy of ſome of his Lords, it was eaſie to conjecture how they that were guilty could not chooſe but feel a Remorſe of Conſcience, and with what Terror they look'd upon a Succeſſor, who being naturally enclined to violence, would readily lay hold upon a Pretence ſo plauſible to revenge his Father's Death. But from the Election of the Younger Son there was no ſuch Apprehenſion of danger; in regard all things would move in their uſual Courſe, and for that his Minority would give them leiſure to provide for themſelves, and to make the beſt advantage of the Employments which they enjoyed. Thereupon they weighed in the ſame Balance the Probabilities, which the Prime Miniſter had ſet forth, of the Death of the Eldeſt of the two Princes, and the hazards which the Monarchy would run through a tedious Expectation. And therefore they all with one Voice concluded upon the Election of *Hamzeh-Mirza*.

But among all the Grandees there was not any one that teſtified ſo violent a Paſſion for the Election of the Youngeſt Son, as the *Superintedant General*: nor indeed was there any one whoſe particular Intereſt had more reaſon to urge him to it, as having more cauſe to fear the advancement of the Elder, than any of the reſt. And moreover, he made no queſtion, that he would lay it to his Charge, that he had not the Furniture, the rich Cloaths, and other things that he deſired: all which things by virtue of his Office of *Superintendant*, were at his diſpoſal. On the other ſide he had done ſeveral kindneſſes for the Mother of the Younger Son, whoſe Officer he was in the outward Palace, and then by the Aſſiſtance of the Eunuchs that attended her in the Womens Apart-

ment, he was in hopes to work himſelf ſo effectually into the Favour both of the Princeſs, and her Son, that he might be in a Condition to continue himſelf for a longer time in that high Credit, wherein he had lived, during the Reign of the Father. To which purpoſe when it came to his turn in Rank and Dignity, which was the third Place of Honour, to give his Opinion, it was with leſs indifference than thoſe that preceded him had done. He confirmed all that had been ſaid by the *Support of the Empire*, or the Prime Miniſter. He added moreover that he could not preciſely tell in what Condition *Sephie-Mirza* was at that time; however that it could not be but very bad, or rather ſo deplorable, that it would not ſuffer either Himſelf, or any others in his behalf, to dream of the Empire: That for the paſt Years of 1075. and 1076. after his Father had ſhut him up under a cloſe Reſtraint, He had been kept very private: That for him that ſpoke, he made no queſtion but that *Habas* had cauſed the Eyes of the Prince to be put out, as not believing him fit to Govern. Of which there was nothing gave him greater Aſſurances, than that there had been no mention made of the Prince ſince the Kings laſt Progreſs to *Mazendaran*, at what time the deceaſed King, being upon the Road not above eight Leagues diſtant from the Capital City, bruſh'd of a ſudden back again in great haſt, no man knowing either the Iſſue of his Return, nor why he went. And therefore there was no farther reaſon to doubt, but that he did it at length with a full determination to rid the world of that Young Prince. Nor did there need any other convincing Proof of what he ſaid, than the Eunuch, who not long ſince had been diſpatched with private Orders, which could only relate to that Prince. And therefore it was an irrational thing to deliberate to which of the two Sons they ſhould offer the Crown, ſince only *Hamzeh-Mirza* was by Heaven preſerved to be their Prince.

Thus was this Royal Infant about to have been advanced to the Throne to the Excluſion of his Elder Brother. All the *Grandees* gave their Conſents for this Election, nor had one of theſe who had right to ſpeak denied him his voice. There were only two Eunuchs that had not ſpoke a word. And who would have thought they durſt have preſumed to have ſpoken a word? eſpecially the leaſt in Credit of the two? ſeeing that neither the one or the other having neither Right, Title or Authority to ſpeak, could any one have imagined that they ſhould have been ſo bold to entertain Sentiments contrary to all the reſt of that Illuſtrious Family? Or if they ſhould have been ſo

daring,

daring, was there any likelyhood they ſhould have the Confidence to declare them, and to carry it againſt ſo many Voices?

Nevertheleſs it ſo came to paſs in a Manner that may be thought to be almoſt Miraculous, as well by reaſon of the Circumſtances already obſerved, as for thoſe which we are going about to obſerve. Which aſſures us that there is a Superior Providence which concerns it ſelf in the Management of all human Affairs, commands all Events, and frequently brings things to paſs contrary to all our Expectations, as here it hapned where *Sephie* was Elected notwithſtanding the confederacy of perſons intereſſed, and the favourable opportunities to advance their Deſigns.

Now this ſame Eunuch that broke all the Meaſures which theſe Lords had taken was *Aga-Mubarek*, in great Credit at Court, as we have already obſerved, as being the perſon to whom the King had committed the Tuition of his ſecond Son. He, I ſay, was Tutor to *Hamzeh-Mirza* whom the Grandees all endeavored to advance to the Throne, and whom it therefore behoved rather than any other to ſupport and encourage their Suffrages, ſince that in all likelyhood the Grandeur of his Illuſtrious Pupil would be a means infinitely to advance his Reputation, and preſent him a Fortune the moſt glorious that a perſon of his Condition could hope for.

Nevertheleſs the love of Juſtice prevailed over all other Temptations that could affect his Soul; ſo that it was not without a noble Indignation that he heard the Propoſal of the firſt Miniſter, to prefer the Younger before the Elder Brother, which augmented ſo much the more by how much he found the Lords of the Council ſo readily inclined to a Condeſcenſion. Thereupon he took a Reſolution worthy that Ancient and Conſtant Fidelity which the *Eunuchs* have already gloried in. He thought it his Duty to prevent ſuch a diſorder and confuſion as much as in him lay, and that tho he had no right to ſpeak in that Aſſembly, yet that it was lawful for him for once to violate a Cuſtom which was no more than a bare Ceremony, to the end he might reduce into the right way, thoſe that went about to break that Love which Nature ſeemed to have eſtabliſhed, and which Religion favoured.

Nevertheleſs he ſtaid till every one had ſpoken in their turns, as well in reſpect to the Lords ſo much his ſuperiors, as for that he ſtill was in hopes that ſome one of better judgment, or at leaſt of better Principles ſhould deliver his Opinion more juſtly and according to Law, and deliver him out of that perplexity wherein ſuch a troubleſom Accident would engage him. But when he ſaw that they had all

with one Conſent concluded to Elect the Younger Brother to the prejudice of the Eldeſt, under pretences, which how ſpecious ſoever, they ſeemed to be, were only the perſuaſions of Intereſt, and upon Conjectures too weak at the bottom to gain credit in ſuch an important Affair, with a fearleſs, yet reſpectful behaviour he thus began:

"The Propoſal, Princes, and Lords of Lords, which you "have made to exclude from the Crown *Sephie*, the Eldeſt Son "of *Habas* the *Second*, to whom it appertains by Law, and to "advance in his room *Hamzeh-Mirza*, is an affront to Juſtice "and the Laws of the Elect *Meſſiah*, too viſible to believe you "have ſuffered your ſelves to be ſwayed to ſuch a deſign any "otherwiſe than by ſome dazling Appearances as have ſur-"prized your Judgments. For I dare be confident that not "one among you all does think the Motives that have been "alledged ſufficient. No — the Pretence which you have "borrowed for the Election of *Hamzeh-Mirza* is not rational. "The true Reaſon that prevails in your Minds, if I may be "ſo bold to tell you, tho you know it as well as my ſelf, is "your deſire to govern *Perſia* for many years to come, and at "your own pleaſure. It is therefore that you would elect an "Infant, under whoſe Minority you may be able with permiſſi-"on to exerciſe an abſolute Authority. For what is alledged "of the Eldeſt Prince, that without doubt he is either deprived "of his Life, or of his Sight, can be look'd upon only as a "deluſion. For had it been ſo, ſhould I have heard nothing "of it? I that ever ſince the Kings departure from the Capital "City have always been exactly acquainted with whatever "paſſed in the Womens Palace; I that have always been a con-"ſtant Attendant in it; and more than that have had the Go-"vernment of the Young Prince? If the Eunuch, who was "ſent Poſt ſometime ſince to *Iſpahan*, had private Orders to the "ruine of *Sephie-Mirza* out of a deſign to render him incapable "of the Succeſſion, ſhould I have diſcovered nothing? Or "would not the deceaſed King have made ſome alterations in "the condition of his ſecond Son, for whom he had deſigned "the Imperial Throne after his death? Would he not have en-"larged his Revenue, and augmented the Splendour of his "Court? Would he have concealed it from me, and *the Light "of Women*, the Lady Mother of the Young Prince? Or if he had "concealed it from me, would it not have been more eaſie for "me than for you to have diſcovered ſomething? ſince I have "always lived in the Inner Palace, and that I knew every thing

"that

" that paſſed there under the greateſt Secreſie; whereas you are " ſo far from entring into it, that you can only look upon the " outſide of it. In a word, there is nothing in all that which " you pretend to fear, *Sephie-Mirza* lives and ſees, my life for " yours, God is my caution; and if it be not ſo, here is my " head. You cannot therefore without great Injuſtice, or rather " foul Treaſon, forget the Eldeſt, and ſacrifice him to your " own Paſſions, and the Intereſts of his Younger Brother. Ra- " ther let the Younger Brother be ſacrificed to Him and the " Intereſts of the Kingdom. Do you not foreſee how you " are going about to throw the Kingdom into a diſmal Con- " fuſion, and fill it with Diviſion? Think you the reſt of the " Grandees will ſuffer themſelves to be accounted Perſons with- " out Law, and approve your Votes? Think you the People will " take your Crimes upon their ſhoulders, and endure the Younger " Brother ſitting upon the Throne of the *Faithful*, whom " you could not place there till you had trampled under foot " the moſt Sacred Duties with which Religion inſpires us? On " the other ſide, all the World will riſe againſt you, to take " part with the Lawful Heir; or if that ſhould not come to " paſs, you will be laden with Curſes, and looked upon as " the Authors of a moſt Execrable Aſſaſſination: You will bluſh " for ſhame all your Lives, and live with perpetual torment " in your breaſts. *Hamzeh-Mirza* alſo himſelf, for whom you " have proſtituted your Conſciences, will not he reward you " for it one day? He will look upon you as Dogs that ad- " vanced him to his Honour only for the Hounds fees; and " as ſuch who in hopes to fatten your ſelves during his Mi- " nority, forſook God, the Law, the Prophet, the Book, the " Explanation, Right Reaſon, and Juſtice. I am ſure his " Judgments will purſue you, and that the leaſt puniſhment " you can expect will be to be ſent naked into ſome Deſert, " there to thank God for only ſaving your Lives.

There he ſtopt of a ſudden with ſome diſturbance in his Countenance: but immediately proceeds with a ſudden Exclamation:

" *Hamzeh Mirza*, cried he, *Hamzeh Mirza*, to what an " extremity do you reduce him? Would you, my Lords, that I " ſhould go and ſtrangle him with my own hands, and that " I ſhould bring him dead into your preſence? I have the power, " he is under my charge. By that means I ſhall be able to prevent " you from making an ill Choice: You ſhall then be conſtrained " to carry the Crown to the Eldeſt; and then I leave you to

" conſider

" conſider how he will receive it at your hands, when he " ſhall find that nothing could reduce you to your Allegiance but " ſuch a fatal extremity.

With this threatning Language he concluded his Speech; leaving the Lords of the Aſſembly ſo ſurprized that if a Mountain had fallen at their feet, as they ſay in *Perſia*, they could not have been more áſtoniſhed. They could not divine the reaſon that ſhould induce the Eunuch to ſuch a determined Reſolution: He was neither inſtigated by Hatred, Fear, nor Hope. Not by Hatred, becauſe they knew he tenderly foſtered his lovely Pupil. Much leſs by Fear, ſince he could expect nothing but a ſoft Indulgence in reſpect of himſelf from the Perſon that had been bred up in his Arms. Nor could he hope for any of thoſe advantages from the Eldeſt, whoſe diſpoſition he was not well acquainted with; for tho he might have a kindneſs for him, it could never be ſo great as that of the younger Brother, who had ſuck'd it in with his Milk. Therefore they all found that he ſpoke againſt his own Intereſts, and that it could be nothing elſe but his zeal for Juſtice and the Welfare of the Empire, his deſire to ſatisfie the People, and his Loyalty toward his deceaſed Maſter, that cauſed him to act in that manner. However it encreaſed their reſpect for him, and obliged them to admire his Sentiments ſo generous, tho contrary to their Intentions, and ſuch as altogether diſapproved their Conduct.

It was about half a quarter of an Hour before any one of the Aſſembly durſt ſo much as open their Lips; but ſtill they ſate looking one upon another, without ſpeaking a word, perplexed between the ſhame of recanting, and the fear of the danger which they ran, ſhould they adventure obſtinately to defend their firſt Reſolutions. At length the chief Miniſter, whether it were that he was more a friend to Juſtice than the reſt, as there was reaſon to conjecture from his wonted noble and unbyaſſed manner of proceeding, or whether he feared leſt any other ſhould ſpeak before him, which had rendered him guilty, in regard it was his Place to ſpeak firſt, as he had already done when he argued ſo ſtifly againſt *Sephie Mirza*. However it were, the Prime Miniſter firſt breaking ſilence, thus began: " That true it was, that if the Aſſembly were infallibly " aſſured that the Eldeſt Son of *Habas* II. was no longer in a " condition to receive the Crown, they might juſtifie the " Election of the ſecond Son; but ſince *Aga Mobarek* ſo confi- " dently aſſerted, that *Sephie Mirza* had neither loſt his life, nor " his ſight, they ought to chooſe him without any further

" delibera-

" deliberation: And therefore from the bottom of his heart " he gave him both his Voice and all his choiceſt Wiſhes, pro- " teſting that it was their duty forthwith to go and offer him " the Diadem and the Empire.

Upon thoſe words all the reſt of the Lords grew faint-hearted, and had no longer power to defend the Injuſtice which they had began. For the condition of theſe Lords renders them naturally fearful, who as illuſtrious, and as great Princes as they ſeem to be, are in effect but ſo many Slaves; their Lives, their Liberty; their Honour, their Eſtates abſolutely depending upon the Pleaſure of the Sovereign; So that they were ſo far from perſiſting in their firſt Opinions, that they ſtrove which ſhould be the firſt that ſhould renounce what they had done; and diſſembling their Diſcontents, they all unanimouſly decreed, " That ſince the Eldeſt Son was in a condition to enjoy " the Crown, which legally appertained to him, that it was " their duty without delay to fetch him from the Palace of " Grandeur, and accompany him to the Throne.

And thus was *Sephie-Mirza* elected Monarch of the Perſians contrary to the Intention of thoſe themſelves that gave their Voices for him.

The Prime Miniſter added, that after ſo unfortunate an Election of the King, they were immediately to proceed to a ſecond, which was the Nomination of a Perſon among the great Lords of the Kingdom, who was to poſt with all ſpeed to *Iſpahan*, to fetch the Prince out of the Palace where he was encloſed, and ſeat him in his Throne with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies, and to cauſe him to be acknowledged Sovereign Lord of the Perſian Empire.

Now though this Election were not of equal Importance with the Election of the Prince, yet did it not occaſion a little trouble among the Lords; who had no ſincere and real Amity one for another, after the manner of Courtiers: for every one had their particular deſigns, and had an eye upon his Companion. However the Perſon to be nominated was to be taken out of their Number, becauſe there was not any of higher Quality than they were then at Court; and they that were of Inferiour Rank could not pretend to that Honour. But then again, believing that the Perſon, who ſhould happen to be entruſted with ſuch a weighty Errand, would in all probability gain a great Aſcendant over the young Monarch's favour, who to recompence the welcome Tidings of ſuch a Meſſenger, would afford him a large ſhare of his Affections, their buſineſs

was to caſt their Eyes upon ſome One whoſe good nature and generous temper they might beſt diſpence with; if they could not find out one of abſolute Probity, and Sincerity. For what will not Vice attempt, when furniſhed with ſuch great advantages? Or what Impreſſions will not an evil perſon ſtamp upon a Soul, if I may ſo ſay, altogether rare, or on a Prince whoſe tender Years will not permit him a due experience in the Affairs of the World?

So that every one of the Lords took care to nominate out of their number ſuch a one as they thought would do leaſt miſchief, who if he had not a Will to do them good, ſhould have as little deſire to do them harm. As for the Prime Miniſter, and the *Superintendant*, who for their high Dignity had moſt right to the honour of ſuch an important Deputation could not be ſpared, becauſe at that juncture of time their Preſence was abſolutely neceſſary at Court. The Prime Miniſter was to ſtay for the diſpatch of Buſineſs, and to give Audiences upon Affairs of State, and by his Preſence to prevent any Diſturbance that might ariſe upon the news of *Habas*'s Death, if by any Accident it ſhould happen to be divulged before the time; which would ſoon have come to light by the abſence of the Prime Miniſter, who never ſtirs from the Prince's Elbow, if the King be alive. Nor was it more poſſible for the Superintendant to ſtir, as well for the ſame reaſon, as for that He, having the ſole ordering of all the rich Furniture and Treaſures of the King's Houſe, and of all the Convoys and Waggons every day going and coming to the Court with Proviſions and other Neceſſaries, cannot leave his Employment, for fear any Diſorder or Confuſion ſhould happen.

Then again, becauſe it was ſtill convenient that the People ſhould know no more but that the King was ſick, that was it which prevented the Grand Maſter of the Houſhold from being ſent; in regard his Office, like thoſe of the two former, obliges him to be always near the King. The chief Aſtrologer, and the chief Phyſician were not of Quality ſufficient to aſpire to that Honour, and much leſs the Two Eunuchs. Indeed the Dignity of the Grand Eſquire, and Grand Huntſman might in ſome meaſure have claimed it. But in regard they are not properly Officers of the Kingdom, but rather the Kings Officers; they began to caſt their lies upon the Generals of the Army, the *General of the Slaves*, and the *General of the Muſquetteers*, chiefly becauſe they are ſuperiour in Dignity to the two latter, and for that their Employments do not tye them to be

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at Court; True it is, they were not very grateful to the Lords; but for once as before there was a neceſſity that Inclination and Affection muſt give way to Duty.

Of theſe two Competitors, the General of the Slaves expected the Precedency as his due, in regard his Employment gave him the Preheminency; which he could not diſſemble, but diſplayed his hopes and expectations in his very Countenance. However he miſſed of his reckoning: for he had not one Friend in the whole Aſſembly; they knew him too well, to be a crafty Knave of a turbulent ſpirit, and of a miſchievous humour; and therefore they were all afraid if he ſpake firſt to the new King, he would not forget his old tricks, but would form ſuch Contrivances at leaſt againſt the greateſt part of them, that they ſhould not eaſily diſintangle themſelves. Upon which conſiderations they gave their Voices unanimouſly for the General of the Muſquetteers. Not but that they had ſome apprehenſions of him likewiſe, as not having altogetheer the Reputation of a ſincere man, only he was a Saint in compariſon of the other. For his Cunning did not carry him to the full extent of Malice. Beſides that he was looked upon as a Perſon of great Parts, and one that underſtood the Court, and the Intereſts of the Neighbouring Princes. For which Reaſon he had been ſent for ſome Years before in the Quality of an Embaſſadour to the preſent King of the *Indies Aurang-Zeb*, to congratulate his coming to the Crown; and had behaved himſelf with ſo much Grandeur in the Embaſſie, that his Maſter gave him ſignal Teſtimonies of his Satisfaction. And indeed his *Rodomantadoes* in that Court are ſtrangely remarkable, ſuch as the Reader will hardly credit, when I ſhall publiſh what I have collected in reference to that Embaſſie.

This Lord, then, being thus deputed, the Aſſembly gave order about ſome other things that concerned his journey, and how they ſhould manage Affairs at Court in expectation of the New King.

Firſt, It was ordered that Eleven Perſons ſhould accompany the Commiſſioner to *Iſpahan*, that is to ſay, two Aſtrologers, the *Munchiziim-Bachi*, or the Chief of thoſe that profeſs that Science, who was called *Mirza-Baker*, and with him another Aſtrologer, one of the moſt noted in the Kingdom, whoſe Name was *Mahamed-Saleh*. They were to be preſent at the Coronation, with an Aſtrolabe in their hands, to take the fortunate hour, as they term it in the Perſian Language, and obſerve the lucky Moments that a happy Conſtellation ſhould

point out for Proceedings of that Importance. To theſe they added four of the Principal Officers employed in the cuſtody of the Treaſure to carry and take care of what Jewels ſhould be requiſite for the Ceremony. The other five were not then nominated, in regard that every one of the Principal Officers of State had a right to appoint his own Deputy upon that Occaſion.

Thoſe five Commiſſioners, who are always Perſons of Quality, were in their Maſters names to throw themſelves at the feet of the new Monarch, ſo ſoon as he ſhould be brought forth of the private Apartment of the Palace, and at the Ceremony of the Coronation to repreſent the Perſon by whom they were deputed. Of which the one was the *Prime Miniſter*; the other, the *Grand Superintendant*; the third, the *General of the Slaves*; the fourth, the *Lord Chief Juſtice*; and the fifth, the *Principal Secretary of State*.

In the ſecond place it was ordered by the Lords, that the *General of the Muſquetteers*, with his Eleven Attendants, ſhould ſet forward the next Morning before day, unleſs the Grand *Aſtrologer* ſhould find the Conſtitution of the Heavens and the Aſpects of the Planets not to be favourable; whereupon they ſhould forbear till a more lucky ſeaſon. That then every one ſhould depart, and ſtay at a New *Caravan-Seray*, which is four Leagues from *Demagaan*, till the Twelve Perſons being all arrived, they might proceed altogether in their Journey. And that for fear leſt if they ſhould depart in Company from the Camp Royal, they ſhould create too great a jealouſie of the cauſe of their Journey.

In the third place the Lords ordained that the General of the Muſquetteers ſhould carry a Letter to his Majeſty in the name of the whole Aſſembly, which ſhould be read in their hearing, before it was put into his hands, that nothing might be inſerted but what was approved by all.

In the fourth place they unanimouſly agreed, for the better concealing the Kings Death, that every one ſhould Officiate in their ſeveral Stations, as they did before the doleful Accident hapned; and pay their accuſtomed Attendance about the Palace. That in the mean time they ſhould amuſe the People with a belief that the King was only ſick, and in a fair way of recovery. That the Eunuchs there preſent, and others concerned, ſhould endeavour to keep all things private in the Womens Palace, and uſe their utmoſt diligence to chear and comfort up the Women, for fear their loud Complaints and Moans ſhould be heard by thoſe without.

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In the fifth place it was ordered that the Eunuchs with the chief Phyſicians ſhould take care to embalm the Body of the deceaſed King, to the end he might afterwards be put into a Leaden Coffin according to Cuſtom.

Laſtly, The ſame Lords ordained that at the end of Eight Days all the Court ſhould depart from the Village of *Koſroes-Abaad* where then it was; and in regard it was impoſſible in ſo great a Hurry to travel far in a day, that they would make ſhort Journeys to *Kachaan*; that they ſhould order their March according to the Seaſon, and as they thought moſt proper, to prevent all occaſions that might give the People any reaſon too curiouſly to pry into the condition of the Kings Perſon.

Toward Evening the Letter which was to be preſented to the New Monarch was delivered to the *General of the Slaves*. It was put up in a Purſe of Cloth of Gold, drawn together with ſtrings of twiſted Gold and Silk, with Taſſels of the ſame, and ſo knit into a Knot. It was ſealed with ſoft Wax; upon which the Chief Miniſter put his own Seal. Nor was any omitted of all thoſe Knacks and Curioſities which the Oriental People make uſe of in making up their Epiſtles.

By this Letter, of which I was very careful to get a Copy, drawn from the Original, the Lords gave *His moſt Excellent Majeſty* to underſtand, "How the Great Potentate and Ruler "whoſe place is in Paradiſe, King *Habas* II. whoſe bright-"ſhining Glory God increaſe, departed this Life the twenty "ſixth of the Moon called *Rabeya-el-eſany*, at the beginning of "the *Return* (*that is, of the Return of her Light*) without "having made any Will, or given any Order touching his "Succeſſour, or nominated any Perſon to Govern the King-"dom.

"That as ſoon as they had notice of the Diſmal Accident, "they aſſembled together to conſider who the Perſon was "whom Heaven had Elected to ſucceed the King. Whereupon "with an unanimous conſent they had as ſoon named Him, "and cauſed his moſt Excellent Perſon to be acknowledged "Lord of Kingdoms of vaſt Extent, and only capable to ſup-"ply the Throne of the Immortal Succeſſion of Prince of the "World. Upon which they had put up their moſt ardent "Prayers, that God would be pleaſed to ſurround him with "Glory, and to prepare for him Triumphs worthy the high "Honour to which he had called him, Proteſting at his Feet, "that they were his moſt humble and moſt obedient Slaves.

" That to eſtabliſh his moſt Magnificent and moſt Glorious " Perſon in the Throne which reſembled the Celeſtial, they " had deputed one of their Members, the *General of the Muſ-* " *quetteers* to deliver him their moſt humble and miſerable " Letter; who was accompanied with ſeveral other Perſons " elected to expreſs by word of mouth in the name of the " whole Aſſembly their Submiſſions and Vaſſalage, and then " to ſupply the places of the moſt humble Slaves of the Throne, " which is the true Seat of the *Kalibat*, (or *Pontificate*) in " the great Solemnity of his Coronation, to be performed by " the Impoſition of the Sacred *Imamic Tiara* (or *Prophetick* " *Tiara*.) That the Body of his thrice Illuſtrious Father, " whoſe place is in Paradiſe, whoſe bright ſhining Glory " God encreaſe, ſhould be conducted to the City of *Kachaan*; " and that with the reſt of the Court, they who had taken " the boldneſs to write theſe Preſents would expect the moſt " firm Orders which his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend them; " as well for the Place of his Burial, and for ſuch other Duties " to which their Vaſſalage of indiſpenſable neceſſity engaged " them.

This was the ſubſtance of the *Perſian* Letter, of which we have expreſſed the Stile, and imitated the Strain as near as our Language would permit. Moreover upon the Back and the lowermoſt Fold was ſet the Seal of the Prime Miniſter according to Cuſtom.

The next day the General of the Muſquetteers, and the other Eleven Perſons departed, and made all the haſt that poſſibly they could: Yet not ſo faſt as they could have deſired, or as Occaſions of that nature required. For conſidering the vaſt number that rode Poſt altogether, it was not to be expected they ſhould meet with change of Horſes; beſide the danger of breaking or endamaging the Jewels by a violent Motion, was a thing which the Officers of the Treaſury were much affraid of. Thus they travel the hundred and twelve Perſian Leagues (which make a hundred and forty French) between *Koſroes-abaad* and *Iſpahan*, where they arrived the ſeventh day after they ſet out, upon a Saturday. Which was the third of the Moon, called *Gumiad-el-avel*, which anſwers to our ſecond of *October*, according to the Computation known among us; about ſeven of the Clock in the Evening; at what time the Merchants and Tradeſmen in the *Bazars* and *Piazzas* ſhut up their Shops, and every body goes to his own home.

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Some perſons of Quality obſerving this numerous Troop that came Poſt, and knowing the general of the Slaves at the head of them, and the reſt of the Commons which they had ſeen at Court, believed that they rode before, and were come to prepare all things ready in the Kings Palace by his Order for the Reception of his Majeſty, whoſe Return that City had long expected with great impatience. Thereupon they enquired of the General as he paſſed by, and of ſeveral others that followed him; who made anſwer, that his Majeſty was at hand and in a little time would appear in the City. Which equivocation was true, and yet concealed the Secret which he had in Charge.

This numerous Train of Lords being arrived in the great Square before the Royal Palace, alighted with all their Retinue at the principal Gate of that Magnificent Pile, which they call *Hali Kapi* or *Haly's Gate*, or by another interpretation, the *High-Gate*.

There they all Stopped except the *General of the Slaves* and the Prime Miniſters Deputy. For they too as ſoon as they were alighted, went directly to the ſecond Gate oppoſite in a direct line at ſome diſtance to the other, as we ſhall ſhew in our Diſcription of *Iſpahan*, which ſecond Gate is the Principal Gate of the Womens Apartment, and is called the *Sacred Gate*.

Through that Gate it was that thoſe two Lords went to the firſt Apartment without, appointed for the White Eunuchs. *Eunuchs* which in truth are poſted there to Guard the Place where the Women are incloſed, but never enter into it, but upon ſome extraordinary and urgent Occaſion. There the general of the Muſquetteers made known his Quality to the White Eunuch who came to receive him, and deſired to go, and deſire the *Aga Nazir*, that he would be pleaſed to come forth with ſpeed, for his buſineſs would admit of no delay. We have already obſerved that this *Aga-Nazir* had been entruſted by the Deceaſed King, in his Life time, with the Guardianſhip of *Sephie-Mirza*, afterwards Elected Monarch, and with the general Overſight of the Womens Palace; which obliged him to take all the care imaginable of this Apartment, which is as it were a *Corps du Guard*, where the White Eunuchs are lodged that watch the entrance into the Womens Apartment. However he hath a Magnificent Palace in the City; but then he hapned to be attending on his Duty in the Palace.

He therefore underſtanding that a Lord of that high Quality deſired to ſpeak with him, preſently went forth to know what Commands he brought. So ſoon as he appeared, the General

of

Muſquetteers advanced alone to meet him, while the Prime Miniſters Deputy out of reſpect kept a diſtance behind.

The General having drawn the Eunuch aſide whiſpered ſome words in his Ear, which were never known what they were, or at leaſt I could never certainly learn what they were. Some affirm that he diſcovered to him the Death of *Habas*, and the Election of the Eldeſt Son of that Monarch, whoſe Governour that Eunuch was. Which he was forced to do, becauſe he had no Orders in writing from the King, nor could have, in regard he was Dead. And yet this is always obſerved, when any Grandee, diſpatched from the Court, demands any perſon within to be let out, he ſhews his Command to the Governour of the Place. Others alledge that he ſaid nothing to him of that weighty Affair, for that it would have coſt him his Head, had he declared it to any other before he had declared it to the King. However it were, if he did make any diſcovery, it was in few words. For immediately thoſe two Lords, the General of the Muſquetteers and the *Seeing Eunuch*, went forward to the other more remote Apartment, which joyns immediately to the laſt Entrance into the Apartment.

When they came to that Apartment where lie the Black Eunuchs, who have Liberty to go up and down the inner Houſe where the Women are lodged, one of the Chief among them underſtanding the *Aga Nazir* was come forth to underſtand what he deſired: the other deſired him to go immediately to *Sephie-Mirza* and to let him know that the *Meſſenger of the moſt Sublime Command and of the moſt Potent Order* ſtaid at the Door, and had ſomething to communicate to him of the higheſt Importance, and which was for his Advantage. And therefore, that he would be pleaſed to come forth and ſpeak with him.

Which words the White Eunuch delivered to the Black Eunuch in ſuch a Tone, and with ſuch a Countenance as diſcovered nothing either of Sadneſs or Joy, from whence he could make any Conjectures either of bad or good Fortune. For conſidering the ſecrecy of the Affair he came about, it behoved him to affect a kind of Indifferency. So that the Black Eunuch reported back the Meſſage to the Young Prince as he had received it, who at that time was with the Princeſs his Mother.

I ſhall rather chuſe to give the Reader leave to imagin what was the Aſtoniſhment that ſeized thoſe two Royal Perſons at the ſuddenneſs of the News, and whence they had reaſon to gather

gather a thouſand ſuſpicions and jealouſies, than go about to expreſs it in words. We learnt afterwards, that for ſome time they ſtood like Statues in a profound ſilence, which was firſt interrupted by a loud ſhriek of the Princeſs, and afterwards by theſe words, which brake forth through the midſt of her ſighs while ſhe embraced the Prince, *Ah my dear Son, there's an end of thy Life.*

And indeed ſhe could not look for any other thing for him than Death, or ſome other Misfortune little leſs terrible. She much leſs dreamt that it was to advance him to the Throne. For in two Years that ſhe had taken leave of her Husband, then healthy and vigorous, in the Flower of his Age, not exceeding thirty ſix Years, ſhe had never heard of his being ſick, much leſs could ſhe believe him dead.

Therefore when ſhe heard that a *Noble Meſſenger of the High Order* was come to ſpeak with the Prince, what could ſhe think but that this Order came from *Habas* the Second; and that his Command was either to put to death, or pluck out her Sons Eyes; and that if they preſſed him ſo earneſtly to come forth, it was only to underſtand and ſuffer the Execution of that Order. All Appearances confirmed this ſad Suſpicion. The ſeverity of the Monarch was known to her, as well as the diſguſt which he had taken againſt his Eldeſt Son, of which he had given ſuch publick proofs by the ſtrict Captivity to which he had confined him. But ſhe that moſt perplexed her, and augmented her miſtruſts, was the Lady-Mother of *Hamzeh-Mirza*, "Queſtionleſs, ſaid ſhe, that wicked Woman it is, "who by her Careſſes and alluring Charms has over-ruled the "King, to deprive my Son of the Crown, to ſet it upon hers. Thereupon ſhe began to redouble her Shrieks and Lamentations in ſuch a manner, that the whole Palace rang with her Complaints. All the Ladies ſurprized to hear the firſt of the Kings Legitimate Wives in ſuch an Agony, ran preſently to condole her ſorrows, and to intermix their Tears and Complaints with hers. And indeed they had reaſon, eſpecially the Confidents of the Young Prince, who had an extraordinary Paſſion for his Intereſts. Friendſhip in others produced the ſame Effects, believing bloudy Executioners were come to raviſh from their Arms a Friendly Prince in his tender Years. So that it is ſaid that the Women raiſed ſuch a general Compaſſion, that even the Black Eunuch who was preſent, tho they are a ſort of People endued with ſavage and remorſeleſs Souls, could not refrain from dropping ſome few tears, and quitting that Indifferency to which his Truſt and Duty obliged him.

The

The General of the Muſquetteers and the *Nazir Eunuch* at the ſame time heard the Womens Lamentations, and believing it proceeded from the miſtake of the Mother of the Ladies that belonged to the Prince, ſent a ſecond *Black Eunuch* to aſſure the Princeſs, that the Meſſenger who waited for the Prince her Son at the Gate had brought him happy tydings, and deſired only to give him notice of a more Exalted Fortune. Which they both confirmed by an Oath moſt ſolemn among the Perſians, by the Head of the *Great Agrea*, by whom they mean *Haty*, whom they believe to be the real Succeſſour to *Mahomet*. But all thoſe Oaths and Proteſtations did nothing avail but only to augment the Miſtruſts of the afflicted Mother. She redoubled her Lamentations more loudly than before; She hugged her beloved Son in her Arms, and in the Tranſports of her ſorrow called down a Thouſand Imprecations upon the deceaſed King her Husband, calling him *Barbarian, Infidel, Impious, and the Fatal cauſe of all her Tears.* Wherein ſhe ſaid Truth, tho he were but a very Innocent Cauſe. Sometimes ſhe turned toward the Lordly Meſſenger, whom ſhe reproached with the ſcurrilous Terms of *Dog*, and *Meſſenger of Death*; ſometimes toward the *Eunuchs* that were preſent, whom ſhe upbraided for *Traytors.*

All the while the Young Prince ſtood immovable; for, as is ſaid, he uttered not one word; nor did he ſhew in his Countenance, any ſign of ſorrow. It is very probable, that it was ſo extreme, as to overwhelm him in ſuch a ſort, that he had neither Life nor Motion. While Nature that could not find ſufficient ſigns to expreſs her dreadful pains, ſtood as it were entranced, not knowing what ſide to take. Therefore the Young Prince ſhed not a Tear, becauſe the occaſion which he had to weep was ſo great: In that manner he ſtood in the midſt of the Lamentations of the Women, who detained him, and drew him to their knees, as if they had reſolved to defend him, and prevent thoſe that came to carry him away from approaching his Perſon.

This Scene had laſted above three quarters of an Hour, for other Black Eunuchs that were ſent one after another with Oaths and new Imprecations to aſſure them that the General brought Orders only that were highly to the Princes advantage, could gain nothing upon the belief of the Mother and the other Women, ſo that the *Nazir* reſolved to go himſelf in perſon to try what he could do to undeceive her. But ſo ſoon as he appeared before the Mother, and with terrible Oaths endea-

voured

voured to aſſure her that there was no danger, the Princeſs ſtill holding her Son cloſely embraced in her Arms, cried out, And *Thou Dog, art thou alſo a Meſſenger of Death like the reſt?*

The diſconſolate Princeſs was not to be comforted; for the more Meſſengers they ſent, the more Oaths they ſwore, the leſs credit ſhe gave to their Imprecations. She looked upon them all as Artifices to ſurprize her, and to induce her to conſent that her Son ſhould go forth where Death waited his coming. But at length ſome of the Principal Young Ladies ſuffered themſelves to be over-ruled by the perſuaſions of the *Aga*, and the horrible Imprecations which he called down upon his head, that there was no danger in the world, and aſſiſted him to bring forth the Prince; and yet with ſome kind of violence in forcing him from his Mothers Arms. Who being reduced to deſpair, ſeeing ſhe could not reſiſt the reſpectful violence that was put upon her, and that ſhe could no longer hold the dear Pledge of her Life, ſhe flung from her Seat of a ſudden, and after ſhe had ſnatched the Dagger out of the Sheath that hung at the Young Prince's ſide, preſenting it to the Breaſt of the Chief Eunuch, who was next her, and had the Young Prince by the hand, *Go*, ſaid ſhe, *in the Name of God, but take a care what thou doſt, and what thou haſt promiſed. If he muſt periſh, know that thou thy ſelf ſhalt firſt ſuffer the puniſhment which thy Lying and thy Treaſon deſerve.* Preſently the Eunuch accepted the Condition, and conſented to receive his death at her hands, if any thing diſmal befel him. Which ſomewhat pacified the Lady, ſo that ſhe delivered the Poniard, and ſuffered it to be ſheathed again at her Sons ſide.

And then it was that the Eunuch redoubling the Oaths that he had ſworn, and the Aſſurances which he had already given her, that there was no danger, but on the contrary, a proſpect of all Proſperity, ſatisfied thoſe Royal Perſons, as much as it was poſſible, in ſuch a dubious Dilemma of their Anxious minds.

The Mother accompanied her Son as far as the laſt Place, where ſhe was permitted to go without being ſeen through the Gate that ſtood open, and then returned with a ſad heart, ſupported by ſome of her Women, and the Prince trembling and quivering was carried, as I may ſo ſay, by the Chief Eunuch without the firſt Portal, toward the Apartment of the black Eunuchs.

At the very Inſtant that he appeared without, the General of the *Muſquetteers*, with the Prime Miniſters Deputy, who kept at a diſtance behind him, threw himſelf at the Prince's Feet, and made three Obeyſances according to Cuſtom, knocking the Ground with his Forehead. Then riſing upon his Knees, with his Cheeks all bathed in Tears, which either the Lamentations of the Ladies had drawn from his Eyes, or the Death of the Monarch, of which he brought the News, had made him ſhed, he declared the occaſion of his coming in theſe words, which he uttered with a loud voice, and very diſtinctly.

May your Illuſtrious Head be always ſafe; The King of the World, your Father Habas, *to whom the God of mercy grant a new accumulation of Glory has found a Place next to the Divine Goodneſs; and Your Illuſtrious Highneſs is choſen to ſucceed Him, and has been ſtiled the Lieutenant of the true Sovereign.* For that is the ſignification of the word *Valiè-Neamet*, which was made uſe of in that Expreſſion, as being the moſt uſual Epithete, as alſo the moſt ſublime, which the *Perſians* have been accuſtomed to give their Kings. For *Valiè* denotes a *Sovereign Lieutenant*; that is, an Abſolute Prince in his Dominions, and yet one that depends and holds of another. It alſo ſignifies a Mediator almoſt in the ſame ſenſe. Becauſe a Lieutenant of that nature is a Mediator between the Lord from whom he derives his Authority, and the People to whom he diſtributes both Puniſhments and Rewards in the Name of the Sovereign Supreme. As for *Neamet*, it comes from the word *Inaam*, which ſignifies the free Gift of a Lord to his Slave. So that by the Compound *Valiè-Neamet*, the *Perſians* underſtand a Lieutenant, whom the true and ſupreme Sovereign, who is God, has eſtabliſhed with abſolute Authority to diſpence over all the World in his ſtead his Favour and Benefits, as we ſhall more amply and more to the purpoſe explain it in another place.

The *General of the Muſquetteers* thought it not convenient to uſe more words, that he might not delay the Prince, whom he found to be impatient to hear what he had to ſay. But then from one extremity he fell into another quite contrary. To thoſe Tears that had forſaken him ſucceeded Aſtoniſhment, Joy and Sadneſs that overwhelmed him anew; and rendered him once again as motionleſs as before.

He became like a perſon who out of long Darkneſs comes of a ſudden in a flaring Light. He ſeemed to be ſeized with a kind of dazling Amaze, and like one that did not ſee, beheld as in a Trance, the great number of Eunuchs that kneeled

round

round about him, calling him their Lord and Sovereign. Theſe firſt Minutes being over, he appeared more compoſed in his Countenance, and ſoftly leaned upon the Chief Eunuch, like one that had been waked out of a profound ſleep. He began to reflect upon what was paſſed, and he found that they were ſo far from having any deſign upon his Life, that they came to advance him to the Throne. Nevertheleſs, in regard he could not hear thoſe joyful tydings, but as they were accompanied with the News of his Fathers death, both unlookt for, the ſurpriſe was equal on both ſides, and put him a third time into ſuch an aſtoniſhment that he ſtood for ſome time in a kind of a Trance. This Grief for ſome Minutes conteſted with his Joy, till at length his good nature overcame the latter. He obeyed the perſuaſions of his ſorrow; not minding what he had gained, but what he had loſt: and in the midſt of thoſe thoughts, overpowered by his Affliction, according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, he tore his *Cabaye*, or upper Garment, from the Coller to the Waſte. He wept biterly, not having ſhed a tear till that time; tho the Lamentations of his Mother, and the Conſternation wherein he had beheld all the Ladies of his Palace had given him ſufficient cauſe. This ſhewed the good nature of the Young Monarch, as I have already ſaid, for it cannot be imagined that he diſſembled in what he did. He was too young to underſtand the ſly tricks of craft and ſubtilty, and being one who had never ſeen the world, but had been bred up tenderly among the Women; accuſtomed only to talk of fine Cloaths, and Baubles, and to command Eunuchs. Beſides that, the diſorder of his mind for above an Hour before would not permit him to obſerve ſuch a regular Conduct. So that although he had been ill uſed by his Father, who had ſhut him up in a cloſe Priſon, and whoſe Death ſeemed to reſtore him to Life, by giving him his Liberty and a Diadem, he could not forbear to bewail his loſs as an Evil that was never a whit the leſs for being the cauſe of ſo much good. Rather muſt it then be an effect of Nature, which ſhews that ſhe is always the Miſtris of our Affections, and that the Paſſions which ſhe inſpires will ſtill prevail, notwithſtanding all the Obſtacles of Ambition, Intereſt, or good Fortune.

The General of the Slaves beholding the P
with ſo much grief, made no Anſwer
ſay, with his Eyes, from whence he let
without expecting any longer till th
to riſe, he roſe of himſelf, and approa

uſe of all his Eloquence to alleviate his ſorrow. The *Nazir* Eunuch alſo was no leſs ſedulous to joyn with him in comforting the Young Prince, ſo that by degrees the violence of his mourning began to abate. The luſtre of a Diadem repreſented it ſelf before his Eyes with all its glory; ſo that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome with the Charms of Grandeur, and the ſplendour of an exalted Fortune that glittered in his ſight, according to the Expreſſion in the *Perſian* Original.

Thereupon the two Lords looking ſtedfaſtly one upon another, as it were making ſigns to each other as to what they had already concluded among themſelves; and well knowing that as yet the Young Prince underſtood not how to act the King, they asked him, as it were by way of an indirect and glancing Inſtruction what he had to do, whether it were his Majeſties pleaſure that they ſhould attend him forthwith to the Palace Royal, to receive his Diadem, in regard it was of great importance that he ſhould make no longer delay. To which the Prince condeſcended, and ordered them to do whatever in their judgment they deemed moſt proper and convenient. Upon which the General of the Muſquetteers, attended by the *Chief Eunuch*, with a great Train of other Perſons, conducted the Prince to the Apartment where the Kings were accuſtomed to give Publick Audience, which they call *Talaar*, *Tavieleh*, where the Deputies of the Principal Officers of State, the *Grand Aſtrologer*, and the reſt that came from the Court were admitted to make their three uſual Proteſtations in his Preſence, the Deputies in the Name of their Maſters, the reſt for themſelves. After that, his Majeſty went into a Bath which was near the Apartment, there to purifie himſelf, as the Law ordains, and to array himſelf in new Habits, while all things were preparing for the Coronation with all diligence.

In the mean time the Chief of the Aſtrologers, with his Companion that came along with him from the Court, retiring to their proper Station, ſet themſelves to obſerve the Lucky Hour according to the Poſition of the Stars for the performance of this weighty Ceremony. Thus all things were

leſs than an hour and a half, through the

of the General of the Muſquetteers,

, who from the very moment that

Palace, and during the time that

Bath, had privately ſent with all

ſpeed

ſpeed for the Furniture of Perſons neceſſary for the Solemnity.

Which before I declare at large, I am induced to think it will not be amiſs to make a deſcription of the place where it was performed. And this I ſhall borrow from another Treatiſe of my own, wherein I have given a full accompt of the Capital City of *Perſia*, and what is in it moſt worthy obſervation.

Toward the North, very near the Walls of the Palace, over againſt one of the Gates that lead to the principal Entry, is an ancient Apartment, built in a perfect Square, every ſide containing four and twenty foot. It was erected long ago by King *Talmas*: From this Bulding to the Gate appears a very large Alley, ſhaded with lofty Maples; all along the ſides of which from the Entrance to that Apartment are placed at the diſtance of ten or twelve Paces one from another, certain ſtone Mangers of a convenient height, and plaſtered over with Lime and Chalk, to tye the Horſes that are made choice of out of the Royal Stables to the number uſually of twelve or fifteen, or ſometimes more upon high Feſtival days, or when any Embaſſadours or other Foreiners of great quality are admitted to have their firſt Andience of the King. At what time they are conducted through this Alley through the midſt of theſe Horſes gorgeouſly harneſſed. For all their Capariſons are enriched with precious ſtones as thick as they can lie; the Chains, the Shooes, the Hammers, the Buckets, the Curry-combs, in a word, whatever is uſed in a Stable is all of pure maſſie Gold, as we have already declared in its proper place. On the right and left Hand of the Apartment, were to be ſeen certain Beds of Flowers and Trees planted here and there at random according to the *Perſian* manner, where Nature only ſeems to be the Garderies. Before and toward the South the Garden extends it ſelf in Breadth and Length, divided as it were into Beds and ſpacious Plots, parted one from another with tall Trees, and planted with ſo many ſorts of Flowers, that ſome continue blowing during all the three warmer Seaſons of the Year. This Apartment is built for the moſt part of Carpenters Work; nor is the Floor of it level with the Superficies of the Alley, but raiſed about three foot above it. The Covering is Flat, ſuſteined with turned Pillars, overlaid with Gold to a conſiderable thickneſs, ſome ſix or ſeven and twenty foot high. The ground-work of the Ceeling is of carved work in pieces anſwering one another, and forming Partitions, where the Gold gliſters no leſs than

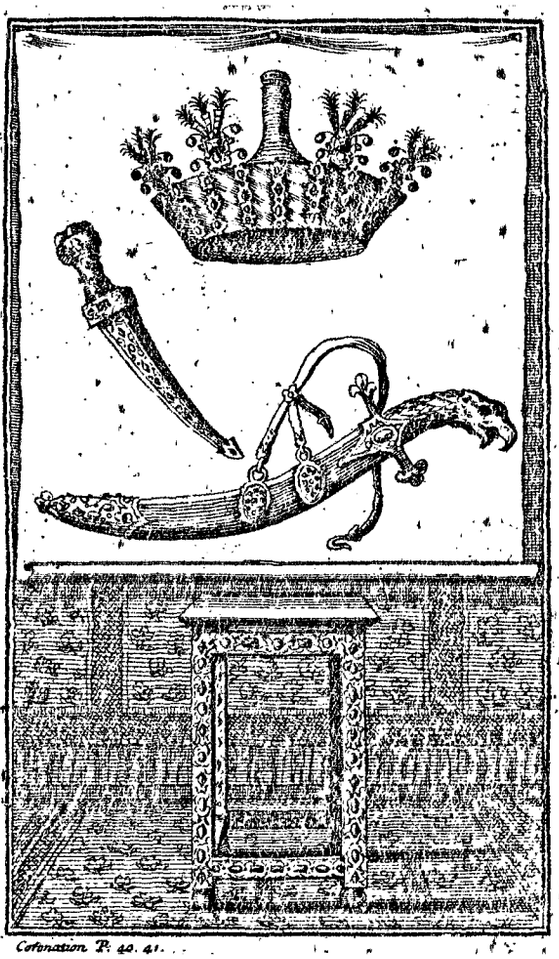
than in other places. Thus this Apartment is open of all ſides, but when the Curtains are let down, which are faſtened at the top of the Pillars, equal with the Ceeling without ſide. And they always let them down either on one or the other ſide according to the Hour that they know the King will come. But when they let them down, they do not ſuffer them to hang to the ground as we do; but draw them with their ſtrings to the next of the great Trees in the Garden, and then faſten them to the Bodies of the Trees in ſuch a manner at the height of ten foot from the ground, that they ſerve inſtead of large *Umbrellaes*, to prevent the Sun-beams from ſhining into the Room, and yet without hindering the Company, whether ſitting or ſtanding, from having a full ſight of all that is done within.

The Curtains are of Crimſon Linnen, lined with Indian *Chite* moſt gayly painted. The bands wherewith they are tied back, as are all the running ſtrings, are of coarſe Silk. The Body of the Apartment is divided into three parts ſeparated only by ſmall Baliſters of Joyners work richly gilded. The two ſides make two Halls of ſix and thirty paces long, and ſixteen broad. Between the two Halls is to be ſeen a *Talaar*, or a Balcony of State raiſed four foot higher than the Halls; in the midſt of which ſtand a large and deep Font of white Marble, which receives the Cryſtal water that continually falls into it from a Pipe of the ſame coloured Marble. The whole Room is gilded all over, and that ſo thick, that altho it be above a hundred Years ſince it was firſt laid on, there is nothing to this day that appears either Tarniſhed or ſhel'd off in any part.

It is called *Talaar-Tavieleh*, as we have already hinted, the *Hall of the Stables*, for that upon certain days, as we have ſaid, the Horſes of State are brought out, and tied cloſe by. For *Talaar* ſignifies properly an exalted Balcony, and *Tavieleh* denotes a Stable, or any other place where they tie Horſes.

This was the Place, and thus adorned for the Coronation of the King. For the next day I had the liberty to go in, to look about me at leiſure, and obſerve the Magnificence of the Furniture, and of all that had been made uſe of at the Ceremony. The two Halls were ſpread with Carpets of Silk, and all along the ſides were placed a great number of low ſquare Beds, covered with flowered Tiſſue of Gold and Silver. The *Talaar* or Balcony of State in the middle, was hung and ſpread with Carpets of Gold and Silver: The Cuſhions round about it being of a certain Stuff made in *Perſia*, called *Mach-*

meli-



Coronation P. 40. 41.

meli-zer-haf, which is a ſort of Velvet weaved in Flowers and Foliage, conſiſting of Silk interwoven with Gold. It was alſo furniſhed with Veſſels to ſpit in, like thoſe in the other Halls, ſome of which were embelliſhed with ſmall Rubies and Turcoiſes.

In the place deſigned for his *Majeſty*, a Quilt was laid, ſtuft with fine Sheeps Wool, four fingers thick, and between three and four foot in length; over which was ſpread a very fine Coverlet of Indian Work pinked with Gold, being a moſt admirable piece of Workmanſhip. This Carpet covered all the Quilt, and hung down four fingers on every ſide, by that means hindering the Quilt from being ſeen; beſides that, it was kept tight at the two Corners by two great Apples of maſſie Gold ſet with precious ſtones; cloſe to which ſtood two little Veſſels to ſpit in, ſumptuouſly wrought. At the other end lay a Cuſhion of which the lower ſide was of Cloth of Gold, intermixed with red Flowers and green Leaves: As for the upper ſide I could not tell what Stuff it was made of, becauſe I could not come near enough to obſerve it; beſides that, it was all over covered with Diamonds, Emeralds, Pearl, and other Precious ſtones, that caſt a wonderful luſtre, ſo that it was impoſſible to know the ground of that coſtly Embroidery.

The Room was enlightened with fourteen Lamps all of maſſie Gold, not hung up, but ſet upon the ground as we ſet our Candleſticks upon Tables or Stands. Theſe Branches, all of Duckat Gold, are ſo ſubſtantial, that there are ſome which weigh ſixty Marks; and the leaſt weigh thirty or forty. Of theſe Lamps there were eight in the *Talaar*, in the Middle, and three in each of the Halls, where were alſo eight Candleſticks with two Branches apiece of maſſie Gold alſo, three foot high, and weighing more than the Lamps.

The place for the Coronation, being thus prepared, they brought and laid upon the middle of the *Talaar*, the four Principal Pieces which are in a manner conſecrated to this Ceremony.

The firſt was a *Scourzie*, or Seat which ſerved inſtead of a Throne, being a little ſquare Cuſhion Stool, three Geometrical feet in height; the feet of the Pillars that ſupported the Corners being faſhioned like ſo many great Apples; and to ſecure the Seat, there ran as many Croſs Bars both above and below. The upper part was ſmooth and plain, without any thing that might make the Seat ſofter, being all the ſame materials with the reſt, that is, maſſie Gold very thick; the four Pillars alſo

and

and the Feet being plated with Gold, and ſet with little Rubies and ſome Emraulds. This ſame Stool at other times is kept very charily in the Treaſury Royal, which is a Dungeon in the Fortreſs of *Iſpahan*, and ſo weighty, that two men can hardly carry it. I ſaw it there by good fortune; having the opportunity to get in, when the *Vazier*, or *Farmer Royal* of the City came to open all the *Magazines* and Cloſets, in regard the King was the next day to ſhew them to his Mother and his Wives.

The ſecond Piece was a *Taag*, or *Diadem*, or *Crown*, for I cannot find any other word to expreſs it by in our Language: nor could the *Perſians*, were they to tranſlate the word *Crown* into their own Language, find a more proper word than their own *Taag*; which is that *Perſian* Crown or famous Bonnet, which ſome Travellers call the *Sophy*'s *Bonnet*, tho I know not for what reaſon. I have in another place delivered my opinion ſufficiently concerning it. It is a Flat Bonnet, ſomewhat like the Mortar-Caps of the Preſidents of the French Parliaments; only it is not altogether ſo large, nor ſo deep. It is made ſomewhat ſtraiter at the lower end; and carries in the middle a Point that ſeems to come out of the middle of the Bonnet, but is only ſowed on, tho very neatly and artificially. This Point riſes up about a fingers length, and leſſens toward the end, tho at the top it ſeems to grow bigger again. The Materials of the Bonnet prepared for the new King was of Cloth of Gold; bound about after the manner of a *Dhul-bandt* (which our Writers, for want of Language, erroneouſly call a *Turbant*) with one of the fineſt and Thinneſt Calicuts that *India* could afford, and Tiſſued with Silver upon the brims the breadth of two fingers. The outſide of the Hollow of the Bonnet at the Top was covered all over with an Embroidery of Diamonds, from whence hung down ſeveral Chains of precious ſtones that ſhaded all the reſt of the Circumference, and dangled down upon the Bonnet, which was no leſs ſumptuouſly embelliſhed with all the richeſt Jewels of the Crown: round about ſtood little tufts reſembling Herons Feathers, all of Jewellers work, nothing inferiour to the reſt. In other parts of the Bonnet were erected little Plumes of Herons Feathers, and Birds of Paradiſe. The *Dhul-bandt* was all hung about with ſtrings of Precious ſtones, Diamonds, Rubies, Emraulds and Topazes faſtened to the Heron Plumes, which ſtrings covered all the *Dhul-bandt* from the top to the bottom, dangling down upon the *Calicut* Facing to keep it faſt, and prevent it from unlooſening. Juſt over the forehead ſhone another Heron-Tuft, much more

glorious

glorious than all the reſt: from the top of which roſe up three Sockets of Precious Stones, wherein were placed little Tufts of Herons Plumes.

The third Piece was a *Chemchir*, or Sword, of which the Hilt and Scabbard were all covered over with Precious Stones proportionably to the Diadem. All the Perſian Swords are about three Fingers broad, and bowed backward almoſt like a Semicircle. For they who profeſs to underſtand a Weapon in *Perſia* maintain that a Blade ſo bowed cuts much keener, and makes a deeper wound than a ſtreight Sword, which they demonſtrate by the Rules of Fencing, which we have not at this time leiſure to examine.

The fourth Piece is a *Gangher* or Perſian Dagger, of which we have given you the Portraiture, as of all the reſt; ſo that there needs not any farther deſcription; For the infinite number of Precious Stones would not permit the ſight to judge of the Materials of the Sheath, tho there is no queſtion to be made but that it was of Gold.

Now to tell you the worth of theſe three laſt Pieces (for as to the firſt it may be eaſily computed) is a Task which I dare not undertake, becauſe I could never underſtand any thing of certainty in that concern. True it is, that I have heard a Lord of the Court aver, that as well the Crown as the Sword and Dagger were valued at above a hundred thouſand *Tomans*, which amount to near five Millions of our French Money. But I would not adviſe any perſon to believe it. For I know the *Perſians* too well, and particularly the Courtiers of that Country, for there is no People in the world leſs friends to Truth, and who take ſo much pleaſure to multiply Objects, or to enhance the Grandeur and Magnificence of their Prince. However it is not altogether improbable what they ſay: for I have ſeen one of his Majeſties Heron-Tufts, of which ſome *Europeans* in *Iſpahan* valued one ſingle Diamond in the middle at *eighteen*, and the reſt at *four and twenty thouſand pound ſterling*. If the Royal Diadem had any more than one Heron-Tuft of that Value, or if that Ruby were upon it, which by the expreſs Command of the deceaſed King, the Eunuch that had the charge of the Treaſury, ſhewed me at *Mazanderan*, which be of an Oval form, weighed (as the ſaid Eunuch told me) a *hundred and ſixty Caratts*, the *Chains or Strings*, with the *Sword* and *Dagger*, being proportionable in value, the three Pieces might well amount to a hundred thouſand *Tomans*. But notwithſtanding all this to tell you my opinion ſincerely, I could ne-

ver judge them to be worth above three parts of the money.

Theſe three Pieces were laid near the Stool, and covered with a rich *Toilet*. Preſently his Majeſty appeared coming out of the Bath, and arrayed himſelf in his uſual Habit, tho more ſumptuous than he was wont to wear; after that being entered into the Room of State, he ſate down in the Place that was prepared for him, and at the ſame time they who were appointed to aſſiſt at the Coronation, aſcended the *Talaar*, and ranged themſelves in this Order.

Upon the Right ſide of his Majeſty, at a little diſtance behind him ſtood the *Aga-Nazir Eunuch*, who at that Ceremony performed the Office of High Chamberlain, carrying to that purpoſe at his Girdle a little Box of Gold glittering with Precious Stones, wherein were a good Number of Handkerchiefs, and Perfumes for his Majeſties ſervice when he had a mind to make uſe of them.

A little behind him appeared ſix *Georgian* Children from fifteen to ſixteen years of Age, who had been made Eunuchs, extremely beautiful, as are moſt of the young Children of that Country. They were ſo placed as to make a half Circle about the King, ſtanding upright without ſo much as ſtirring their hands which they held acroſs upon their Breaſts; being ſumptuouſly habited in Linnen, whoſe ground was Silver heightned with Gold in the ſame Order, and as far behind the Children, as they ſtood behind the King, appeared a great number of old black Eunuchs, every one holding a long Muſquet in his hand, of which the Stock was garniſhed with Gold and Precious Stones.

Upon the Left hand of the King, which is eſteemed the moſt Honourable among the *Perſians*, ſate firſt the Commiſſioner that repreſented *Dlahammed-Mehdi*, the Prime Miniſter; Next to him the ſecond Commiſſioner that repreſented *Gemchid-Kaan* General of a Body of the Army; Next to him the Perſon that ſupplied the Place of *Mazſoud-Bek*, *Superintendant* General of the Kings Demeans. In the fourth Seat, the Perſon Commiſſioned by *Mirza-ſedreel-din*, Principal Secretary of the Empire. *Hemireh-Hamzeh-Mirzah-Daroga*, Grand Provoſt of *Iſpahan* and its Dependencies, took the fifth place. And *Mirza-Refie*, eſteemed one of the moſt Learned among the *Perſians* took the next.

Upon his Majeſties Right Hand, in the ſecond Place (for the firſt was left void) in honour of *Boadaak-Sultan*, General

of

of the Muſquetteers, who was preſent but ſtanding upright; near the Prince ſate the Perſon deputed by *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan* Lord Chief Juſtice. Below him two Places were left void for the chief Aſtrologer and his Colleague, who were retired to obſerve the Lucky Hour. The fifth Place was filled by the moſt learned and wittieſt perſon that was in all that great Kingdom, by the judgment of all men, being the Brother of the Prime Miniſter, and great Uncle to the new Monarch by his Wife. His name was *Mirza-Hali-Riza*, and his Title *Cheik-el-Iſlaam*, or *Ancient of the Law*. For by the word *Iſlaam*, which properly ſignifies the Reverence which we pay to the divine Commands, by the ſubmiſſion of our Mind and Will, they mean Religion, which they call the Law, by way of Excellence. For at this day, as formerly among the Hebrews, all their Politicks depend upon Religion; and it is the Ancient of the Law who holds the Ballance of Affairs in his Hand, which cannot be determined without his Approbation. In the ſixth Place ſate *Mirza-Moumen-Vazier*, or Receiver General for his Majeſty in *Iſpahan* and its Dependencies.

I could never hear of any other Grandees but theſe that ſate. True it is, that the Halls on both ſides were full of Officers that ſtood; ſome to authorize the Solemnity of the Coronation; ſome to be ready to execute the King's Commands, as they ſhould receive them from the General of the Muſquetteers, who for that day ſupplied the Place of Lord High Steward of the Houſhold; carrying in his hand, as a Badge of his Office, a large Truncheon of Gold, all ſet with Precious Stones, and a round Ball at one End; and ſtanding at the left hand of the King, from whom he received Orders, or to ſay better, to whom he gave directions. For the new King who had never ſeen any ſuch ſight before, neither did nor ſaid any thing but what was dictated to him.

About ten a clock at night the Chief of the Aſtrologers and his Companion, having been long obſerving the Poſition of the Stars, and Conjunctions of the Planets, returned at length to give notice that the Fortunate Hour for the Coronation of the King would be within twenty Minutes. Thereupon his Majeſty ordered the General, as he had been taught before, to lead them both to their Places.

In the mean time he whiſpered with the General, who gave him Inſtructions how to behave himſelf upon all the ſeveral changes of the Solemnity: which the young Prince failed not to follow exactly, for fear of committing any Irregularity, for

want of experience in an Action of ſo publick and weighty a Concernment.

When the twenty Minutes were almoſt expired, the Grand Aſtrologer having winked upon the General to let him know that he might proceed, he told the King; who thereupon immediately, according to his Inſtructions, roſe up; and then all the reſt roſe up likewiſe. At what time the General threw himſelf at his Majeſties Feet, bowing to the very Ground; then riſing upon his Knees he drew out of the Boſom of his Garment, the Bag wherein was the Letter which the Aſſembly had ſent to the New Monarch. Preſently he opened the Bag, took out the Letter, kiſſed it, laid it to his Forehead, preſented it to his Majeſty, and then roſe up. The Prince having received it, returned it to him again, and commanded him to break it open and read it; which he did aloud very diſtinctly and leiſurely, to the end that all who were preſent at the Ceremony might hear the Contents, and underſtand that the Grandees of the Kingdom had unanimouſly elected the preſent Prince for King of *Perſia*, that they acknowledged him for ſuch, and were ready to atteſt it if there were occaſion.

When he had done reading, the King commanded him to ſend for the Ancient of the Law; which he did; at what time the *Lord Ancient*, approaching his Majeſty, threw himſelf at his Feet, and after the uſual Proſtrations, he roſe up again, took the Letter out of the Generals hand, to acknowledge and authorize it, to verifie the Seals, and atteſt that it was real. For that acknowledgment belongs to him as Chief of the Law, and in all ſpiritual matters. Having taken the Letter, and laid it on his head out of reſpect, he read it, and looked upon the Seals, and then returning juſt before the King, he fell upon his Knees, and made three bows to the ground; by that humble poſture declaring his approbation of the Letter, and that the advancement of the Prince to the Empire was legal.

While the Spiritual Judge was thus employed, the General deſired to know the Kings Reſolution, whether he would be Crowned by his own name, or aſſume any other before his Coronation. Who made anſwer, that tho he altered his Condition, he would not change his Name, but retain that of *Sephie* which was given him in his Infancy. The General returned the Kings pleaſure to the *Ancient of the Law*, who was riſen from the Kings Feet, where he had left the Letter. At the ſame inſtant therefore, the two Lords, the *Ancient of the Law* upon his Right, and the General upon his Left, conducted the Prince to the

Chair

Chair of Gold, ſo often mentioned before, placed in the middle of the Hall, and then the *Ancient of the Law* beſought him to take his Place. Which he did, according to the Rules of the Law, wherein he had been inſtructed, with his face toward the *Kaabba*, or *Oratory of Mecca*. Then the *Ancient of the Law* ſeating himſelf upon his Heels, which is the Poſture uſed by the *Mahumetans* when they pray to God, or when they are in the preſence of any Perſons of high Dignity, ſome few paces diſtant from his Majeſty diſcovered the *Diadem*, the *Sword* and *Dagger*, and then ſaid a Prayer to God, which he began with a ſhort Confeſſion of their Faith, and concluded with a Benediction upon the Royal Ornaments appointed for the Ceremony of the Coronation. The Prayer laſted not above a quarter of an Hour; at what time riſing up, he took the Sword and girded it on upon his Majeſties Left ſide; and hung the Dagger upon his Right. Then having made a ſign to the General to take off the Bonnet from the Kings head, he put on the *Taagh* or Diadem, uttering at the ſame inſtant certain Verſes of the *Alcoran* proper for the purpoſe, which he did before when he girt on the Sword and Dagger.

This done he ended, and gave place to *Mirza-Refia*, the great and learned Doctor already mentioned, who preſented himſelf to perform the *Kotbè*, which word in the Original ſignifies a Prayer. But by this Prayer is meant a Prayer in form of a Harangue; and perhaps they might give it the name of an Oration.

By an ancient Cuſtom, time out of mind, theſe Prayers were always to be divided into four Heads; to laſt half an hour, and to contain always the ſame Form. Only the Orator had the liberty to alter the Terms, and the Stile, and to give a new flight to his thoughts.

The firſt Head is called *Hamde-Koda*, or the *Praiſe of God*, becauſe the Orator here ſpeaks of nothing elſe, "But of the "Thanks which we always ought to render him for his Graces "and Favours, ſince there is not that moment wherein we do "not continually receive ſome new mark of his Kindneſs. "That his Bleſſings being like the Sources of great Rivers, "that flow without ceaſing, and never ſtop their Courſe, for "which reaſon the bleſſings of God, are called by the Di-"vines, *Flowing Bleſſings*, our Thanks therefore ought to be "continual, and always running. That whatever his Su-"preme Majeſty expoſes to the Eyes of Men, whether it were "in times paſt, or now at this preſent, bears the Characters,

"and

" and imprints the Seals of his affection toward us, and teſtifies " that whatever he acts without himſelf, he does it all for the " greateſt good of Mankind, in regard that Infinite Being is the " beſt of all that do beſt.

Theſe are their Expreſſions, and very near the ſenſe of the firſt Head, which laſts ſome half a quarter of an hour.

" The ſecond Head is called, *Nead Berpegamberhou ve douaſde* " *Imaam*; *The Praiſe, Remembrance, and Acknowledgment of the* " *Prophet, and of the twelve Deſcendants and Lieutenants.*

" And therefore it contains nothing more than the Acclama- " tions and Benedictions which they give to perſons which " their ſuperſtition has rendred Venerable among them; That " you are the Fourteenth whom God has choſen pure and unble- " miſhed; That he has made them ſucceſſively Lords of all " Mortals. That the Faith is not entire, if together with the " Confeſſion of the Divinity we do not likewiſe acknowledge " the ſending of theſe Fourteen to be lawful, upon whom the " Heavenly Lights are ſhed down, to give light to wandring " ſouls, and to ſhew to all the way of Truth. Therefore we " are obliged to glorifie them, to celebrate their Praiſes, to wiſh " for their perpetual Welfare and Peace, and to their Family on " Earth all manner of proſperity: that their names may be ex- " alted above all *Created Beings.* That Curſes may be heaped " upon their Enemies. And that all the Men in the Univerſe " may be dead away, and become duſt at their Door. With ſeveral other Wiſhes of the ſame nature, which I have rendered as much word for word as is poſſible.

The third Head is that Royalty is of divine Inſtitution. *Sel-temet ez Hokkam Koda*, that is, *that Royalty is of Divine Inſtitution.* Upon which they obſerve, " That ſince God created the World, " he has always governed his People by Prophets, and in their " ſtead by Kings, whom he has eſtabliſhed their Succeſſours. " That Kings are the *Zel-Alla*, or the ſhadow of God; *which* " *is that which we call the Image of God.* But the word *Image* is ſuch an Expreſſion as they abhor as Idolatrous, a Term which they dare not make uſe of; believing at the ſame time, that they likened God to any Image, they ſuppoſed him at the ſame time to be Corporeal. They added withal,

" That as at all times we are obliged to ſerve God, and to " obey him, not only by the ſight and underſtanding which " Heaven has infuſed into us at our Birth, but by the Revela- " tions which we have had from his Prophets, who have de- " clared unto us his Will, we are in the ſame manner, and by

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" the ſame Revelation bound to obey Kings, as being the *Valie* " or Sovereign Lieutenants of God, *Gaanit-chin*, ſitting in his " place on Earth, and that we ought to ſubmit to their Com- " mands, without examining whether they be juſt or no. In " regard that in ſubmitting to their Commands we ſubmit at the " ſame time to the Holy Books in all things, tho they ſeem " contrary to our Reaſon and Underſtanding, by which we " ſhewed blind obedience which God exacts from men; ſome- " times trying our readineſs to ſubmit to him, by Commands " that ſeem unjuſt, to render out ſubmiſſion more acceptable and " of greater value.

The fourth and laſt Point is, *Douhaa-Preray, padchaè*, *A Prayer for the King*, " Which contains a great number of Sup- " plications for the long life of the preſent Monarch of the " *Perſians*, for his Health, for the eſtabliſhment of his Throne " and the increaſe of his Conqueſts. That ſince this illuſtrious " Branch of the *Imaanic* Race is according to the true Law be- " come the Lieutenant of the Monarch of all the Earth, and " lawful Lord of the World, that therefore his Dominions " may extend from the one to the other Pole; That his Majeſty " may always appear ſurrounded with glory like the Sun. That " his Word may have a conſtraining Power. That all his Wiſhes " and Deſires may be accompliſhed; and that all things may " ſucceed in a more glorious manner than ever in favour of " King *SEPHIE*. Which laſt word the Orator pronounced in a louder Tone than he had pronounced all the reſt, to the end that all the Throng might hear him diſtinctly.

And here it is to be obſerved, that he roſe on purpoſe at the end of his Oration, in regard that till then, during all the Ceremony that Name had not been uttered before.

But at the ſame Inſtant that they heard the Name of *SEPHIE* pronounced, all the whole Aſſembly ſtrove which ſhould ſend forth loudeſt acclamations of joy by repeating the uſual *Intch-Alla*, or *God grant it*, which every one repeated five or ſix times. After which the *Cheik-el-Iſlaam*, or Ancient of the Law, was the firſt that fell upon his Knees before the King, and bowing his Forhead three times to his Majeſties Feet, pronounced a ſecond Benediction in few words, which he concluded with zealous wiſhes of Proſperity; and that he might ſo Reign as to extend the Frontiers of his Dominion, and render his Subjects happy.

He made three Bows more at the Concluſion of his Harangue, which he uttered with a great deal of Eloquence, as they aſſured

aſſured me, tho he had had no time to prepare himſelf, as having been hurried half aſleep out of his Bed to aſſiſt at the Solemnity.

After him all the Grandees, according to their Dignity, and the reſt who were of any Quality came and paid their reſpects to the Monarch with the three cuſtomary Proſtrations.

This done, his Majeſty roſe from his Seat of Gold and returned to his former Place, as did all the reſt where they ſate before. For during the Ceremony they all ſtood, there being none that ſate but the King.

In this manner was *Sephiè* the Second Crown'd, his Grandfather being the firſt of that Name among all the *Perſian* Monarchs. True it is, that the firſt Founder of this Race was of the ſame Name, but he is not numbred among the *Perſian* Kings, becauſe he was never put into the Catalogue. His Modeſty would not ſuffer him to accept the Title. For as the Hiſtorians tell us, he always look'd upon the Throne to be an Illuſtrious Torment, which under the vain appearances of happineſs concealed continual pain and trouble.

This name of *Sephiè* has ſeveral ſignifications which amount to the ſame ſenſe and meaning: for ſometimes it ſignifies a *Friend*, ſometimes *elected*, ſometimes *pure* or *purified*. Which I have ſaid turn all to the ſame ſenſe, for Friends are but perſons ſelected from others, and *purified*, which is the moſt uſual ſignification, and is not much remote from the other two. As for example, when the *Perſians* call (as they often do) the firſt man *Adam Safiè Alla*, we may tranſlate it the *Man*, the *Friend*, or the *Elect*, or the *Purified of God*. Which three Epithites agree very well in their ſignification. For the friends of God are his *Elect*: Nor can they be his Elect before he hath purified them. And therefore it is according as the word is placed, that ſometimes it ſignifies one thing, ſometimes another. As here for example, ſpeaking of the New King of the *Perſians*, I ſhould rather chuſe to tranſlate *Chae Safiè*, the *King Elect*, than the *King purified*. True it is, that they who would have *Safiè* to ſignifie *purified*, depend upon the Etymology; For that the Root from whence *Safiè* is derived is *Saf*, which properly ſignifies *Purity*. But let this ſuffice for playing the Grammarian. The ſubject of my diſcourſe will not permit me to ſtop any longer upon theſe Trifles, but only to obſerve by the way, that it was from the word *Safiè* that the Greeks borrowed the word *Sophos*. It will be more to the purpoſe to obſerve the miſtake of our Writers upon the word *Safiè*. For they would have all

the

the Kings of *Perſia* to be called *Sophies*. I cannot but laugh when I find in their Writings the *Grand Sophy*, the *Sophy of Perſia*, and the Sovereign *Sophy*. For the Kings of *Perſia* are neither called *Sophies* in general, nor in particular. Could the Kings of *Perſia* read our European Characters, and ſhould ſee upon the Letters, that are written to them from ſome parts of *Europe*, the Title which is given them of *Sophy*, queſtionleſs they would ſpit upon them, and take it for an affront.

Therefore I would have thoſe that ſpeak, when occaſion offers, of *Perſia*, or whether they be the Miniſters of Princes, to be careful how they commit this miſtake in their Diſpatches to that Court: or whether they be thoſe Writers who profeſs to give a faithful Relation of a Country where they profeſs themſelves to have been, and pretend to tell us what they have ſeen with their Eyes, yet vent a thouſand Lies and Stories, and overconfidently impoſe upon their Readers; I ſay I would have ſuch perſons content themſelves with only giving us the falſe names of things, but that the things themſelves ſhould be really true. Nevertheleſs I find that in thoſe things they make very groſs miſtakes; and therefore leſt people may think I decry others to gain the more credit to my own Relations; and to free my ſelf from the laſh of the Proverb, *That two of a Trade can never agree*, I ſhall for proof of what I aſſert, bring an Example relating to this very Story it ſelf, which I ſhall not take out of any Book of Travels, (for it is not my Intention here to attack any one of them) but from the *Audir of Addreſs*, wherein there is a relation of the Death of the late King of *Perſia*, and of the Coronation of the preſent King, *fol.* 523.

" I cannot conclude without imparting to you the news " which we have received from the Court of *Perſia*, by Letters " from *Legorn*, the fifth of this Month.

" They tell us by an Expreſs diſpatched from *Iſpahan* to the " Engliſh Merchants reſiding in *Legorn*, that the *Sophie* after a " debauch of drinking, fell ſick at *Khur*, in his return from " *Casbin*, and died four days after. That after his Death was " known, in the City of *Iſpahan*, his Eldeſt Son, about twen- " ty years of Age, was Proclaimed by the Principal Miniſter " and other Officers, by the name of Grandfather *Sha-Sophy*. " That the next day the Governour of *Iſpahan* and the chief " Lords of the Court, who accompanied the Body of the de- " ceaſed King, being arrived, and having paid their Homage " to the Prince, he ſhewed himſelf in publick to his Subjects, " who teſtified their joy by their loud Acclamations; and

" that afterwards he received the accuſtomed Preſents of the " Nobility, as alſo of the Agents of *England*, *France*, and " *Holland*.

" They add that ſeveral days were ſpent in feaſting and re- " joycing by publick Proclamation, with a more than ordinary " Magnificence as being a thing which they ſaw pleaſed the hu- " mour of the Prince, who they ſay is more addicted to Ex- " pences than his Father, and that he having given Audience " to the ſame Agents, he had promiſed a Confirmation of the " Priviledges which his Predeceſſors had granted them; and " alſo to enlarge them, as he ſhould ſee occaſion.

Had the Author of this News ſtudied to frame a falſe ſtory, he could not have contrived it better; for that he ſpeaks nothing of truth. This Expreſs which they aſſure us to have been diſpatched from *Iſpahan* to *Legorn*, is a meer Fantome. Not one of the Engliſh ever diſpatched any perſon in all that time, nor at any other time; I do not know that indeed they ever diſpatched directly any Perſon from the Capital City of *Perſia* to that Port of *Italy*. Nor did ever that Monarch of the *Perſians*, whom they ſo confidently call *Sophy*, ever go by that name in his own Country, nor any other like it. Whereas he ſays, that the King fell ſick of a debauch, and died four days after, it is of the ſame ſtamp with the reſt.

He did not fall ſick of a debauch; neither did his diſtemper carry him off in four days; for he lay in a languiſhing condition four Months and more. The place which the Relation calls *Khur*, where he ſays the King died, is a perfect *Chimera*. I have examined all my *Perſian* Geography, and can find no ſuch place, either great or ſmall, that is called by that name. As little of truth there is in what he farther adds, that it was in the Kings return from *Casbin* that he died. For the King had not been at *Casbin* in eight years before; but it was from the *Caſpian* Sea that he was then coming back, as has been already related in the Life of that great Monarch.

The Author of the Relation paſſing forward to the Election of his Succeſſour, goes on with the ſame ſincerity as before. For the news of the deceaſed Kings death was not known in *Iſpahan* before the Coronation of his Succeſſour, unleſs it were to ſome few perſons of the higheſt Quality; nor was the Succeſſour proclaimed in that City by the Prime Miniſter, nor any other of the Prime Miniſters of State, who were a hundred and forty Leagues off at that time. There are no publick Proclamations in that Country as among us. Nor was he pro-

claimed

claimed, as his Grandfather is pretended to have been, under the name of *Sha-Sophi*, since neither the one nor the other ever bore that Name.

That which follows after, "That the Governour of *Ispahan*, "and the principal Lords of the Court, who accompanied the "Corps of the deceased, being arrived there, and having paid "their accustomed Homage, he shew'd himself in publick to his "Subjects, who testified their joy by their loud and extraordi-"nary Acclamations.

This whole Period, I say, contains as many impertinencies as there are words. The Governour of *Ispahan* never left the City; so that he could not then be said to return the next Morning: nor was the Body of the deceased King ever brought thither, as being a thing that was never intended. Then for the Lords that accompanied the Corps, the first that came to the Court did not come till within twenty days after, others not till thirty or forty. And as for the Acclamations of joy which he mentions, I heard none but those of which I have already given an account; and yet I was present at the whole Ceremony, so that no body could be a better Witness than my self. Nor did the Intelligencer know any better which of the Agents, whether the *English*, *French*, or *Holland* Agent had his first Audience of the New King, or what Presents they made him, of which we shall give an account in the series of our Discourse. Let the Reader now judge, what credit there is to be given to Relations, which are supposed to have been sent to that Country, which are only grounded upon uncertain Reports, and Letters of Merchants and Travellers written without judgment, who upon occasion, speaking of other Affairs touch upon something that was transacted in that Country.

But now to return to our business. After the Young King, and those that stood of each side were returned to their Places, the General of the Musquetteers having whispered some few Minutes in the Kings Ear, among several other things of lesser Importance, gave out these four principal Commands in his Majesties name.

First, That both the soft and loud Musick should play in the two Balconies upon the top of the great Building, which stands at one end of the Palace Royal, called the *Kaisarie*, or *Imperial Place*. No Nation was dispensed with, whether *Persians*, *Indians*, *Turks*, *Muscovites*, *Europeans*, or others, which was immediately done. And this same Tintamarr or Confusion of Instruments, which sounded more like the noise of War than Musick, lasted twenty

days together without intermiſſion, or the interruption of Night. Which number of twenty days was obſerved to anſwer the number of the Young Monarch's years, who was then twenty years of Age.

The ſecond was, that the Palace ſhould be furniſhed with uſual Guards, to the ſame Number, and in the uſual Places as in the time of the deceaſed Monarch.

The third was, that they ſhould go and deface the Name of *Habas* out of all the Seals and Signets of State, which are all of Precious Stones, which were brought from Court, in a Purſe ſealed up with the Prime Miniſters Seal, and that the Name of *Sephie* ſhould be engraved in the room of the other. That if in any of the Seals the Name of *Habas* could not be conveniently Eraſed, that the engraving ſhould be entirely taken away, to make room for another Sculpture upon a new Superficies; or if the Pieces were ſo delicate that they could not endure defacing, that they ſhould be broken to pieces, and new ſtones be engraved.

The fourth, That all the old Coins and Stamps ſhould be broken, and other new Money made with the Name of the preſent Prince upon it. And that care ſhould be taken to coin with all ſpeed againſt the next day between ſixſcore and a hundred and forty *Tomans*, which amount to between five or ſix hundred pounds ſterling of our Money.

This was done with that ſpeed that the Sum was ready the next day in great Pieces, as is uſual, to the value of eighteen pence, for the King to beſtow as he pleaſed himſelf. The ſame day one of theſe Pieces came to my hands; and the Perſon from whom I had it aſſured me, that there had been ſome of the ſame bigneſs coined in Gold, which I am apt to believe, tho I never ſaw any. Round about the Edge were engraved the twelve names of *Mahomet's* Succeſſours, with theſe words in the middle, *Bende, Shae-din-Safie-eſt; The Sovereign Lieutenant of the King of the World according to the true Law is Safie.*

We have in another Place explained theſe Inſcriptions more exactly and literally. On the other ſide was this *Perſian* Diſtich:

Zibad Deſtie ſhae Abas ſanie,
Safie zad Zikkeh, ſaheb Karaniè.

That is, *After Habas the Second was in Corporeal Being.* Or thus:

After

After Habas the Second quitted his Corporeal Being, Safie Maſter of the World coined this Money.

Which is as much as to ſay, He was declared King, in regard that in thoſe Countries, as well as here, none but Sovereigns can coin Money.

Underneath were theſe words: *Zarby ſefahaan hazar haſtad ou Heft, Coined at* Iſpahan *the year of the* Hegirah 1077.

It was almoſt near Midnight before the Ceremony ended. At what time the King roſe up in his Royal Habiliments, which he did not put off till he was retired into his particular Apartment in the Womens Palace. All the while there was to be obſerved a great alteration in the Countenance of the Young Prince. He looked with a Countenance all in diſorder, like a Perſon that was not well in his Senſes. And indeed what other could be expected from a Perſon that had been all along mued up under a cloſe confinement, and had never ſeen the World? Beſides that by a ſecret Fatality of the ill humour of his Father, he had been ſhut up in a more rigorous Impriſonment, than ever was practiſed before toward the Kings Children? Could he obſerve a certain Poſture of Majeſty, that ſhould have performed all things after a ſurprizing manner, who had never been inſtructed before? Much leſs, was he able to make any Reflections upon himſelf. Add to this, that the Young Prince paſſed of a ſudden from one Extremity to another. He heard himſelf called *Maſter of the World*, He that but a little before was in condition little inferiour to that of a Slave. True it is, that he wanted for no Conveniences in his Captivity, which was accompanied with all the Pleaſures grateful to the Senſes; but thoſe Pleaſures became Torments, when ſowered with the continual fears of Death, or deprivation of his Eyes that continually threatned him.

And this was that which made him he could not tell what to do. For what may we ſay of that laſt aſſault that attacked his very Soul? How many diſmal Apparitions did the dreadful Cries and frantick Lamentations of his Mother and his Wives, and others of the ſame Sex preſent to his Mind? His Soul, to ſpeak after the *Perſian* manner, was like a Sea, which being agitated by a furious Tempeſt, expreſſes its diſorder by the roaring of the Waves, and ſhews the diſturbance it was in after the Storm is over, and tho a pleaſing Calm ſucceed.

The Grand Dutcheſs (for that Title is given to the Mother of the New King from the very moment of her Sons being Crowned) was not in a worſe condition. They had told her

the

the very firſt words which the General of the Muſquetteers had uttered, throwing himſelf at her Sons Feet: they brought her the news every Minute of what paſſed. But Fear and Grief had ſo poſſeſſed her Imagination that there was no entrance for any other Paſſion. It was above a quarter of an hour before ſhe would ſo much as liſten to the welcome news which they brought her; ſhe refuſed obſtinately to believe. And tho ſhe had ſuch forcible reaſons to rejoyce, ſhe ſtill continued weeping and lamenting according to the humour of her Sex, that are willing to dwell upon ſorrowful Objects, and wilfully refuſe to put away thoſe Idea's from their Minds. However at length ſo many Eunuchs came to tell her the news of the Death of her Husband, and the Election of her Son, for whoſe Coronation they were preparing, that ſhe began to lend an Ear, and to ſurceaſe her fears. Nevertheleſs her Soul continued ſtill in ſuſpence between Joy and Grief: For as the good Fortune of her Son and his Exaltation afforded her a happy occaſion of Gladneſs, ſo the mournful death of her Husband recalled her Tears: So that thoſe two Paſſions equally prevailing in her heart kept the ballance ſo even that her joys and ſorrows hung in an equal Poiſe. But at length Cuſtom and good Manners turn'd the Scales. So that for a while ſhe relapſed into her firſt Commotions: ſhe rent her Garments, calling upon the Soul of the Deceaſed, expoſtulating with him as if he had been preſent, what reaſon he had to quit the World and leave her in that forlorn condition; with other moans and lamentations of the ſame nature. However ſhe gave over when ſhe underſtood that the King her Son was returning to her. Thereupon, after ſhe had performed the uſual Ceremonies of Purification which the Law ordains, ſhe changed her Habit, as did the Princeſs the New Monarchs Wife, with the reſt of the Ladies of Quality that belonged to the Court, to receive the King, who till then had lived among them as a Priſoner.

So ſoon as they had notice that the New King was entered into their Palace, they went all to meet him. The Great Dutcheſs was the firſt that paid her duty to him upon her Knees, bowing her Head three times to the ground: which done, his Wife and his Concubines did the ſame; and then the reſt of the Perſons belonging to the Place, whoſe Quality and Employments priviledged them for that Honour. I could not learn what was done more the reſt of the Night: for I have already informed you how difficult it is to be informed of the Tranſactions in thoſe ſecret Habitations, that ſeem to be Regions

of

of another World. There are none but Women that can approach within a League of it, or ſome Black Eunuchs, with whom a Man may as well converſe with ſo many Dragons that can diſcover thoſe ſecrets, and you may as well tear out their hearts, as a ſyllable upon that Text. You muſt uſe a great deal of Art to make them ſpeak; juſt as we tame Serpents in the *Indies*, till they make them hiſs and dance, when they pleaſe. In the mean time the noiſe of the *Nakara* reſounded from the Terraces of the Royal Palace. And in regard it continued longer than ordinary, which is generally not above three Quarters of an Hour, it gave an occaſion to thoſe that were wakened with the din to wonder what was the matter. But in regard it was then Midnight, and an unſeaſonable time to ſtir out of the Houſe there were very few, unleſs they were ſuch as lived near the Royal Palace that would ſo far gratifie their Curioſity as to enquire the Reaſon. The reſt contented themſelves till next Morning, at what time they underſtood that *Saphie* the Second was ſeated upon the Throne as Succeſſour to his Father *Habas* deceaſed.

I leave the Reader to conjecture how every body was ſurpriſed. For my part I apprehended ſomething ſo ſtrange upon the novelty of the Accident, that I thought my ſelf in a dream. That they could conceal the Death of ſo great and Potent a Prince ſo long, and yet that it ſhould not be known till after the Son was ſeated upon the Throne and actually Crowned, of which I had never read the like Example. But this was one Maſter-piece of the *Perſian* Wiſdom, never too much to be commended. By means of which Addreſs, the State changed its Maſter, without any alteration in Form; and ſuffered one of the moſt dangerous Reſolutions without being ſenſible of it; inſomuch that in all *Iſpahan* there did not appear the leaſt ſign of Conſternation. They heard without any diſturbance that *Habas* was dead without making a Will, and with ſatisfaction received the Perſon whom they had Elected in his Place. There was no body that appeared either very ſad or overjoyed: No body that plaid the Cenſurer to find fault with what was done, much leſs any one that was mutinous. For all things ran in their uſual Courſe. The Merchants opened their Shops as they did the day before, and every one followed their Occaſions, as little concerned as if no ſuch thing had happed.

Methought that then *Iſpahan* was one of the Places Republick, above the reach of Fortune, and exempted from thoſe Accidents that trouble the Tranquillity of Mortals.

Our

Our *Europeans* only took the *Alarm* upon the news of this great and ſudden Revolution, and they that were in their Houſes in the City kept their doors ſhut all the firſt part of the Morning. Among the reſt the *Hollanders*, who were retired to their own Home, to the number of Forty. With them was M. *Hubert de Lareſſe*, who was ſent by the Orders of the *Holland* Company in the Quality of an Embaſſadour to the deceaſed King with Commiſſions and Preſents for his Majeſty. He was then juſt about to return; but underſtanding the Change, he who having been long employed by the *Company*, had been in ſeveral parts of *India*, and had there ſeen upon the death of Princes ſtrange Commotions, and dangerous Seditions, wherein many Murders and Roberies had been with impunity committed; He, I ſay, made cautious by this hazardous Experience, was not a little fearful of the ſame Conſequences of ſuch a Change, and therefore adviſed the Dutch to keep in, to prevent the evil Accidents of mutinies upon ſuch occaſion in hopes of Booty and Pillage. But the Ingenuity of the *Perſians*, and the Excellency of their Government might have ſpared him thoſe Feats. However when the Superiour of the *Capuchins* brought him word about nine of the Clock in the Morning that all was quiet, that he might no longer diſcover his miſtruſt of the Publick Security; he ordered the Doors to be opened. This Superiour of the *Capuchins* was the Reverend Father *Raphael* of *Mans*.

At the ſame time the *New Monarch* coming out of the Inner part of his Palace, went and ſate in the great Hall where he was Crowned the Night before, and then it was that all the Grandees, who were then at *Iſpahan* qualified to receive that Honour, were admitted to kiſs the ground before his Feet. This Ceremony laſted till ten of the Clock; at what time his Majeſty riſing from his Seat took Horſe; and that was the firſt time that ever he rode out of the Place where he was born. And according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, he made a Cavalcade round his Palace very leiſurely, and with little attendance, riding in the middle at the diſtance of twenty Paces from them that marched before, and thoſe that followed after, only twelve Footmen went of each ſide, before and behind his Horſe; and all this to the end he might be the better ſeen by the People.

His Majeſty had on a *Cabaye*, or *Georgian* Veſt of Sattin and Silver, thick powdered with Violets; the forepart of which upon his Breaſt was adorned with long Rows of Pearls and Diamonds, ſix of each ſide. Over his Veſt he wore a ſhort

Juſtacore

Juſtacore without Sleeves, of Cloath of Gold, faced with Sables. Upon his right ſide ſtuck his Dagger, of which the Sheath and Hilt were ſet with Emeralds and other Precious Stones: nor was his Sword leſs gorgeouſly embelliſhed. Upon his Head he wore a *Perſian* Cap or *Dhul-bandt*, made of very fine Silk and Gold, with a Royal *Heron*-Tuft faſtened before in a Roſe of Diamonds and Rubies. The People from all Parts flock together in Heaps to ſee their New Sovereign; who not being accuſtomed to ſee ſuch Sholes of People, as having always lived remote from Noiſe and Hurry, ſeemed, as he had done at the Coronation Ceremony, to look like one that knew not well how to behave himſelf, as being not a little dazled with ſo much ſudden ſplendour. However he ſtill looked up, ſo that all might ſee his Eyes, where ſweetneſs ſate intermixed with Majeſty, which immediately begat both Love and Reſpect, as did all the reſt of his Body which was exactly ſhaped.

His Stature was Tall, and withal proportionable and graceful; his Face was round, with a pleaſing Air in his Lineaments, a little marked with the Small Pox. His Eyes blue, his Hair white, which he therefore dyed black, as being the colour moſt eſteemed by the *Perſians*. They who know that all the followers of *Mahomet* ſhave their Hair, will underſtand that I mean the hair of his Beard, which at thoſe years began to ſpread its early Down upon his Lips and Cheeks, wherein he was very like his Father, only that he had not ſo long a Noſe, nor ſo full and open an Eye. The whiteneſs of his Complexion, which the Sun had not at all altered as yet, had ſomething in it, which I cannot expreſs, that was extremely charming. In a word, there was nothing in the Prince which did not then appear very graceful. I ſay, *then*; for now he is very much changed, and ſtill changes every day.

His Majeſty having been an Hour abroad returned into the Womens Apartment, from whence he did not ſtir out all that day, after he had given Orders, or rather Leave to the *General of the Muſquetteers*, and the *Nazir Eunuch*, who were then his chiefeſt Favourites, to diſpatch ſuch buſineſs as required haſt.

He did nothing more all the reſt of that day, nor was there any other Pomp or Show, contrary to the general expectation. For the King was willing to defer the time of Publick Rejoycing till all the Court ſhould be arrived at *Iſpahan*. In the mean while, there was no alteration to be ſeen in the City; The

Shops were open, the Tradeſmen followed their buſineſs in the publick Streets, and the Markets were kept till a little before Night. And this was obſerved not only in the *Capital City*, but over all that Vaſt Empire. So that this great Revolution made no change either in the Eſtate or Buſineſs of any Perſon. It was an abſolute Calm, for which we may give two Reaſons. The one was the Prudence of the *Great Ones*, who underſtood ſo well to conceal the Death of the deceaſed Monarch: The other was, the abſolute Authority of the Kings of *Perſia*, and the terrible Awe that Superſtition infuſes into the People. At the bare Command of the Prince the higheſt in Dignity come and offer their Heads, and ſubmit themſelves to the ſtroke of Death, without daring to preſume to ask the reaſon why?

In this manner, no body appeared either penſive or glad; no body diſcovered the leaſt ſign of diſcontent. Not but that I believe there were ſeveral who concealed their ſorrows, for fear of offending the New King. They conſidered that *Hubas* the Second, of whoſe death they had ſo lately heard, was fit to govern; that he was kind and gentle to his Subjects; that he was feared abroad; but kept all things in peace and tranquillity at home. That he was a lover of Juſtice, and took care that his Officers did not abuſe their Authority, and oppreſs the People; nevertheleſs, that a ſecret Providence had cut him off in the midſt of ſo fair a Race, and in the flower of his Age, when he had ſtrength of judgment to deſign, and force of body to execute. That on the contrary, the Young Prince who was now aſcended to the Throne, had never ſeen any thing, and was as it were but an Apprentice, not only in the Act of Government, but in all other things. So that they were likely to ſuffer long through the tenderneſs of his Age, as they had experienced before in the Reigns of his Predeceſſors upon the ſame grounds.

But they who moſt laid to heart the mournful death of the deceaſed King, were the Chriſtians. That Prince had always ſhewed himſelf kind and favourable to their Religion, ſhewing them extraordinary Civilities, and rebuking the Miniſters of the Law, and Interpreters of the *Alcoran*, when they ſought to exaſperate him againſt the Profeſſors of our Religion.

Which he did more than once; as we do relate in his Life; inſomuch as the *Armenians* would ſay one among another, that he was more a Chriſtian than a *Mahometan*. Not but that he was very much devoted to his own Religion, even as much as the moſt zealous of his Predeceſſors; only he thought that the violence of Princes toward the Liberty of mens Conſciences

was

was a thing neither Acceptable to God, nor conformable to Reaſon. That he was not to ceaſe being a Man becauſe he was a *Mahometan*; That if Providence had exalted him to a Throne, it was that he ſhould carry himſelf like a King, and not like a Tyrant: and that there was nothing more Barbarous nor Tyrannical, than ſuch a Conduct as not only violated the Law of Nations, but of Nature alſo; which deſire that men ſhould live in Society one with another, ſo far from being at Enmity that they ſhould be mutual Aſſiſtances one to another. Laſtly, that God alone was the Lord of the Conſcience, and Maſter of the Will: That for his part he had nothing to do but with the outward Government of the Kingdom; and for that reaſon it became him to do Juſtice to all his Subjects of whatſoever Religion, ſince they were all Members of his Kingdom.

He perſiſted ſo conſtantly in this judgment and opinion, that notwithſtanding all the endeavours of the Doctors of the *Mahometan* Superſtition to incenſe him againſt the Chriſtians, they could never vanquiſh his Reſolution. He looked upon them as People whoſe falſe zeal rendred them incapable of Right Reaſon; or as Perſons byaſſed by Intereſt, who under the ſpecious pretence of Religion would make themſelves great among the Multitude; or elſe make uſe of the credit which they had already, to make Parties, and Factions in the Kingdom, and diſturb the Government. And therefore he always took delight to leſſen and contemn ſuch ſort of people.

This clearly appeared, when he prevented the Creation of a new *Sadre*, or *Mahometan Pontiff*, or Metropolitan of the whole Empire, inſpects into all the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues which are managed by inferiour Officers under his Authority, and by his Orders: for the word *Sadre* ſignifies the Breaſt of the Law. *Habas* the Second alſo had ſeverely perſecuted the *Cheik-el-Iſlaam*, or *Ancient of the Law*, who is another *Petty Sovereign* in ſpiritual Affairs. For it is his buſineſs to take cognizance of, and to reſolve all Caſes of Conſcience in Matters of Religion as we have already obſerved. The King had like to have condemned him to death, upon an Information, that ſome of the Interpreters ſhould whiſper one among another, that it would be the beſt way to advance to the Throne one of the Sons of the *Ancient of the Law*, who would be more zealous for their Religion, than the preſent Monarch: and he had certainly put his deſign in execution, had not the *Ancient of the Law* prevented him by offering to his diſpleaſure both his own and the

Head of all his Children that attended him. That ſpectacle appeaſed his wrath; believing that perſon innocent whom he ſaw ſo lowly humbled before him.

He had alſo thrown out of favour his *Pichnaamaz*, or *Chaplain*, and Confeſſor; for no other reaſon but becauſe he continually declaimed againſt the Chriſtians.

The Prime Miniſter of State that governed during the Minority of *Habas*, was no leſs averſe to the Chriſtians than any of the reſt, as being a zealous *Mahumetan*; and therefore he continually incenſed his Maſter againſt them, and would have had the King have given command that they ſhould carry a Mark, like the Jews, to diſtinguiſh them from *Mahumetans*: but the King continually denied him; and it is reported that the diſguſt which he took againſt him for that very thing contributed not a little to his Fall.

After theſe great Examples of his Lenity, the Prince being now become more abſolute, not only ſuffered the Chriſtians to enjoy the free exerciſe of their Religion; but alſo granted the ſame freedom to the Jews; notwithſtanding all the ſecret and publick oppoſition, which the *Mulla* or Religious People could make. Nay, it hapned that the King took an occaſion to depreſs all that Race of Hypocrites. For being ſo tranſported as they were to talk of depoſing him, as an Infidel, who kept too much Society with the Profane, the ſecret hatred which he bare them from that time forward gave him a plauſible pretence to ſhew his reſent, and that I may uſe the *Perſian* Phraſe, *to break their Teeth*, that is to ſay, to prevent their Biting.

As to the *Armenians* who were his Subjects, and profeſſed the Chriſtian Religion, he was wont to tell the Grandees of the Kingdom, that it would be a vile Injuſtice, for People that laboured for the good of the Kingdom, by their Induſtry and Commerce, to be excluded from the enjoyments of Peace and that Plenty of which they were the principal Inſtruments.

Therefore it was not without juſt cauſe that the Chriſtians mourned in their hearts for the loſs of ſo good a Prince: their misfortune ſeemed to be without remedy, in regard the New Monarch, whom they ſaw exalted in his room, was but a young Man, from whom they could not promiſe to themſelves any thing of aſſurance; and tho he ſhould be favourably enclined, and preſerve the ſame kindneſs for them as his Predeceſſour, he could not, in regard of his want of experience, long continue his good Intentions, by reaſon of the daily Importuni-

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ties of his Counſellours, and the perpetual clamours of the *Interpreters* of the *Alcoran*, and the Doctors of the Law.

Beſides that, a Prince of his Age could not well tell where to find a more expert perſon to be his Confident than the General of the Muſquetteers, who was a terrible Enemy of the Chriſtians, as well out of his one natural humour, as for that he hated the *Superintendant*, whom the Chriſtians had for a long time looked upon as their Protector at Court.

But among all the Chriſtians none were more afflicted for the death of the late King than the *French*, or *Europeans*: They had the ſame reaſons for their ſorrow with the Native Chriſtians, (for the *Mahumetans* make no diſtinction between the ſeveral Sects among us) but there was one Reaſon of greater Importance. For that they were ſtrangers, remote from their Country, and could not ſubſiſt where they were without the favour of the Sovereign Prince. As for the deceaſed King, he had extended his favours toward them in a high meaſure: he had uſed them more like a Father than a Friend: and his publick affection begat them reſpect and honour in all Societies. But they could not hope for any ſuch favours from his Succeſſour. Their condition under the deceaſed King was too advantageous, that they ſhould preſume to aſpire to that degree again: rather they expected that the change of the Prince would be the change of their good fortune into bad.

At the time of this doleful Revolution, there was at *Iſpahan* the Dutch Embaſſadour, as I have already obſerved, *M. Hubert de Laireſſe*; being ſent from *Batavia* by the Order, and on the behalf of the *Holland* Company, with conſiderable Preſents for the King and his Principal Miniſters, with a deſign to renew their Alliance, and to requeſt certain Favours of his Majeſty, in reference to their Trading in his Dominions, which was interrupted as well by the Governour of *Fars*, which is properly *Perſia*, as the Officers of the famous Port of *Bender-Habaſſi*, or *Habas's Port* or *Market*, (for that the the firſt King of that name was the firſt that made it a Place of Trade) to tranſport their Merchandize from *Ormus* to that Place, which is over againſt it, and in a more commodious ſituation: where the *Hollanders* have their principal Factory. The Embaſſadour arrived at Court in *July*; and at his firſt coming had his Audience in the Valley of *Saver* in the Province of *Mazendaraan*; four Leagues from the *Caſpian* Sea; and twelve from *Eſterabaat*. And he followed his buſineſs ſo cloſe, and managed it ſo well, that in five Weeks he was diſpatched, and obtained of

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his Majeſty whatever he deſired. In *September* he returned to *Iſpahan*, laden with joy, for the extraordinary favours which he had received, as well in the behalf of the Company, as for the honour had been done to his own Perſon. He intended to be gone in *October*, becauſe he was obliged to take poſſeſſion at *Bender-Abas* of the Employment of *Director of the Trade*, and to look after other affairs of the Company in *Perſia*, in the room of the Heer *Henry Wuan-Vick*, dead between three and four Months before. All things were ready for his Journey, and the fourth of *October* was the day prefixed. But this great and unexpected Change which the death of *Habas* the Second, and the Election of *Sephie* the Second brought, put a ſtop to all buſineſs. Nor was it a ſmall trouble to him when he firſt heard the news, as well for the great love and eſteem which he had for that Monarch who had obliged him with ſo many favours, as for that he knew the Accident fell out unluckily for the Profit of his Maſters.

Firſt, He found that the long and tedious Embaſſie to the deceaſed King, which he had accompliſhed ſo much to his ſatisfaction, would be altogether fruitleſs: for that the Company would be conſtrained upon this Change to ſend another new Embaſſie to congratulate the New King upon his coming to the Crown. In the next place he found, that all that he had obtained at Court with ſo much trouble and expence muſt be all loſt; ſince all the kindneſſes granted by *Habas*, would be ineffectual, without an expreſs and authentick confirmation of the Reigning Prince, which would prove as difficult to obtain as the firſt Decree. Laſtly, he reflected upon the Favours and Priviledges which *Habas* had granted to the Company which he ſerved, and by which he had been ſent: all which he ſaw loſt, without knowing what to hope from his Succeſſour, whoſe Youth, and want of Experience, not underſtanding the Intereſts of State, might eaſily be ſwayed by the byaſſed Counſels of ſome Grandees, who minding nothing but their particular profit would adviſe him perhaps to what might prove to the diſadvantage of the Company.

Theſe conſiderations and reflections very much diſquieted the Embaſſadours Mind. But in regard it was high time to apply a Remedy to theſe Inconveniencies, he adviſed with thoſe perſons that were of his Council, and having examined the preſent Conjuncture, he reſolved as ſoon as poſſibly he could to go and kiſs the New Kings Feet, to the end he might prevent the reſt of the *Europeans*, by having the honour to ſee the

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New King before them; and then to try whether he could obtain a Confirmation of all the Priviledges granted by his Predeceſſours to the Company and the *Holland* Nation.

This Reſolution taken, the Embaſſadour ſent after Dinner the Interpreter belonging to the Dutch *Houſe* in *Iſpahan* to the *General* of the *Muſquetteers*, the only perſon that could at that time procure his Audience, in regard he was the only Perſon upon whom the New King relied, for what he ſhould do or ſay in matters of State. The Interpreters Inſtructions were, " That afer " he had moſt humbly ſaluted the General in the Name of the " Embaſſadour, he ſhould beſeech him earneſtly to repreſent to his " Majeſty the Splendour, Reputation, and Power of the noble " Company (thoſe were terms he uſed) which his Majeſty " had all the reaſon to gratifie to his utmoſt, in regard of the " great Trade which they drove in the *Perſian* Dominions. " Moreover, to let him underſtand how highly the ſaid Com- " pany was eſteemed by his Predeceſſours, *Habas* the Great of " glorious Memory, *Sephie* the Firſt, *Habas* the Second, who " had granted them particular favours, and always honoured " them with their Protection. That not long ſince, the *Council* " of *Batavia* in acknowledgment of the generous Affection " which the Monarchs of *Perſia* had from time to time teſtified " for them, they had deputed to kiſs the feet of the King now " gone to Heaven the *Heer Hubert de Laireſs* with conſiderable " Preſents. That the ſaid Embaſſadour had been well re- " ceived by the ſaid Monarch, who had not refuſed him any " thing which he requeſted: and that the ſame Embaſſadour after " ſo favourable a diſpatch, being juſt ready to return, had re- " ceived the News of the King his Fathers death, and of his " advancement to the Throne.

" That thereupon he had reſolved not to leave the Kingdom, " before he had had the honour to kiſs his Majeſties Feet, and " to appear before him with that humility which became him. " And that he had not any Preſents worthy his acceptance, be- " cauſe he had made an offering of all that he brought along " with him to the deceaſed King of glorious Memory, to " whom his moſt Illuſtrious Majeſty was now Succeſſour, and " his Prime Miniſters of State, and therefore he hoped his Ma- " jeſty would be ſo indulgent as to excuſe him, and permit " him the honour which he with all humility requeſted. Laſt- " ly, That he ſhould beſeech the General of the Muſquetteers " to uſe his Intereſt to obtain leave for him with the ſooneſt that " he could, to the end he might preſent himſelf at the feet of

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" the new Monarch, and be favoured with a quick diſpatch;
" In regard the death of the Director his Predeceſſour, and ſe-
" veral other weighty Affairs called him away in haſte to the
" *Port* of *Habas*. That if he would give himſelf the trouble to
" procure that Audience the next day, he would promiſe him a
" becoming Acknowledgment, aſſuring him that the Company
" would always be ready to remunerate his favour, and be for
" ever obliged to his kindneſs.

With theſe Inſtructions the Interpreter went to the *General of the Muſquetteers*, and having the opportunity to ſpeak to him in private by himſelf, laid before him all his ſpecious Arguments according to his directions. But while he had no other diſcourſe but plauſible pretences and excuſes, they made no Impreſſion upon the covetous Warriour, who pretending ignorance, or perhaps becauſe he was really ignorant of thoſe affairs, made anſwer that he could determine nothing poſitive in thoſe matters, and therefore he muſt be content to ſtay till the Court returned to *Iſpahan*.

But when the Interpreter began to add to his Reaſons the Promiſe of a becoming Acknowledgment, the Luſtre of Gold caſt ſuch a powerful reflection upon his Lordly ſenſes, that he preſently found himſelf inſpired with a new acceſs of knowledge and underſtanding; ſo that there was not any one ſcruple that interrupted his performance. He condeſcended to the Embaſſadours Requeſt, and knew ſo well how to manage his buſineſs, that in the Evening he ſent for the ſame Interpreter, and gave him Order to promiſe his Maſter, in his Majeſties Name, that he ſhould be admitted to morrow about ten in the Morning to kiſs his Majeſties Feet.

The ſame day at the time appointed, the Dutch Embaſſadour, with two more of the Company, the chief Factor of *Iſpahan*, and the Secretary of the Embaſſie, together with the Interpreter attended at the Palace in an Apartment next to that where the King was Crowned. Where he had ſtaid but a few Minutes before he had notice to advance forward to the Place where the King carried: whither ſo ſoon as he was come with all his Train, the General of the Muſquetteers, who ſupplied the Office of *Grand Porter*, or Maſter of the Ceremonies, conducted him from the Door of the great Hall before his Majeſty, at the diſtance of two Paces from whom, the Embaſſadour and the two other Perſons with him made their Obeyſances according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, which is to kiſs the ground three times before his Majeſties Feet.

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When they had made their Reverence, and were permitted to ſit, the Embaſſadour by his Interpreter began with the Prayers and Wiſhes of Governour General of *Batavia* for the honour and proſperity of his Majeſty upon his happy coming to the Crown. For which the King returned him Thanks, and added at the Concluſion, *My Lord Embaſſadour is welcome, and if he have any favour to requeſt, let him only make it known.* Thereupon the Dutch Embaſſadour took an occaſion to proceed, and gave the King to underſtand in few words, the Priviledges which his Anceſtors had all along granted to the Company; from the firſt time that they came to reſide in *Perſia* till that day, requeſting the ſame Protection from his Majeſty; an Authentick Confirmation of all the Agreements and Decrees already made in favour of the Company, and a continuation of the ſame Kindneſſes.

His Majeſty replied, *My Lord Embaſſadour, I take you for my Gueſt and Friend, as alſo all of your Nation; and I will redouble the favours and kindneſſes which my Anceſtors of glorious memory have done your Company.* Upon which the Dutch Embaſſadour made a profound Reverence, as did alſo the other two that accompanied him, and replied to the King's obliging words in this manner, *We will no farther doubt it than from the Grace and Generoſity of ſo great a Prince. On the other ſide if We or the Company may be any way ſerviceable to ſerve your Majeſty, your Majeſty ſhall no ſooner Command but be obeyed. In the mean time we humbly beg of Your Majeſty that we may have leave to retire to the Port of Habas, there to look after our Affairs, to which Importunate Neceſſity calls Us.*

Thereupon, the *General of the Muſquetteers*, declaring the Kings pleaſure (for he performs the ſame Office, in Grandeur, near his Majeſty, which the Embaſſadours Interpreter ſupplies out of neceſſity) *His Majeſty*, ſaid he, *deſires to know wherefore my Lord Embaſſadour diſcovers ſo much eagerneſs to be gone. He would have him to ſtay till all the Lords of the Court are come to Town, for that then he intends to receive him with greater Pomp, and give him more ſignal Marks of his Eſteem.*

To which the Dutch replied, as they had done already, bowing their Heads and their Bodies with a profound Humility, and returning his Majeſty their moſt hearty Thanks, beſeeching him withal to have the ſame gracious Opinion as before; but that for the preſent, the greateſt Favour he could receive at their hands, was his Royal Licenſe to return to their principal Factory, whither Affairs of Concernment called them. The King

thereupon with a Nod of his Head condeſcended to their Requeſt; and withal, ordered this farther Complement to be put upon them, *That he would not ſtay them any longer, but that they might go in the Name of God; deſiring to aſſure the Company of his Affection, and that whatever they had for the future to demand, they ſhould but ask and have.*

Thoſe laſt words included his laſt leave, which they alſo took, with moſt ſubmiſſive Obeyſances after the *European* manner, the moſt reſpectful that could be imagined. And thus they retired after an Audience of three quarters of an Hour. About Four in the Afternoon, they ſent their Interpreter to the General of the Muſquetteers to return him Thanks for the Trouble he had given himſelf, in procuring them ſo favourable an Audience, and for the continuance of his kindneſs they beſought him to accept as a pledge of their farther acknowledgment a Silver Watch, and fifty Ducats of Gold.

The Engliſh Agent in *Perſia*, Sir *Stephen Flowre*, uuderſtanding that the Dutch had had Audience of his Majeſty, was not a little ſurpriſed, but much more vexed to ſee himſelf prevented; and therefore he was no leſs importunate to have his; and therefore, to the end he might be admitted to kiſs the Kings Feet, he took the ſame way and method which the Dutch Embaſſadour had done: for indeed there was no other way: and had therefore the ſame ſucceſs. For two days after, being accompanied with his Second in the Factory, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning he was introduced by the *General of the Muſquetteers* to make his Obeyſance to the King; his Interpreter and his Collegue coming behind him. After the uſual Ceremonies he preſented the Prince with two hundred half Guineys, according to the ſelf-intereſted Cuſtom of the *Eaſt*, where the Kings ſtiling themſelves Gods Lieutenants, forbid all People to appear in their Preſence without an Offering. Preſently he ſate down by the Command of the Prince, and by his Interpreter, and in the behalf of the Engliſh Nation and Company, wiſhed him a long and flouriſhing Reign. Afterwards he made a ſhort rehearſal of the great Services which the Engliſh Nation had done the Kings of *Perſia* his Anceſtors of immortal memory. For which reaſon thoſe Triumphant Monarchs had always favoured the Engliſh Nation more than any other Nation of *Europe*, of which he was aſſured his Majeſty was well informed; for which reaſon he hoped that his Majeſty would continue the ſame favours to the Engliſh Nation, and grant them a Confirmation of all the Treaties and Priviledges which had been granted formerly to the Engliſh.

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To which the King returned the ſame anſwer which he had done to the Dutch Envoy. *Mr. Agent is my Gueſt, and all the Engliſh Nation are moſt dear to me. Whatever my Predeceſſours of Glorious Memory have granted to your Company I ſhall alſo confirm. And if you have any thing farther to requeſt of Me for the advantage of your Nation, you may confidently propoſe it, and it ſhall be decreed if reaſonable.* To which the Agent and his Second returned their humble Thanks, as well for their Maſter as themſelves; beſeeching his Majeſty to accept of their Services. To which his Majeſty condeſcended with a Nod of his Head, which was alſo a ſign of his taking Leave; which they alſo took, making their Obeyſances after their own manner. Now in regard they were beholden to the General of the Muſquetteers for this favourable Audience; in regard the King did nothing without his Advice, therefore they ſent their Interpreter in the Evening, to give him thanks for the favour he had procured them; in acknowledgment whereof they made him a Preſent of a Rich Jewel, and thirty Ducats of Gold.

The ſame day the *Meehmandar-Bachi*, or Chief of thoſe that attend upon the Kings Gueſts, or Strangers of Quality, who is as it were a Grand Maſter of the Ceremonies, came to wait upon the King, diſpatched from the Grandees of the Kingdom to give his Majeſty notice, that they came forward, making eaſie Journeys with the Body of the deceaſed King, and the whole Body of the Court in his time. That to prevent the People from ſuſpecting any thing of Fatal, they had given out that the King was with his Wives, and would not therefore ſhew himſelf: that nevertheleſs the Rumour of his Death began to fly abroad; which however could not now be much prejudicial, ſeeing that his Majeſty had taken the Government of the Kingdom into his own hands: that as yet they preſerved all things in the ſame condition they were in before; and expected with ſubmiſſion what Orders his Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend for their future proceeding.

Together with this Deputy there came an Eunuch alſo ſent by *Hamzeh-Mirza* the Kings Brother, to ſalute his Majeſty in the name of the young Prince, to throw himſelf at his Feet, to beg his favour, and to ſupplicate him by all that was Sacred in the *Mahumetan* Law not to put out his Eyes; That he would be pleaſed to ſhut up him as cloſe as he thought fit, that he would take from him whatever he pleaſed, but that for the Law of God he would leave him his ſight, that he might not be incapable of applying himſelf to his Studies, wherein he reſolved

to ſpend his whole Life. The King kept the Eunuch with himſelf, reſerving the anſwer to the young Prince's requeſt till he ſhould be brought to Court. But he returned an Anſwer the ſame day to the Letter which the Maſter of the Ceremonies brought, which was compoſed in the form of a Command, and contained the following Inſtructions.

1. That the King approved what had been done, from the Fatal Moment of the King his Fathers death.

2. That they ſhould make all the haſt they could to him without diſturbing the Order of Affairs; leaving all things in the ſame condition wherein they were.

3. That they ſhould take care to cauſe the *Body of his deceaſed Father, of high and Immortal Memory, whoſe place is in Paradiſe, to be carried to the City of Kom*, under the charge of *Mirzah-Maaſſoum*; and that at the ſame time they ſhould ſend away three other Coffins like that wherein they had put the King, under as good a Convoy, one to *Metched*, another to *Ardevil*, and the third to *Kachan*. For the better underſtanding the reaſon of which Command, the Reader is to know, that the *Perſians* are ſtrangely ſuperſtitious about the Burial of their Kings. For fearing leſt by ſome Magical Art any Enchantments ſhould be practiſed upon their Bodies to the prejudice of their Children, they conceal, as much as in them lies, the real Place of Interment.

To this end they ſend to ſeveral Places ſeveral Coffins of Lead, with others of Wood, which they call *Taboat*, and bury all alike with the ſame Magnificence. In this manner they delude the Curioſity of the People, who cannot diſcern by the outſide in which of the Coffins the real body ſhould be. Not but it might be diſcovered by ſuch as would put themſelves to the expence and trouble of doing it. And thus it ſhall be related in the Life of *Habas* the Great, that twelve of theſe Coffins were conveyed to twelve of the principal Moſques, not for the ſake of their Riches, but of the Perſon which they encloſed; and yet no body knew in which of the twelve the Kings Body was laid, tho the common Belief is, that it was depoſited at *Ardevil*.

It is alſo ſaid in the Life of *Sefie* I. That there were three Coffins carried to three ſeveral Places, as if there had been a Triple Production from one Body, tho it were a thing almoſt certainly known, that the Coffin where the Body was laid, was carried to this ſame City of *Kom*, and to the ſame Place where the deceaſed King commanded the Body of his deceaſed Father to be carried.

It

It is a very beautiful City, and for its Antiquity gives way to none of the reſt; as being thought to be the *Guriana* of the Ancients. It is ſeated in the Province of *Arak-agem*, or *Parthia* upon the Frontiers of *Media*. She prides her ſelf, as one of her moſt glorious Ornaments, in a ſumptuous *Moſque*, built all of Marble and Jaſper, embelliſhed with Gold. In this Moſque are to be ſeen the Tombs of the two forementioned Monarchs. The Porphyry of which they are built is overlaid with Plates of Gold, as if the Builders had ſtriven to be profuſe in the waſt of that rich Metal. We ſhall give you the deſcription of it in our *Perſian* Geography.

Now the *Perſians* made choice of *Kom*, *Kachan*, *Metched*, and *Ardevil*, rather than of any other Cities for the interment of their Kings, becauſe they believe thoſe Cities claim to themſelves a ſecret and peculiar Sanctity above any of the reſt, by reaſon that the Martyrs and Men famous in their Religion have lived and been buried there. For they hold, that *Kom* and *Kachan* were always two ſafe Retreats for all the true faithful in their Law, whom in the Primitive Times of *Mahametiſm* the *Arabians* perſecuted unjuſtly: and therefore that the *Imams*, by whom they mean their lawful Prophets and High Prieſts, retired thither to ſecure themſelves from Perſecution, and there died.

This is that which makes them believe that theſe Cities are holy and happy, and that in all their Contracts and Publick Writings they name the firſt *Dar-el-mouve-el-Din*, or the *Habitation of Perſons revived in the Law*; and the ſecond, *Dar-el-Mouminin*, or, the *Habitation of the truly faithful*. And for the two other Cities *Ardivilis*, called *Dar-el-Irkaar*, or, the Habitation of direction. For that a great Saint, who lies buried there, was, as they ſay, ſent by God to direct men in the way of truth, and *Metched* is called *Mouheddes*, *The Place where they give Teſtimony of the Law, and of God*. In the firſt lies buried among many other Saints of their Law *Cheik-Sefie*, or the *Pure Ancient*, the firſt of the Race of Kings that now Reign in *Perſia*. In the ſecond lies the *Imam Reza*, whom the *Perſians* reverence with an extraordinary ſuperſtition. Inſomuch that they believe the Body of that Perſon who is buried by him, is more ſecure of his Salvation, than if he were buried near any other Saint leſs conſiderable. For according to their Doctrine, they that lie interred near the Tomb of any great and holy Perſonage lie under his Protection.

The

The King, who had hourly intelligence of the Advance of the *Grandees* of the Kingdom, underſtanding that they were arrived at *Kachan*, ſent an Expreſs with Commands to the two Chief Phyſicians, *Mirza-Satrid*, that is to ſay, *Signior Juſt*; and *Mirza-Kouchonk*, ſirnamed alſo the *Little*, to diſtinguiſh him from his Brother, who was the chief *Phyſician*, to retire to the Palace Royal at *Kom*, which joyns to the *Moſque*, where are the Tombs of the laſt deceaſed Kings; to betake themſelves to the Apartments allotted for them, there to pray to God the remainder of their days for the Proſperity of his Throne; in acknowledgment of his Clemency towards them, in that he inflicted no heavier puniſhment upon them, than only that ſlight diſgrace; ſince they had deſerved to loſe their lives for underſtanding no better to preſerve the life of his Father and their Sovereign. The ſame Meſſenger carried alſo Orders to *Mirza-Maſſoon*, or the *Lord without Blemiſh*, already mentioned, and the Son alſo of the Prime Miniſter; and *Moutuely* of *Koom*, as much as to ſay, *Maſter of the Works*, and *Judge of the Government*, to take an Inventory of the whole Eſtate of thoſe two Phyſicians, to give it under their Seals what they found in ready Money, and to ſend the Inventory when they had made it up to the King. Out of which he allowed them a Revenue of twenty thouſand Crowns a year to live comfortably in the ſaid City, without ſtirring out of the Palace to which they were confined, till the Supreme Power ſhould diſpoſe of their Lives.

The whole Body of the Court arrived at *Iſpahan* within a Week after that, which was three Weeks after the Kings Coronation. And then it was that the great Officers were admitted one after another, troubled in their minds, and with hearts laden with ſorrow. Not one of them that knew what part to act in this new Court, where every one flattered himſelf with making an Intereſt. However ſtill as they came to Town, they went to kiſs the Kings Feet, and to pay him the *Moubarek-Bached*, which is a Cuſtomary term which they uſe when they Congratulate the Proſperity of any great Perſon: as if we ſhould ſay, *Let ſuch a thing turn to your bleſſing.*

His Majeſty, as every Grandee had paid him his Submiſſions honoured him with a *Calate*, or *Royal Veſt*. This *Perſian* word, according to its Etymology, ſignifies *Entire*, *Perfect*, *Accompliſhed*, to ſignifie either the Excellency of the Habit, or the Dignity of him that wears it. For it is an infallible Mark of the particular Eſteem which the Sovereign has for the perſon to whom

whom he ſends it; and that he has free liberty to approach his Perſon; for when the Kingdom has changed its Lord and Maſter, the Grandees who have not received this Veſt, dare not preſume to appear before the King without hazard of their Lives.

In purſuance of this Cuſtom, the King ſent a very rich Veſt to that courageous Eunuch, among others, who was the only perſon who had ſet the Crown upon his Head. With this Preſent he alſo ſent him a Dagger richly ſet with Precious Stones. Immediately upon this it was believed that he would be advanced to ſome high Employment; but he refuſed all Preferment with a generous Conſtancy: ſo that of all the Employments which his Prince offered him he only accepted of the Superintendency of the Affairs relating to the Princeſs his Mother.

All the Grandees being thus arrived, the King for ſeveral days following, held a *Megeles*, that is, an Aſſembly of his Lords, where the Lords of the Old Court met to compoſe a New one. The firſt day every one came in his *Calate*, or Royal Veſt which the King had beſtowed upon them. But the *Nazir* or Superintendant General was not there; becauſe he had not been honoured with that Veſt. So that when he found it was not ſent him againſt the next Aſſembly, he was then perſuaded he had not long to live; or at leaſt that he ſhould loſe his Employment; he feared that his Majeſty had been informed, how that at the time of the Election he had endeavoured to prefer his Younger Brother. And this ſuſpition of his was not altogether without ground; for that indeed ſomething had been whiſpered to the King about it.

Therefore he thought he could not do better than go himſelf and preſent his Head to the King himſelf before any one was ſent to demand it: for that if he thought to preſerve it by concealing himſelf, he ſhould loſe it without all hope of pardon; but if he had the courage generouſly to lay it at the Princes Feet, it might ſo happen, that he might ſave himſelf; nor was he deceived: for this bold Reſolution gained the heart of *Sephie* the Second, and wrought Compaſſion even in his very Enemies, and thoſe that envied him. For being come to the Aſſembly, he ſtood upright upon the Terrace among the Croud of Officers, with his head hanging upon his Breaſt, and his Eyes fixed upon the ground, as if he had been aſhamed to ſhew his face. This ſubmiſſive Poſture of his moved the Aſſembly to pity, ſo that one of the Lords, who owed him no unkindneſs, told the King of it, and begged pardon in his behalf. The King ſurpriſed

at

at the News, ſent the ſame Lord who had ſpoken to him, to demand of the Intendent General, what he did there? *I come*, ſaid he, *to offer his Majeſty the head of an Offender, and to expiate with my bloud the misfortune of having drawn upon me his Indignation.* Thereupon the King ſent him a Command to go home; where about four days after he was honoured with the Royal Veſt, as the reſt had been, and was confirmed for the future in all the Employments which he enjoyed. I have heard from ſeveral perſons of Quality, and from ſome of his own Kindred, that never any Head was in ſuch a tottering condition, and that the leaſt word that had been let ſlip to his prejudice had been enough to have ruined him. But his good Fortune ſtopped the mouths of his Enemies; ſo that there was not one who either durſt, or was willing to oppoſe him. Beſides that, the Young King who had been always bred among Women, and therefore not accuſtomed to bloud, was unwilling to put to death a perſon of whoſe worth and merit he was well aſſured. Tho perhaps another more cruel, and more experienced would not have needed any Inſtigation to ſuch a piece of Fatal Inhumanity.

At the ſitting of the third Aſſembly *Nicolas Claud de Lalain* Eſquire, Gentleman in ordinary to the King of *France*, and his Majeſties Envoy to the Princes of *Aſia*, was introduced, together with one of the three Deputies of the *French Eaſt India* Company, followed by the Interpreter of the Nation. Now this Deputy had been ſick, which was the reaſon why they demanded Audience no ſooner. For in regard that at the Grand Audience it is neceſſary to demand the Confirmation of the Priviledges granted to the Company; Monſieur *de Lalain* had not power to treat of any ſuch matter, but joyntly with the Deputy. Otherwiſe the reſpect which the *Perſians* have for the chief Nation of the World, would have procured them their Audience before any of the other *Europeans*. They made a Preſent to his Majeſty of a Cryſtal Mirrour enchaſed in Gold, Enamelled on the back-ſide, and ſet with Emeralds on the fore-part, together with a pair of Saddle-Piſtols, and a ſmall Lion of Gold, embelliſhed with Pearls.

After they had made their Obeyſances they took their Seats by the Kings Order among the Grandees; and then being directed to draw near his Majeſty, Monſieur *Lalain* began with all fortunate Wiſhes for the Proſperity of the New Monarch in the name of the King his Maſter, and in few words gave him to underſtand, *That Habas* II. *his Father of glorious Memory*, whoſe

place

place is in *Paradiſe*, had granted to the *French* Company many Priviledges in conſideration of the great advantage and profit they brought to his Dominions. For which reaſon he moſt humbly beſought his Majeſty to continue to the *French* Nation the former favours of his Predeceſſours, and to grant both the Nation and Company his Royal Protection. To which the King made anſwer by his Prime Miniſter, *My Lord Embaſſadour*, (for the *Perſians* make no diſtinctions between *Embaſſadours*, *Envoys*, *Agents*, *Reſidents*, &c. but ſtill make uſe of the word *Heltchi*, which comprehends all) *the King of* France *is my Brother, and the French Nation are my Gueſts and Friends. I do not only confirm what ever my deceaſed Father, who reſts now in Heaven, granted the French Nation, but it is our Pleaſure to add new Favours, which we ſhall do upon the firſt Occaſion that preſents it ſelf.*

By what has been ſaid, it appears that there was no alteration of the Face of Affairs at the beginning of this New Reign; for that the King did nothing of himſelf, but meerly like an Engine mov'd as the Springs and Wires give it motion. Every one of the Grandees labour'd to get as near the Kings Perſon as he could, to inſinuate himſelf into the Kings Affection, and to remove his Competitors at a diſtance. The moſt Powerful and moſt his Favourite however, at that time, was *Boudak-Sault an General of the Muſquetteers*, who continu'd ſtill his Majeſties Director, for that he thought nothing well done but what he either order'd, or at leaſt approv'd. Next to him *Gemtchid-Kaan*, as alſo the *Mehter* or *High-Chamberlain*, had a good ſhare in his favour, not to ſpeak of his Mother, who in the Inner Palace ruled him as ſhe pleaſed her ſelf.

As for the *General* of the *Muſquetteers*, for the firſt trial of his favour, he had procur'd himſelf a Commiſſion that brought him a great Sum of Money. He had obtain'd of the King that he might ſend out the New Patents, and Royal Veſts to all the great Officers of the Empire. To the *Beckler-bekirs*, who are the chief Governours, call'd by a Name that conſiſts of two words, and ſignifies *Lord of Lords*. To the *Kaans*, or Governours of leſſer Provinces, call'd by a Title that ſignifies ſtrong; and whom the *Perſians* dignifie with the Title of *Omrah*, or *Prince*, (which is the Plural of *Mir*, an *Arabic* word, ſignifying the ſame thing.) To the *Vaziers* or Farmers *Royal*, whom we call *Vizirs*; deriv'd alſo from an *Arabic* word, that ſignifies *carriers of Burdens*; and in a word, to all Governours and Officers that had any Command in any City depending upon the King;

and this according to the Cuſtom of *Perſia*, where the Sovereign newly come to the Crown, ſends to all Perſons in any Command or Employment of value a Patent or Commiſſion which they call *Ragam*, and a Habit call'd *Kalate*. Which two things aſcertain him that he is continu'd in his Employment. So that when they appear in Publick thus habited, the People alſo know that they are confirm'd in their Authority.

This Commiſſion vaſtly enrich'd the Coffers of this great Lord, in regard that every Officer and Governour to whom he ſends ſuch a Patent and Veſt, ſends a very conſiderable Preſent according to the Cuſtom of *Perſia*. But it was the ruine of his Fortune and his Family, as we ſhall by and by declare; in regard he made an ill uſe of his Power: For that he ſent thoſe Royal Habits more ſumptuous, or leſs coſtly, not according to the Rank of the Perſon, and Dignity of the Employment which every one held, but according to the friendſhip and kindneſs which he had for them himſelf. And thus he dealt by the *Vazier* or Farmer of the Province of *Mazenderan*, to whom he ſent a Veſt of little value, becauſe he had an Enmity againſt him; not only to be reveng'd of him by that affront, but becauſe he believ'd the indignity and vexation to be ſo ſlighted would tranſport his Enemy to ſome other Act that would promote his ruine, which was the only thing that he moſt cordially wiſh'd for: and thus it fell out.

This *Vazier* of *Mazenderan*, call'd *Mirza-Hachem*, during the Reign of *Habas* II. was in good credit with his Prince. And yet there was not in all *Perſia* a perſon of a more ſcandalous Tongue. He would talk of the *Grandees* to the King with a moſt dreadful ſawcineſs; call the Prime Miniſter, Buffle-Head; the *Superintendant*, a Liar; the Chief Juſtice, downright Knave; and then for the *General of the Muſquetteers*, he ſaid, he was both a Coward and a Robber. And tho *Habas* gave little heed to his diſcourſe; nevertheleſs the perſons concern'd, were afraid they ſhould make an impreſſion in the King's mind to their diſadvantage, and therefore they all hated him with a perfect hatred.

But now, the King his ſupporter being dead, the *General of the Muſquetteers*, who was become the New Kings chief Favourite, and had obtain'd a Commiſſion to ſend all the Officers their Royal Habits, reſolv'd to be reveng'd, as believing withal that it would be no leſs acceptable to the reſt of the Lords.

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To this purpoſe inſtead of a Royal *Calate*, he only ſent him a plain Habit, worth not above forty Pounds, not doubting but that the *Vazier* would commit ſome extravagance that would haſten his deſtruction. Nor did he fail in his Conjecture. For upon his going forth to meet and receive the Habit, and to put it on that the People might ſee, that he was confirm'd in his Employment, when he ſaw it, and found it to be a thing of no value, he threw it away with ſcorn and indignation, believing it to be a trick put upon him, and done on purpoſe to diſgrace him. However his diſdain carri'd him no farther; for he conjectur'd it to be ſome ſnare laid to hurle him headlong into Ruine. Not daring therefore to return to the City in that *Habit*, and fearing leaſt the People ſhould deſpiſe him, if they ſaw him ſo ill dreſs'd at the Kings Expence, as one that had loſt his Reputation at Court, he ſent home for a *Royal Habit*, one of the Richeſt and moſt Magnificent that *Habas* had formerly beſtow'd upon him, and ſo having put it on, he return'd to the City, making the People believe that he had receiv'd it from the New Monarch.

This being known to all the Court, the *General of the Muſquetreers* was the firſt that open'd his Lips, declaring that the *Vazier* of *Makenderan was a Dog*, that he had thrown away the Kings Habit, with reproachful Language, not forbearing to ſay that he had no need of *Sha-Sefie's* Habits; whereupon he had made uſe of another which *Habas* his Father had ſent him. The King who underſtood not the Stratagems of Court, look'd no farther then the bare Information, not dreaming of any malice in the Contrivance. And therefore upon the Prime Miniſter's firſt motion, he ſent an expreſs Command to the *Vazier's* Controller to appear at Court. So ſoon as the *Vazier* underſtood that the *Controller* was ſent for, he began to conſider the bad condition of his affairs. He knew well, and upon good grounds, that the Controller was a perſon that would not ſpare to inform the worſt he could againſt him, becauſe they had been at variance a long time. *Habas* the Second had joyn'd them both together in Commiſſion of ſet purpoſe, to the end that through the miſtruſt that they had one of another, they might be the more careful how they demean'd themſelves in the diſcharge of their duties; and to prevent them from any combination to defraud him of his Revenues. The *Vazier* therefore, to prevent his Fall as much as in him lay, diſpatch'd away, before the Controller ſet forward, one of his own Servants with Letters to his *Vikil* or Agent at Court, wherein he gave him

order to ſpare for no expence in conſiderable Preſents to ſuch and ſuch Lords. *But*, added he at the bottom, *beware of offering any thing to that Raſcal of a Prime Miniſter, or to that Dog of a General of the Muſquetteers*; withal naming ſome others to whom he forbad him to make any addreſſes. But by miſfortune the Meſſenger crippl'd himſelf by the way, ſo that he could not make that haſt which was requiſite; by which accident the *Controller*, who follow'd him cloſe at the heels, overtook him in a *Caravanſeray*, or publick Inn; where finding him laid down, and faſt aſleep, he would not miſs ſo favourable an opportunity, but ſtole from under his Head the Purſe wherein his Letters were. He read them, and carri'd them to Court, to ſhew them to thoſe perſons whom they had ſo highly abus'd. Who more enrag'd then before carri'd the Controller to his Majeſty, before whom he confirm'd the Information which had been already given him, That the *Vazier* of *Mazenderan* had diſdainfully flung away the Royal Habit which his Majeſty had ſent him, ſaying withal theſe words, *I have no need of Sha-Sephie's Habits*, and that he ſent for one of *Habas*'s Veſtments, which he wore upon his return to the City. Upon which the King highly incens'd, ſeveral times repeated the words *Gidi*, and *Segh* or *Dog*, and *Scoundrel*; with ſeveral other more outrageous and bitter Expreſſions, uſual among the greateſt Perſonages in that Country, who think it no ſhame to utter them upon all occaſions, and before any perſons whatſoever. Preſently the King ſent to arreſt the *Vazier's* Agent, and at the ſame time diſpatch'd to his Maſter a *Chapar* or Courrier extraordinary to arreſt him, and confiſcate all his Goods.

The General of the Muſquetteers not content with this, the next Morning inform'd the King, that this *Vazier* had been High Steward to *Imaan-Kouli-Kaan*, that famous Prince, honour'd with ſo many Encomiums, and who is reported in the Life of *Habas* the Great to have wrought ſo many Miracles, beſides that he was Captain General of all *Habas*'s Armies. I ſay, he inform'd the King that this *Vazier* was entruſted with all *Imaan-Kouli-Kaan*'s Jewels, and yet he would never diſcover to *Sefie* the I. where that Prince had hid them before he was put to death; proteſting he knew nothing of the matter. Which was a viſible piece of knavery, ſince there could be no other perſon in the world who could know that ſecret but himſelf: and therefore there was no way to conſtrain him to tell the truth but by force. Which Incentives ſo wrought upon the Young Prince that he diſpatch'd a ſecond Courrier with Orders

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to bring the *Vazier* with his Head and Feet bare, and a Chain about his Neck; and that every day they ſhould give him forty drubs upon the ſoles of his Feet till he confeſs'd where the Jewels were.

The Meſſengers were punctual in the Execution of the Kings Commands upon the *Vazier*, who not able to endure the Torment, nor the hardſhip of the Journey, (for it was then in the depth of Winter, when all the ways were cover'd with Froſt and Snow,) died, by that time he came half way, had nine days together, as old as he was, ſuffer'd horrible torrure, ſtedfaſt in his reſolutions not to make any diſcovery. His Eſtate being confiſcated amounted to twenty five thouſand *Tomans* which make about four hundred thouſand Crowns.

In the mean time, at *Iſpahan* there was nothing but publick Rejoycing, Feaſting, Horſe-racing, with other Sports and Paſtimes of the ſame nature. And when day was ſhut in, an infinite number of Lights, which they call in that Country *Chiragan*, were hung out all along the Streets, round about the Houſes, and in the great Squares after a moſt pompous manner, inſomuch that the night it ſelf might truly be call'd an Artificial day.

The Young King no leſs greedily taſted all the pleaſures and delight which the full ſwinge of Liberty, unknown what it meant till then, gave him opportunity to enjoy. Every day he walk'd abroad with his Wives into the parts adjoyning to the City; commanding the *Kourouk* through all the Villages and Towns adjoyning.

Kourouk ſignifies a Prohibition to all Men and Boys above ſeven years of Age, upon forfeiture of Life, to be ſeen in any place where the Kings Wives were to paſs, if he were in their Company. All the ways are hung on both ſides with ſuch ſtuff of which they make their Tents, to prevent the Women from being ſeen. And notice is given to all the Men to retire home at ſuch an Hour; beſides that, the Guards at two Leagues diſtance round about, were ready to prevent any one from coming near the Places ſo canvaſt in. Such is their fear, leſt the Wives ſhould be ſeen by the Men. For they never hinder the Women from ſeeing as much as they pleaſe.

It is ſaid, that during the five Months from the Coronation of the King till the year 1078. of the *Hegira*, which anſwers the Spring of our 1667. the King commanded no leſs then ſixty two *Kourouks*, going abroad with his Wives every time, and viſiting the Places round about *Iſpahan*: eſpecially *Gioulfa*, a Town

Town belonging to the *Armenians*, ſeparated from the City only by a River, over which he made ſeveral large and magnificent Bridges. Which ſhews what power the Women had over the Young Prince, that they could cauſe him to make ſo many Prohibitions for their ſakes; only that they might have the pleaſure of hunting, and walking, and breathing in a more ſweet and ſpacious Air then that of their Confinement.

While the Young King deni'd nothing to his Wives, nor his Pleaſures, he neither refus'd any thing to his Favourites, nor to thoſe that begg'd any thing of him; inſomuch that many perſons that were laid aſide were taken again into Favour. So that the beginning of the New Prince's Reign was like a year of Jubilee, that ſets open the Priſon Doors: They that had never ſo few friends at Court might eaſily be admitted, provided none of the Grandees oppos'd their entrance.

Mirza-Rezi or the *ſubmiſſive Prince* was one of thoſe perſons out of favour, and Priſoners of whom we have made mention. The deceaſed King had confin'd him to his Palace, and had confiſcated all his Eſtate, to the value of twelve thouſand pounds yearly revenue; and this, becauſe that although he was blind, he would aſſume to himſelf the diſpoſal and management of a Legacy of ſix thouſand Crowns a year, which one of his Anceſtors had left to the Moſquees. For the Teſtator having order'd in his Will, that this Revenue ſhould be at the diſpoſal of him that was in the Family to manage it, the perſon to whom the Adminiſtration belong'd being dead, this blind Lord thought no perſon more capable then himſelf; and becauſe he was very potent, and of the Bloud Royal by the Mothers ſide, who was the Daughter of *Habas* the Great (which was alſo the reaſon that they put out his Eyes) he reſolv'd to get this Adminiſtration by force, under pretence that he was going out of the World, and concern'd himſelf only about Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and beſides, had more wit then all his Family. But his Kindred coming to *Habas* II. and informing him that *Mirza-Rezi*, having had his Eyes put out by the Command of the deceaſed King his Father, on purpoſe to render him incapable of the Affairs of this World, nevertheleſs went about by force, and contrary to Law, to meddle in Civil matters. The Monarch hearing this, grew impatient at his arrogance, and after he had given ſome ſigns of admiration, that a blind man ſhould think himſelf capable to manage ſuch a a deſign, ſent to confiſcate all his Eſtate, and commanded him to keep himſelf confin'd to one ſingle Quarter of his

Palace.

Palace. But *Sefie* the Second upon his coming to the Crown, reſtor'd him to his favour, and return'd him all his Eſtate without the leaſt diminution.

But the moſt conſiderable who in theſe Halcyon days of the King's early Government were releas'd out of Priſon, and admitted to return to Court was *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, who had been a Priſoner at *Kasbin*, and who with a boldneſs altogether ſurprizing, having made his eſcape from his Guards, came and threw himſelf at the King's Feet. The ſtory was this.

So ſoon as he underſtood the News of *Habas's* deceaſe, he conceiv'd great hopes of recovering his Liberty. To which purpoſe he conſider'd with himſelf, by what means he might make his eſcape, and get to *Iſpahan*. He was reſolv'd to beg the King's favour himſelf, believing that not any of the Grandees at Court ow'd him ſo much kindneſs as to ſpeak in his behalf: only one friend he had, and that was the General of the Slaves. He, not forgetful of the ancient and ſtrict Friendſhip that had been between them, ventur'd three or four times in that privacy which the King allow'd him, to repreſent to his Majeſty the misfortune of *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*; but when he ſaw that the Prince return'd him no Anſwer, he ſent to the Lord an account of the ſtate of Affairs, and advis'd him to come in perſon, and throw himſelf at the King's Feet: for that conſidering the mildneſs and ſweetneſs of the new Conjuncture he could run no great *Riſco*.

Theſe Letters confirm'd *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* ſo much the more in the Reſolution he had taken, becauſe he found himſelf ſupported beyond his expectation. Thereupon he wrote back to the General of the Slaves, return'd him thanks for his kindneſs toward him, beſought him to continue it, and to take care that he might have Horſes laid to be ready at ſuch places and times. And when all things were ready, he deſir'd leave of the Captain of the Guard to let him go a hunting.

This being a favour which the Captain had granted him ſeveral times before, he did not then deny him. Thereupon he rode forth, attended only with four of his moſt intimate Confidents well mounted, and well arm'd. Being got into the field, he ſtill beat toward *Iſpahan*, pretending to hunt, but little minding whether he put up any Game or no. But at length having drawn off his Guards a good way from the Town, and finding their Horſes tir'd, toward the cloſe of the Evening, as if it had been only a frolick, he put Spurs to his Horſe

Horſe and rode out of ſight. As for his Guards they had no miſtruſt at firſt, till at length, that they ſaw he made ſo little haſt to come back. But it was too late to purſue him, and as vain to ſtay till he return'd; their Horſes being quite tir'd with Galloping up and down for four hours and more together. Beſides, the reſolute Priſoner flew with all the ſpeed that Whip and Spur could make, and arriv'd at *Iſpahan*, where he met all his friends at the appointed Rendezvouz, to the number of Fifty perſons, and went directly to the King's Gate.

When he drew near the Place where the King was ſitting, the *General* of the *Slaves* met him; who was not a little ſurpriz'd to ſee him there ſooner then he expected. Nevertheleſs, without making any ſhew of having kept any correſpondence together, he ask'd him his buſineſs, who anſwer'd, *That he came to lay his Head at the King's Feet. It is very well done*, replied the General of the Slaves, *I'll go and beg the Kings leave for your admiſſion.* But *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, inſtead of ſtaying for the Kings Anſwer, follow'd the *General* of the *Slaves* ſo cloſe that he could hear the King, as ſoon as he heard his Name, and that he was come, make anſwer aloud, *Kouh-Gheldy*; *Safa-Gheldy*, *Let him be welcome, let him come in a good Hour*; and then commanding him to enter, he repeated the ſame kind words, with a Countenance that teſtifi'd his ſatisfaction; and then caus'd him to ſit down.

Within a Minute after, the King call'd for him, and order'd him to draw near him; and when he was cloſe by him, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, ſaid he, *what brings thee hither, and what is thy requeſt?* To which the Lord made anſwer with a wonderful quickneſs of Wit, *I am come hither, Benefactor of Mankind, to ſerve your Majeſty; becauſe Slaves and Dogs ought always to be within their Maſters call.*

This Anſwer highly pleas'd the Youthful Sovereign, inſomuch that after he had diſmiſs'd him, he gave Order to the Prime Miniſter to give him a ſplendid Entertainment the next day, to provide him a Palace, and to furniſh him with money, and all other neceſſaries whatever.

In purſuance of which Command the Prime Miniſter aſſigned him the Palace where lodg'd the Embaſſadour from *Aurang-Zeeb* King of the *Indians*, in the years 1664, and 1665. But this Lord, ſo ſoon as he became Maſter of it, pull'd it down to the ground, and built it up again far more magnificently then ever; as you may ſee in our *Deſcription of Iſpahan*. The next day, as he ſate at Dinner with the Prime Miniſter, and

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was telling the Story how he made his eſcape out of his Confinement, he added, *That a mad Dog, the more you keep him chain'd up; the more mad and extravagant he grows*; which he therefore ſaid, in regard he had incurr'd the Kings diſpleaſure by hair-brain'd, and violent actions, and full of a Tranſportment that truly ſavour'd of Extravagance.

A while after the King ſummon'd a *Megelès*, or publick Aſſembly for his ſake. There out of a magnificent humour, not uſual but among Sovereign Princes, he caus'd to be ſpread upon the ground in the Garden where this Lord was to paſs to the very Hall ſeventy Pieces of *Zer-baffe*, which is a very rich ſort of Perſian Tiſſue, as much as to ſay, a *Weaving of Silver*. For *baffen* ſignifies *to Weave or make Tiſſue*. Every Piece of this Tiſſue might be worth eighteen *Tomans*, about threeſcore or threeſcore and ten pound, amounting in all to ſome twenty thouſand Crowns. Such perſons as are thus honour'd by the King, walk without their Shooes upon the Stuffs, which the King afterwards ſends them home to their houſe, for a Preſent, as he did to this Perſon; to whom at the end of a ſumptuous Banquet which he gave him, he ſpoke theſe words, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan, hearken what they are going to read.*

Upon that the Principal Secretary read a Patent, wherein the King nam'd him Governour of *Coraſſin*, or the ancient *Bactriana* of which the Capital City is *Metſhed*, which is one of the chiefeſt Governments in *Perſia*. But whether this Lord had heard ſome report of an Invaſion threaten'd thoſe Parts, he would by no means accept the honour; or whether it were that he did not care to leave the Court, or which was more probable, becauſe he thought it beneath him to accept of a meaner Employment then what he had before his Confinement. For he had been formerly Generaliſſimo of all the Armies: and therefore after he had return'd the King his moſt humble thanks, *Benefactor of Mankind*, ſaid he, *I am old and broken with Age; Grant me the favour at the end of my life, that I may ſpend my days at the Gate of your Majeſty.*

Some few days after he offer'd him the Government of *Armenia*, of which *Erivan* is the Capital City; but with his moſt humble Thanks to his Majeſty he refus'd that likewiſe, and queſtionleſs, for the ſame Reaſons. At length the King caus'd Letters Patents to be made him to be General of all his Forces, and Governour of *Media*, of which *Tebris*, that which we call *Tauris*, is the Capital City; in regard that Government is always annex'd to that Employment.

But at the very time that he had receiv'd ſo great and extraordinary a favour from his Majeſty, he took the boldneſs to ſhew that he was not yet content, but that he ſtill deſir'd ſomething more. To that purpoſe, *Benefactor to Mankind*, ſaid he, *ſince your Majeſty does me the favour to call me to ſo high a dignity, I humbly implore your Majeſty to add to my Goverment ſuch and ſuch Villages, to the end I may maintain the ſplendour of that High Rank to which your Majeſty has call'd me, that when any Stranger comes to viſit me, I may be able to entertain him with a Plate of Pelo* (or Rice and Fleſh, the uſual Food of the *Perſians*) *that receiving this favour at my hands, he may be more ready to joyn with me in praying for your Majeſty.* To which when the King had condeſcended, he flung himſelf proſtrate at the Kings Feet, and gave him Thanks. As he was retiring out of the Kings preſence, the King having ſpi'd certain white Hairs in his Beard, which he wore up to his Ears, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, ſaid he, *Go to the Treaſury, and bid 'em, in my name, pay thee three hundred Tomans* (which is about Eleven hundred Guineys) *and buy thee ſome Paint to colour thy Beard, and let me ſee no more grey hairs in thy Face.* Which immediately he did according to the Kings Order, and carried away the Money. And this was another Accumulation of Favour which his liberal Sovereign added to the reſt which he had beſtow'd upon him.

Thus was he made General of all the *Perſian* Forces, Governour of *Media*, and in a word, the firſt and moſt powerful perſon in *Perſia*, at which all the Grandees were not a little aſtoniſh'd: and they all began to grow jealous of him: even they who had been inſtrumental to his Advancement. For they could not imagine he ſhould arrive in ſo ſhort a time to that Pinacle of Honour where they beheld him. And indeed they had reaſon to be jealous of him. For his Authority made him Maſter of their Eſtates; and beſides, they knew him to be ill-natur'd, and miſchievouſly bent, and as bold and daring as a Lion; more then all this, Cholerick without reſpect or conſideration, and reſolute to enterprize whatever might ſatisfie his Fury, or advance his Intereſts. From this time forward till his death, which hapned not long after, as will appear in the Series of this Story, he was always in great credit with the King; who had a particular eſteem for him, ſo that there was hardly any thing which he refus'd him.

At the ſame time that *Haly-Kouli-Kaan* was under reſtraint the Princeſs *Pehri-Rockſar-Begum*, the preſent King's Aunt was alſo reſtor'd to Favour. For, as it has been ſaid in the Life

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of the deceaſed Prince, whoſe Siſter ſhe was, the King, to puniſh her for having been too buſie in ſome Intrigue, which I know not what it was, only that it was ſuch a one as had highly offended him, had married her to a *Mulla Doctor of the Law*, who at that time liv'd at *Iſpahan*, the Son of *Moute-Veli*, or the Steward of the great *Moſque* at *Mutſhed*. By him during the Life of *Habas* ſhe had two Children, to whom the Prince forbad her to give ſuck, which is the manner of putting to death the Children of the Bloud Royal when the King reſolves they ſhall not live. But now this Lady underſtanding the death of the King, went and threw her ſelf at the feet of the New Monarch, who receiv'd her kindly, and aſſur'd her he would advance her Husband to ſome conſiderable Employment: wherein he was as good as his word; for ſome Months after, he made her Husband *Sedre-Kaaſſoh*, that is, *peculiar Pontiff*, being a very conſiderable Employment, as he that is as it were the Kings Almoner, or he that has the diſpoſal of all the Gifts bequeath'd by the Kings of *Perſia* to the *Moſques*; which Employment was worth to him about fifteen thouſand pounds yearly.

There remain'd another Siſter of *Habas* II. in the Womens Palace, who in the Kings abſence was as it were Sovereigneſs of the Place; for which reaſon they give her a Name that ſignifies, *the white Locks of the Sacred Place*; which is a figurative ſort of Speech to denote the dignity of the perſon, and the particular reſpect which is due to her.

This Lady, being deſirous to taſte the Sweets of Wedlock as well as her Siſter, importunately beſought the New Monarch that ſhe might marry the Brother of her Siſters Husband, a *Molla*, or Doctor of the Law as he was. For which reaſon the King made him *Sedre-Mokoufaat*, or *Pontiff of the Kingdoms*, which is a preferment almoſt like the other, and very near equal to it in Revenue; as he that has the diſpoſal of the Legacies which are given to the *Moſques* by private Perſons. Which two Preferments for above two hundred years were both in one. But the King, for the ſatisfaction and advantage of his two Aunts, divided them for the benefit of their Husbands who are perſons of no merit, and of very mean Capacities. Nor is it likely the King will ſuffer them to hold their Places of too great Importance for their management.

And now his Majeſty, having ſupplied theſe two Pontifical preferments, which were vacant during the late Kings Reign, took care to fill up other vacancies alſo, which he beſtow'd upon perſons of credit that were next about him, or their Friends.

That of *Kourtchi Bachi*, or General of the *Kourtches*, one of the three Bodies of the *Perſian* Militia, and one of the higheſt Truſts in the Empire was conferr'd upon *Huſtein-Kouli-Kaan*. All the *Kaanas* or Governments of *Perſia* were likewiſe beſtow'd upon perſons of worth: In a word, there was not a vacant place but what was fill'd up. For the deceaſed King let them lie vacant for a ſecret reaſon which his Son underſtood not, which was to reap the profit of their Revenues. So great, that it is reported the Employments which he ſupply'd, and of which the King his Father had all the benefit, brought into the Chequer a Million ſterling Yearly. However I do not report this for truth; but as having heard it affirm'd by perſons of great knowledge in Affairs, and who could have giv'n a juſt account had they ſo pleas'd; which they will not always do.

Theſe were the Favours and Bounties of the Young Monarch during the Feſtivals of his Coronation. Of which the mirth and jollity was not a little diſturb'd by a ſad accident that occaſion'd the downfal of the Grand Provoſt.

In the deſcription of *Iſpahan* we have obſerved that for a long time that City has been divided into two Factions, which are always quarrelling and fighting for Precedency, and Antiquity. And upon Feſtival Times there is always a great Concourſe of the Rabble of both Factions in the old *Maydan*, or Publick Place of the City, where the two different Factions, ranging themſelves, the one upon the South, the other upon the North ſide, batter one another with Stones and Clubs at a ſtrange rate. The Grand Provoſt all this while makes a ſhew of parting 'em, but he does it ſo remiſsly, that both Parties ſee well enough that it is only a Copy of his Countenance: which makes 'em bolder, and more violent in their miſchief. For the Grand Provoſt is not at all troubl'd at it by reaſon of the great Fines (which afterwards he milks into his own Pocket.

Upon one of theſe fore-mention'd Feſtival days, his Majeſty being in the ſpacious and magnificent Hall, which is built over the great Portal of his Palace that looks out into the Royal Square, where he ſate to behold a horſe Race, and ſeveral of his Lords ſhooting at a Golden Ball, an Exerciſe much us'd among the *Perſian* Archers, news was brought that about two thouſand of the Rabble were fighting in the *Maydan*, or Publick Market place with that implacable animoſity that there was like to be a great deal of miſchief done. Upon which his

Majeſty

Majeſty ſent for the *Daroga*, or Grand Provoſt of *Iſpahan*, and order'd him to take along with him a Guard of Sixty Muſquetteers if he thought fit, and go and diſperſe the furious Combatants. Which was a Command too expreſs to be dally'd withal. But the Grand Provoſt could never accompliſh it. However away he flew, at the Head of above two hundred Soldiers, and commanded the Mutineers to part and diſperſe themſelves. But they believing the Provoſt did but only make a ſhew, as he was wont to do, fell a ſhouting at him, and palting him with ſtones. He would fain have giv'n 'em to underſtand he was then in earneſt; but becauſe the Tumult and noiſe was ſo great, that he could not otherwiſe be heard then by the thunder of his Muſquets, he order'd the Soldiers to fire without Bullets; which they did, but to no purpoſe. For quite contrary to his expectation, the inſolent Multitude perceiving nothing but fire and ſmoke, were the more confirm'd in their Opinion, that the Grand Provoſt was only come there to ſhew himſelf in diſcharge of his Office, and that he did not deſire they ſhould part in good earneſt.

In the mean time two Horſemen came from the King to ſee if the Tumult were appeas'd; at what time the Provoſt, gall'd to the heart that they ſhould obſerve the little Authority he had over the Rabble, who had put him to a Retreat with their Stones, commanded about twenty of his Soldiers to fire with Bullets. Of which Volley there was not a ſhot that miſs'd. So that Nine of the Multitude were kill'd upon the place, and others were dangerouſly wounded. The reſt, finding now that the Provoſt was not in jeſt, fled with all the haſt they could, leaving their dead and wounded behind.

When word was carri'd to the King what had happen'd, ſome of the Grand Provoſts private Enemies, which the great Lords are never without, and who, unfortunately for him, were then at his Majeſties elbow, laying hold of the opportunity, *How comes it to paſs, Sir*, ſaid they, *that a private Perſon, and a Slave, dares thus abuſe the Inhabitants of your Capital City? Has he nothing to do but thus to deſtroy your Duty Loyal Subjects? Cannot a Grand Provoſt prevent theſe diſorders? 'Tis not well done to make ſuch a ſlaughter of innocent and unarmed people. This will cauſe a contempt of the Authority which your Majeſty has over your Subjects, and to loſe the Reſpect and Reverence which they ought to bear your Majeſty over all your Empire, when they find ſuch terrible extremities uſed under pretence of keeping 'em to obedience.* Upon this the King, who of himſelf was already troubl'd at the Accident,

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was far more incens'd by theſe exaſperations. Wherefore he immediately diſmiſs'd the Lord from his employment, and ſent him Priſoner to a Houſe, from whence he was releas'd ſome few days after at the earneſt ſuit of the Queen Mother, and ſome other perſons that were concern'd at his Misfortune. For indeed he was a man of coutage, eminent for his vertue, and one that ſhew'd in all his Actions the Nobility of his Extraction: for he was deſcended from the Bloud Royal of *Georgia*, the laſt Sovereign Prince of that Country being his Grandfather, whoſe name was *Hemirè-Hamzeh-Mirza*. We ſhall ſpeak more of him in the Progreſs of his Story; fortune calling him again upon the Stage to act a part of more importance, and of greater Authority. The charge of *Grand Provoſt* was again ſuppli'd the next day, and conferr'd upon a very worthy perſon, the Son of *Mir-Kaſſem-bek*, or *Lord Prince Robuſt*. This ſame *Mir-Kaſſem-bek* had been Grand Provoſt before the laſt that was ſo lately put out, and in the time of *Habas* II. by the craft of the Prime Miniſter had his Head cut off in the Royal *Piazza* of *Iſpahan*. His Son, who was call'd *Kelk-Hali-Bek*, or the *Lord, the Dogg of Haly*, during the little time that he enjoy'd this Employment, moſt worthily behav'd himſelf in it: and we muſt needs ſay, that rais'd his Father made himſelf eminent again, by driving out all the Thieves, Pick-pockets, and Rabble which infected that great City.

This happen'd at the latter end of the Year 1077. according to the *Mahumetan* account, which anſwers to the beginning of our Year 1667. For their Year 1078. began with the *Vernal Equinox*, which his Majeſty made a great day of publick rejoycing according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*.

But this Year that began with ſo much rejoycing, and with ſuch lucky Omens, was not ſo fortunate however in the Concluſion.

Scarcity, War, and Epidemick diſtempers afflicted the moſt part of the Provinces during the whole courſe of it. The Court was turmoyl'd with ſeveral diſorders, which coſt ſome perſons many a troubleſom Hour. And through the negligence and remiſsneſs of the Sovereign, the Grandees erected ſo many petty Tyrannies, which trampl'd under foot and pillag'd the poor people as they pleas'd themſelves. So that there was not any perſon but was ſenſible of the miſeries which ill Government occaſions when the Prince only minds his pleaſures, and to content his Paſſions; and the great ones following his example give themſelves the liberty to follow the ſwinge of their own Arbitrary Wills.

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The firſt thing remarkable at the beginning of the Year was the death of *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan-Divan-Beki*, or *Lord Chief Juſtice*. He neither lay long ſick, nor was it long before his Place was ſuppli'd; being conferr'd upon him that was *Mirr-aab*, or *Prince of the Waters*, or Steward of the Waters: For in regard that water is very ſcarce in that Country, this ſame *Overſeer* of the *Waters* is a very conſiderable Employment. However it was not thought that he would be the Perſon made choice of to ſucceed the Chief Juſtice, but rather that he who had formerly executed the Place, and had been baniſh'd by the deceaſed King to *Metſhed* for his ill Government would be reſtor'd to the Kings favour, and to his former Poſt. Nor was the Conjuncture without great Probability, in regard that *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, General of all the Kings Forces, was then very powerful, and that the other was his Nephew, the Son of *Ruſtan-Kaan* his Brother. However he was deceiv'd, and the General, quite contrary to his Expectation, hinder'd all people to ſollicite in his behalf, out of the care he took of his own Reputation, which he had ſulli'd in a high degree, had he been inſtrumental to reſtore a Perſon that was hated by all the world; beſides that, his private enmity againſt him prevail'd beyond all the Conſiderations of Bloud and Conſanguinity. For which the Chriſtians had reaſon to bleſs God, becauſe there was no man more their enrag'd and bitter Enemy then he. And it was well for 'em, during the time he held his Employment, that *Habas* was not a young man, and that he undertook their Protection. For it is reported of him, that when any Chriſtian was Cited before his Tribunal by any *Mahumetan*, he preſently condemn'd him before he heard him; and that he was wont to ſay, *It was Crime enough for an Armenian to have a ſuit with a Mahumetan, for him to cauſe his head to be broken. Why ſhould he not ſuffer the Injuries that are done him, Dog as he is, that does not know that the Chriſtian Religion is inferiour to the Mahumetan?*

In the mean time the King held on his debaucheries every day at the ſame rate. But his health did not keep at the ſame ſtay, while he grew every day worſe then other. For the young Prince having plung'd himſelf into the exceſſes of Wine and Women, it was impoſſible he ſhould hold out without ſome alteration. So that during the whole courſe of this Year he was always ill, what Phyſick ſoever his Phyſicians could preſcribe him; for he took little care of himſelf. If he ſometimes refrain'd Wine by their advice, it was not ſo long, but that he fell to drinking

again

again before he had time to recover his ſtrength. For which reaſon he was always pale, and his Body imparted its own weakneſs to his Mind, and render'd him unfit for buſineſs to which the Grandeur of his Quality call'd him.

All this while the Dearth encreas'd at *Iſpahan*, and the poor people cry'd aloud againſt the exceſſive price of it. And indeed there were many cauſes of this Scarcity. Firſt, the laſt years Harveſt did not amount ſcarce to the half of what they expected; for the Locuſt had devour'd the Ears. Then the whole Train of the Court was come all together of a ſudden to *Iſpahan* before they were expected, ſo that they had tak'n no care to lay in their Stores againſt Winter. Moreover, at the King's firſt coming to the Crown, the greateſt part of the Officers of the Empire coming to preſent themſelves before Him, and a vaſt number of private perſons crouding together about buſineſs, or for curioſity, the Multitude of Inhabitants was encreas'd to above half as many again, ſo that of neceſſity the Price of Proviſions muſt be double in Proportion. But the chief Reaſon that all things were ſo dear was the bad appearance of the Harveſt at hand, which promis'd no better then the laſt year. For in regard the Harveſts in theſe Climates are generally reap'd in the Months of *June* and *July*, it is eaſie to conjecture in *March* and *April* what the year will produce. And therefore the Corn Merchants perceiving that there would be an infallible ſcarcity of all ſorts of Grain, enhans'd their Prizes, and would not part with what they had, but ſtaid till the Prizes were at the higheſt, ſo that the probability of a dearth to come caus'd a preſent Famine. Laſtly, the ill Government was in part a great cauſe of the ſcarcity, for that the Laws were not obſerv'd, and the Magiſtrates neglected their duty, without fear of being puniſh'd. And this was the Reaſon that the *Mochteſek*, or Chief of the Government, receiv'd Bribes of thoſe that ſold neceſſary Proviſions, and therefore to gratifie 'em he publiſh'd every Week the Prizes of things as thoſe people deſir'd; that is to ſay, at an exceſſive rate, and three quarters higher then in the time of the deceas'd King. For we are to obſerve, that it is a Cuſtom in *Perſia*, that every *Saturday* the Chief Juſtice ſets the Price of all Proviſions for the Week following, which the Sellers dare not exceed under great forfeitures. This Knavery then of the Judge of the City Government, who ſtood in no aw of the ſuperiour Government, was the cauſe that all things were ſold at double and treble the Rate they ought to have been.

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The People therefore almoſt ſtarv'd by this Scarcity, redoubl'd their Cries, ſo that they reach'd the very Gate of the Palace Royal, which mov'd his Majeſties Compaſſion to that degree, that he committed the Affair to *Ali-Kouli-Kaan*, General of all his Forces. Who began his firſt endeavours of redreſs with an Act of Generoſity and Juſtice, which made him dreaded by all the Merchants and Corn-ſellers. He had commanded one of the moſt eminent Merchants in *Iſpahan* to ſend him in upon the place, the firſt day of the Market, two hundred Sacks of Wheat, and not to ſell 'em at a dearer rate then they were ſold the year before. Now the Merchant thought that he expected a Bribe; and therefore upon the Market day, thinking to exempt himſelf from obedience to his Command he ſent him two hundred *Tomans*, which amount to the value of about a thouſand *Piſtols*. Thereupon the *Generaliſſimo*, being highly offended, ſent for him, and when he came, *Dog as thou art*, ſaid he, *is it thus thou goeſt about to famiſh a whole City? For the Affront thou haſt done me receive a hundred Drubs upon the ſoles of thy feet.* Which were paid him at the ſame inſtant; and beſides, the General condemned him in a Fine of two thouſand Crowns; which he took to himſelf, ſending the thouſand Piſtols to the King.

Preſently he order'd a great Oven to be built in the Royal *Piazza*, and another in the publick *Piazza*, ordering the Criers to proclaim that thoſe Ovens were fixed to bake thoſe alive, that ſhould ſell their bread at a rate above the ſet price, or that ſhould hide up their Corn. There was moreover a fire continually kept in theſe Ovens, but no body was thrown in; becauſe no body would venture the pain of ſuch a rigorous puniſhment of his Diſobedience.

At the ſame time he alſo went himſelf to viſit all the Granaries and Store-houſes of Corn and Meal that were in *Iſpahan*, and having taken an accompt in Writing of their Number, every Week he commanded the Merchants to ſend a certain quantity according to the Proportion of what their Store-houſes contain'd, and not to ſell but at a certain Price, and not to deliver their goods to any but ſuch as brought a Note under his hand. He gave the ſame Command for Barley: ſo that almoſt for a whole years time there was neither Wheat or Barley to be had without a Ticket ſeal'd with his Signet. All the Bakers went for ſuch a Ticket. And in regard the General knew full well what every one of 'em vented, he would not permit the Baker by vertue of his Ticket to buy any more then what he had

occaſion for. To that purpoſe he prohibited the Bakers to ſell to any other then thoſe of their own Precinct, nor to ſell 'em any more then what was needful for their ſubſiſtance according to the uſual rate of their ſpending, to the end that the Bakers ſhould not pretend that perſons came from abroad to buy their bread, or that thoſe in their Precincts bought more one Week then they did another, and ſo that the vent could not be always equally proportion'd. And for the Price, he order'd that the *Batman-cha* of Bread (the Royal weight of *Perſia*, conſiſting of eleven pounds three quarters) ſhould be worth an *Abaſſi*, which makes four Groats.

By this good management he wonderfully eas'd the People, who before paid for eleven pound and three fourths of Bread an *Abaſſi* and a quarter, or twenty pence; whence it alſo came to paſs, that there was Plenty ſufficient. Thus the Complaints and Cries of the People ceas'd. For the Bakers being oblig'd to furniſh thoſe in their Precincts with as much bread as they ſtood in need of, no body was apprehenſive of the ſcarcity, but only that he paid five farthings for that which coſt not above four in time of plenty. And to the end that the ſame rate might continue, he ſent to all the Burroughs, Towns, and Villages, from eight to nine days journey round about, to ſend in ſuch a number of Waggon-Loads of Corn and Meal to *Iſpahan*, and there to ſell it at the ſet price. By which means there came enough to ſupply the City for ſix Months. Moreover, when any conſiderable Quantity arriv'd, he order'd it to be brought in, as it were, in triumph; the People dancing before with their Inſtruments of Muſick, and the horſes being cover'd with Houſſes, and gingling an infinite number of little Bells, which together with the Acclamations of the Rabble made a ſtrange, confuſed, and yet pleaſing noiſe.

Some Villages there were that mutiny'd and refus'd to ſend in their Corn; but the puniſhment of the Inhabitants of *Iſpahanim-cha* ſtrook a terrour into the reſt. For the General had ſent to this Place, being a great Town conſiſting of four thouſand Houſes, two Leagues diſtant from *Iſpahan*, one of his Officers with a Command from the King to ſend at the ſet Price two hundred Sacks of Meal to the Capital City for their preſent neceſſity. The Townſmen made anſwer, 'twas nothing to them if there were ſuch a Famine in the City, for that they had paid all their duties and Impoſitions for the laſt Harveſt: that they had ſomething elſe to do then to ſend their Corn and their Meal to *Iſpahan* Market, and that thoſe that wanted might

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come to them, for that they were not bound to sell but in their own Town. Thereupon the Officer remonstrated to the Principal of the Village that it was the Kings pleasure, and shew'd 'em the Kings Warrant which he had in his hands; to which their answer not being with that becoming reverence which became 'em, the Officer laid his hand upon his Sword, thinking to have frighted 'em into obedience. But the Country fellows not understanding his hard words, fell upon the Officer, beat him almost blind, and tore the Kings Command, crying out, 'twas a Cheat and Counterfeit.

The General highly offended at this Insolence of the Countrymen, gave the King an account of it, who order'd him to inflict such punishment as the Offence deserv'd. Upon which he sent two hundred of his Guards, who Drubb'd to excess the Principal of the Ringleaders. He also set a Fine upon their heads of a hundred thousand Crowns; which was mitigated to a third part, tho after many Petitions and Submissions, with a Present to the General of a thousand Pistols, which was all paid down upon the nail.

At the same time the General also found a way to revenge himself upon the *Armenians* for refusing him a kindness which he ask'd 'em; making use, for his pretence, of this Commission which the King had given him to furnish *Ispahan* with Corn. These *Armenians* are Christians born in *Ispahan*; so call'd because they are originally Natives of *Armenia*, from whence *Habas* the Great transplanted 'em into the heart of the Kingdom. At present their principal Colony is without the Walls of the Capital City, in a place adjoyning separated from the City only by the River: the *Persians* also call 'em, as we do, *Armeni* for the same reason. They also call the two *Armenia's*, the one *Armen* the Great, and the other *Armen* the Less. Now *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* at his first coming to Court, being in want of money to put himself into an Equipage, and to go forward with his Buildings, and not knowing where to have it, one day that some of the *Armenians* came to him about business, demanded of 'em, which were accounted the most wealthy of all their Country-Folks? Upon which they nam'd him five or six, and among the rest *Kogi Zachara*. The General remember'd his name, and two days after, when another *Armenian* came to present him some Petition or other, he ask'd him whether he knew the Merchant *Zachara*; who making answer that he did, the General bid him go and seek for him. Now the *Armenian* little thought that the General had meant the rich

Merchant, which the former had mention'd, but another of the ſame name, who with his two Brothers manag'd the Kings Money, and had always conſiderable Sums i' their hands, to purchaſe in Foreign Countries ſuch Curioſities of value which might pleaſe the King. This latter therefore the *Armenian* fetch'd. And the General believing him to be the Merchant *Zachara*, caus'd him to ſit down by him for two hours together, and receiv'd him ſo civilly as to make him ſtay and dine with him.

After Dinner, *Koga-Zachara*, ſaid the General, *canſt not thou do me the kindneſs to lend me two hundred Tomans* (which are about a thouſand Piſtols) *I expect in a ſhort time conſiderable Sums of Money, and then I will repay thee with Intereſt, and upon any occaſion thou ſhalt ſee I know how to be grateful to thoſe that oblige me.* To which the *Armenian* repli'd, *Not only two hundred, but two thouſand Tomans, if your Lordſhip pleaſes.* This anſwer pleas'd the General, inſomuch that he ſhew'd himſelf highly ſatisfi'd, and ask'd him if he could not ſend him in the money the ſame day. To which the *Armenian*, underſtanding what he had to do, repli'd, *Sir*, ſaid he, *the money ſhall be ſent in, when you pleaſe to command it; but I muſt beg the favour firſt to give me the liberty to ſpeak one word. We are two Brothers and my ſelf his Majeſties Factors, the one is in the* Indies, *the other in* Europe; *as for my ſelf, I reſide here, as you ſee; all the Money that we turn and wind is the Kings, and then it will be requiſite that the Receipt which you give me ſhould be ſeal'd with the Kings Signet, and then you may have the Sum you deſire.*

The General then ſaw he was miſtaken, for he could not meddle with the King's Money, and chafing in his mind, diſmiſs'd the Merchant, believing the *Armenians* had nam'd this perſon to him, on purpoſe to baffle his requeſt, by putting him to deſire a kindneſs of the King's Factor, of whom it was not proper for him to borrow Money. However it was only an Error caus'd by the miſtake of the Perſon, where there were two of a name. For in regard that the *Armenians* are only call'd by the Proper names which they receive in Baptiſm, never uſing any Sirnames, it happens that there are ſeveral perſons that go by one and the ſame Name.

However the General reſolv'd to try once more; and two days after he found an opportunity to make a ſecond Requeſt. For the *Keloanter*, or chief and ſole Governour of the *Armenians*, and who has therefore that Title given him, which ſignifies *Greateſt*, having made ſome Preſents to the King, for which

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his Majeſty ſent him a Royal Habit, put it on, and being attended by the moſt conſiderable perſons of his Nation, went to return his humble Thanks to the King, and to kiſs his feet. After that, according to cuſtom, he goes with all his Company to pay his Viſits to the Grandees of the Court, and to return 'em his Thanks for having contributed to the Honour done him to have the Royal Veſt beſtow'd upon him. When he came to the Generals Houſe, the Grandee caus'd him and all his Company to ſit down, and after the uſual Complements, he deſired 'em to lend him two hundred *Tomans*, aſſuring 'em that he would repay 'em again with Intereſt, and be their Protector upon all occaſions at Court. But they, who knew how uſual a thing it was for the *Perſian* Grandees to be borrowing, and how frequently they were deni'd; and beſides, as well underſtanding the humour of the Perſon, to whom a Loane would have prov'd a Gift, made him anſwer, that it would be their happineſs to ſerve him, but as at preſent their affairs ſtood, it was impoſſible: for that all their Money was either in the *Indies*, or in *Europe*, in the hands of their Factors, and before their return they knew not how to raiſe ſuch a Sum. Very well, repli'd the General, then lend me but half ſo much: nay, he came down at length to a third part. But theſe imprudent perſons ſwey'd by their own Avarice, refus'd him alſo that ſmall Sum, not conſidering the Credit he was in at Court, and that he was able to do 'em a great deal of harm. Which ſo incens'd the General, that he put 'em out of the Room before him, calling 'em Dogs, and turning his back upon 'em would not receive their Complement. Three Weeks after he ſent a Command in the Kings name to their Chief, to furniſh the City with forty thouſand *Batman-Sha* of Meal, which make five hundred thouſand pound weight. To which the Chief of the *Armenians* ar[illegible]d, that there was not ſo much in all the Town: and [illegible]tch it from other places was a thing not to be done, in re[illegible] the expence of Carriage would raiſe the Price of every *Ba[illegible]*, or twelve pound, to an *Abaſſi* and a fourth part; which was contrary to the King's Command; who intended that the abovemention'd weight ſhould be ſold for an *Abaſſi*, which in that manner would be a fifth part loſs to them. The Accompt was juſt, and the General knew well enough they would be loſers at leaſt a thouſand Piſtols in the quantity of Meal which he demanded; but that was the thing he aim'd at, that they ſhould be loſers the full Sum of what they refus'd to lend him. And therefore, not ſatisfi'd with their reaſons, he ſent

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to 'em again to let 'em know that they muſt furniſh the Quantity of Meal which the King had order'd; That the Place of of their Reſidence was a dependance upon *Iſpahan*, and that they were oblig'd to relieve the Capital City as well as others: and that it was his Majeſties expreſs Command. But notwithſtanding all that the General could ſay, the *Armenians* would do nothing. They pleaded that they were not oblig'd to that over-chargement; and that by their Agreement with the King they were exempt from all new Impoſitions and Tributes, paying yearly four hundred *Tomans*, which come to about two thouſand Piſtols, ſo that altho there were a real Famine in the City, as thanks be to God there was not, there could no more then that Sum be demanded of them.

They were in the right, but they wanted ſtrength. The General was reſolv'd to carry it on with a high hand, and no leſs was agreed upon then to arreſt the Principal Heads of the Town. Of which when they had notice, they ſent all their Wives, to the number of above three hundred, to the Gate of the *Haram*, or Palace of Women, there to wait for the King, and demand Juſtice. To which purpoſe they took their opportunity when his Majeſty was there, and plac'd themſelves before the Gate againſt the Walls. For indeed, this is the Place allow'd to be free for all that come to cry for Juſtice, or to Petition for any Favour: nor dare the Guards upon pain of death hinder any Perſons that offer to go thither, where they have liberty to implore with a loud voice the Juſtice of the Prince. There theſe Women made ſuch a noiſe, that they were eaſily heard to the innermoſt part of the whole Palace, ſo that the King having underſtood the Cauſe, commanded 'em to go home, and he would take order in their buſineſs.

However the *Generaliſſimo* ceas'd not to preſs the *Armenians*, and to threaten 'em with Impriſonment, ſo that finding no other remedy, they ſent their Wives a ſecond time to the Palace, and to the ſame Place. Where the Women ſet up their throats as they did before; and underſtanding that his Majeſty was juſt coming forth at the Gate that leads into the Royal Alley, thither they ran in heaps with ſo much fury, that one Croud of 'em got ſo near as to touch the Kings Horſe; nor could the *Sophies* and Lacqueys that went before, and round about the Kings Perſon hardly keep 'em off. For the Women in the heat of their fury began to throw ſtones, and one among the reſt was ſo impudent as to lay hands upon the Bridle [illegible] Kings Horſe. So that his Majeſty, being before not a l[illegible] at the Tumult,

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began to be more aſtoniſh'd at the boldneſs of ſuch an action; and beſides, his Youth and want of Experience was ſuch that he knew not how to deal with that Sex: only he commanded the Guard, to drive 'em away, bid 'em be gone, and that he would do 'em Juſtice: but for all that, he had much ado to quit himſelf from thoſe ſhe Devils let looſe.

At the ſame time the *Armenians* had preſented a Petition, by means of an Eunuch, to the Queen Mother, as being under her Protection, for that their Town is one of the Places aſſign'd for her Dowry. The Princeſs receiv'd their Petition, and promis'd to act in their behalf. In a word, ſo ſoon as the Monarch her Son was return'd to her Apartment, ſhe beſought him to remit the Surcharge which he had laid upon the poor *Armenians* in regard that by the Conceſſions which the Kings his Predeceſſors had granted to 'em upon payment of the Sum agreed, they were exempt from all other Impoſitions. To which the King anſwered, *A God's name let it be ſo, I acquit 'em.* Immediately the Princeſs diſpatch'd away an Eunuch to give 'em notice of their diſcharge; but the Eunuch, either through negligence, or otherwiſe, not meeting with thoſe he was ſent to, the *Armenians* knew nothing of the Kings Diſcharge.

For indeed the Chief Heads of the *Armenians*, to the number of Forty or Fifty, ignorant of the Kings mercy, and fearing leſt the General ſhould ſend to apprehend 'em, were fled to the Grand Portal of the Kings Houſe, call'd *Haly-Capy*, that is to ſay, the *High-Gate*, which is a Sanctuary for all thoſe that are purſu'd by Juſtice, and from whence no perſon can be taken without an expreſs Warrant from the King. Toward Evening, as his Majeſty return'd from the Women's Palace to the Place where he gives his Audiences, it was told him that all the *Armenians* were got together in a riotous manner under the High Gate, and that they cri'd out againſt the General for threatning to impriſon 'em. To which the King made anſwer, *What do thoſe Armenians do there? I have pardon'd 'em, and acquitted the Impoſition of Meal which was laid upon 'em by Hali-Kouli-Kaan by my Order.* All which the General, being preſent, heard, but ſaid not a word, tho mad in his mind that he had miſs'd his aim. Preſently ſeveral of the Officers ran with the news to the *Armenians* in the Gate; but blinded by their Deſtiny, inſtead of going home, they thought it had been a ſnare only to draw 'em thence, and arreſt 'em when they had got 'em out of the Sanctuary; ſo that they would not ſtir, till they ſaw the King's Grace confirm'd under his Seal.

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With this Reſolve of theirs, the ſame Officers return'd to the King: but then the General finding his opportunity, *Sir*, ſaid he, *had I not reaſon to repreſent to your Majeſty as I did, that the Armenians were a company of Dogs, a rebellious ſort of people that ſubmit to your Majeſty more for fear then force? Does not your Majeſty ſee that they deſpiſe your Royal Word? Refuſing to relie upon it, or to obey your Orders? But they would force your Majeſty to give 'em in writing what your ſacred Lips have pronounc'd? Was ever ſuch a matchleſs piece of Impudence ever heard of?*

" Thou ſpeak ſt reaſon, repli'd the Prince; they deſerve my " diſpleaſure, and to be puniſh'd. Send, and let their Guts be " ripp'd up; They are Dogs.

Upon theſe words the Officers were ready to execute the Monarchs Sentence; but the General made 'em a ſign to ſtay a little. For beſides that he had no deſign upon their Lives, but only upon their Purſes; he conſider'd that ſuch a bloudy Execution, and the loſs of ſo many induſtrious and underſtanding Merchants would be very prejudicial to the Kingdom; and therefore falling upon his Knees, and imploring his Majeſties Pardon in behalf of thoſe miſerable Creatures. *Sir*, ſaid he, *they are unworthy your Majeſties diſpleaſure; Let 'em live; it will be a ſufficient puniſhment to bleed their Purſes of a round Sum of Money.* " Well then, ſaid the King, let their Fine be four times the " value of the Meal which was demanded of 'em. Which came to fifteen thouſand pound ſterling. Immediately, contrary to any preſident that had ever been ſeen in *Perſia*, the *Armenians* were hurri'd from their Sanctuary, which till then had bene always held inviolable, and committed into the hands of their Enemy, who ſent 'em priſoners to a fair Palace formerly belonging to the *Mir-aab*, or the Prince of the Waters, where they had order to remain till they had paid their full Fine.

This Impriſonment made 'em look about 'em, ſo that they petition'd the General the ſame day for their Releaſe, and that in acknowledgment of his favour they would give him the *two hundred Tomans* which he had formerly deſir'd to borrow, and that for their Fine, they would ſummon the whole Town of *Julfa*, and cauſe a Contribution to be made for raiſing the Sum impos'd; for that as for themſelves they were not able to pay it. " How! cri'd the General, Dogs as they are, do they " think the Sum impos'd is to be paid by any other then themſelves? Do they imagine, that the [illegible]re rich ſhall be " exempt from the Burthen for the [illegible]y it? They talk

of

" of making the Burrough contribute, but 'tis his Majeſties plea-
" ſure that the Rich ſhall pay, and not the poor Mechanicks
" and ſuch as have no Trade. The Merchants alone are able
" to pay a Fine of fifteen thouſand pounds; and therefore no
" more words, nor no more contending, unleſs they intend to
" have this Fine doubl'd.

Nevertheleſs the *Armenians* perſiſted to plead their want of Money, and that it was impoſſible for 'em to raiſe ſuch a Sum. But at length there were two *Indians*, who whether out of their own good Nature, or whether it were at the requeſt of the *Armenians*, who went to the General, and offer'd to advance the ſaid Sum of fifteen thouſand pounds for the *Armenians*, provided they would engage to repay it with Intereſt, to which they agreed; and ſo the buſineſs was concluded in four days; and all the reſt were releas'd but only the Governour, who remained a Priſoner ſtill for ſome Weeks till the whole Sum was fully paid; that is to ſay, four thouſand *Tomans* for the King, and five hundred to the General of the Army, which make ſome eighteen thouſand pounds. And thus you ſee what theſe People got by being wedded ſo ſtiffly to their own Intereſts, for refuſing the crafty old General the thouſand Crowns, which was all at firſt by him deſir'd.

This Fine ſo conſiderable was not paid neither by all the *Armenians*, but by thoſe only who are call'd *Giculfali*. And here for his better Information, the Reader is to underſtand, that *Giulfa*, which is a part of the Suburbs of *Iſpahan*, is inhabited altogether by Chriſtians that came out of *Armenia*, tho not at all from one part, and therefore they are divided into two ſorts of Colonies. Of which the Principal is the Colony of the *Giulfali*, ſo call'd as being once the Inhabitants of *Jiulfa* a ſmall Town in *Armenia*, built upon the Banks of *Araxis*, who built this Burrough when they were tranſplanted to *Iſpahan*, and gave it the name of their former Habitation. Since, and in theſe latter times the other *Armenians*, being conſtrain'd to remove from the Village where they had before ſeated themſelves at one end of *Iſpahan*, came and ſettl'd at the end of this new Town, adding new buildings to it, which make four diſtinct Quarters, the one call'd the Quarter of the *Hirvanli*, the other of the *Nakſhivanli*, as being Peopl'd by the Native Inhabitants of two Cities in *Armenia*, *Nackchivan* and *Hirvan*. The other two are call'd *Shams-abadi*, *Sheik-Sabani*, in regard that they who inhabit 'em formerly liv'd in the two Suburbs of *Iſpahan*, *Shams-abad*, or the Habitation of the Sun, and *Sheik-*

Sabana, the Habitation of the *Ancient Maſon*. Now this Fine of eighteen thouſand pounds was only paid by the firſt; the reſt, againſt whom the General had no ſuch Antipathy, were diſcharg'd all together from the Impoſition of Meal only for fifteen thouſands pounds weight.

The *Guebres*, who are the ancient *Perſians* or Fire Worſhippers, and who live at the fartheſt end of the Town, were wholly diſcharged upon their pleading Poverty; it being well known that they were a miſerable ſort of People, and under great diſtreſs.

The General of the Army, within a ſmall while after caus'd a Fine of thirty thouſand pounds to be paid to his Majeſty, and indeed upon a much more rational and juſter ſcore, by the *Multani*, who are a ſort of *Indian Banians*, ſo call'd from *Multan*, one of the chief Cities of *India*, and the firſt that lies next to *Perſia* toward *Kaud-Dar*, becauſe the firſt that frequented *Perſia* came from that City. Now two of theſe *Indians* had Intelligence ſeveral years ſince with the Miniſters of the *Indian* King, and ſerv'd him as Spies at *Iſpahan*, to give him private intelligence of all the Affairs and Intrigues of the *Perſian* Court and Kingdom: nor did they fail to write upon all opportunities, and at that time taking hold of the opportunity of the Caravan which in the Spring time goes to the *Indies*, they ſent Letters by that Caravan, among other things, that *Aureng-Zeb* (for that was the *Indian* Monarchs name) ſhould not let ſlip this advantage of invading *Perſia*; That he could never deſire a more favourable Conjuncture, then that which now invited him; That there was nothing to hinder his Victorious March even to *Iſpahan* it ſelf; for that the Prince himſelf was very Young, wanting both Experience and Courage: that he who bore all the ſway under him, was an old Tyrant, the General of the Army; but in regard of his Age unfit for War; and for his other Miniſters, beſides that they were perſons that had neither Courage nor Conduct, they were diſguſted with the Government. More then this, that there was a very great ſcarcity in the Country of all things neceſſary for humane ſupport, eſpecially in the Metropolis, where there was a general murmuring againſt the diſorders and bad management of the Government; and that the general Rumours were, that *Perſia* was attacqu'd in ſeveral places. In a word, that the *Indians* could never have ſuch an opportunity to conquer the Kingdom, and retake *Kand-Dar*. In theſe Let[illegible]ere enclos'd the Portraitures of the King, and all th[illegible] Miniſters and Officers

Officers of State, which thoſe *Indians* had prevail'd with a Painter to draw for a good Sum of Money, on purpoſe to ſend to the *Indian* that they might be known to the Monarch of that Country.

This Plot was diſcover'd by a little Slave belonging to the Painter. For about ſix Weeks after the ſetting forth of the *Caravan*, his Maſter having beaten him to exceſs, he attempted a Revenge above his Age and Condition. He ran to the General of the Armie's houſe, and deſir'd he might be admitted to ſpeak with the General in private. But the Servants at firſt would not permit him with a trifle of no importance to interrupt the *General*, who had always an incredible Crowd of People waiting upon him, and a multitude of buſineſs upon his hands. Till at length being importunate to ſpeak with him, and urging the weight of the ſecret which he had to diſcover, the Guards inform'd the General, who ſent for him into his preſence, and demanded what he would have. To whom the Slave made anſwer, with an undaunted courage, that it was not a ſecret to be diſcover'd, but if he pleas'd to order the People to withdraw, or to retire himſelf, he ſhould know his bus'neſs in private. Notwithſtanding all this the General at that time made little reck'ning of what he ſaid, and they aſſur'd me that it was three days before the General would trouble himſelf to examine him. Till at length the Slave perſevering in his reſolution never to diſcover any thing but to himſelf in private, the General mov'd by his perſeverance, ſent for him into a little Cabinet, where he diſcover'd that his Maſter had drawn the Portraitures of the King and all the Grandees of the Court, and had ſold 'em privately to the *Indians* to ſend into *India*; that three *Dervicks* (ſuch are thoſe that out of a Religious Motive make a profeſſion of Poverty) carri'd thoſe Portraitures into *India*, and that they came to his Maſter with the *Indians*, and hid 'em under the tatter'd Garments that they wore: that they hid certain Letters alſo in the ſame manner at the ſame time, but of which he knew not the Contents, and that they went away with the Caravan for *Caudar*.

The General of the Army was at a ſtand whether he ſhould give credit to the Depoſition of this Slave or no. He tri'd him ſometimes with threats, ſometimes with promiſes to ſee if he could find him any way tripping or various in his ſtory; not knowing but that it might be a falſhood of the Slaves Invention. But when he found him reſolute in the ſame tale, and ſtill affirming Poſitively the ſame thing: and that he

affirm'd it with all the Oaths which among the *Perſians* are eſteem'd to be moſt dreadful, and that he offer'd his Life as a Gage of what he had ſaid; the General reſolv'd to dive into the bottom of the Affair. Thereupon he diſpatch'd away two Horſemen after the *Caravan*, with a Warrant under the Kings hand to ſeize the perſons that were accus'd of carrying thoſe Letters and Portraitures. Which two Horſemen in a months time overtook the *Caravan*, and knowing the *Derwicks* by the deſcriptions which the Slave had giv'n, brought 'em Priſoners to *Iſpahan*.

When they were brought to the General of the Army, he ſent for the Slave, and ask'd him if he knew thoſe poor people, and if they were the perſons that carri'd the Letters and Portraitures. The Slave aſſur'd him that they were the men, and preſs'd 'em ſo home that they began to ſtagger in their Anſwers. Thereupon the General caus'd their Cloaths to be ſearch'd, and their Tatters to be unripp'd, and there, as the Slave had declar'd, he found the Portraitures and the Letters ſow'd up in ſeveral places. All which were carri'd to the King, who having ſeen the Contents of the Letters fell into ſuch a paſſionate Rage, that he reſolv'd to put to death one part of the *Multani Indians*, and to exterminate the reſt out of his Dominions, tho they were above twenty thouſand. But the *Generaliſſimo*, and the Chief Miniſter endeavour'd to appeaſe him, and humbly repreſented to him, that it was not reaſon to puniſh the Innocent with the Guilty. In the mean time they could not make any diſcoveries of the Authors of the Letters; for the *Derwicks*, notwithſtanding all the Torments and Tortures they were put to, would diſcover nothing: conſtantly affirming, that they knew not who they were, nor their names, nor had ever been at their Houſes. That as for what had been found about 'em, they met with thoſe things in their Bundles at the Painters, and that the Indians that brought 'em, never told them either their Names, or their Habitations.

Now in regard their Names were not ſubſcrib'd in the Letters, the General knew not what courſe to take to ſift out the truth. He had caus'd the Principal of the *Multani* to be apprehended, to the number of two hundred, but they were all releas'd again except three, who paid for thoſe that were guilty, if they themſelves were not the very perſons, (which never could be made out, and the ſuſpitions were v[illegible]) and therefore being thus in the dark, it was thought [illegible] confiscate a part of ſo much of their Eſtates as they [illegible]er, which they

they found to amount to vaſt Sums; of which nevertheleſs, out of meer pity they took no more then eight Thouſand *Tomans*, or thirty thouſand pounds: The reſt was left 'em upon their pleading that what ſeem'd to be theirs, belong'd to Merchants that liv'd in the *Indies*. As for the three perſons that carri'd the Letters and Portraitures, and the Painter, they were drubb'd with a witneſs; nor were they releas'd till their Feet were ſwell'd as big as their Heads with the violence of the blows.

At the ſame time *Sha-Naavaz-Kaan*, Prince Governour of *Georgia*, ſent his Son to the Court of *Perſia* to deſire the King to beſtow upon him the Employment of *Daroga*, or grand Provoſt of *Iſpahan*, which appertain'd to him of right, according to former agreements between the Kings of *Perſia*, and the Princes of *Georgia*. To which demand his Majeſty was very unwilling to condeſcend, becauſe he had already given away the Place: but his Miniſters of State acknowledging the juſtneſs of his claim, ſpake ſo effectually to the King, that the *Georgian* was inveſted in the Employment, and *Kelb-Haly-Bek* was order'd to reſign, who was recompens'd with an Employment altogether as conſiderable.

For the better underſtanding of which paſſage we muſt obſerve, that when *Habas* the *Great* became the Maſter of *Georgia* (which he obtain'd rather by ſlight then by force) by thoſe ſnares into which he drew poor *Temuraz-Kaan*, who was the laſt King of *Georgia*; he propos'd to him great advantages, provided he would ſubmit himſelf to his Empire, and acknowledge his Sovereignty; and among the reſt that the Employment of Grand Provoſt of *Iſpahan* ſhould for the future belong to one of the Children of the Prince of *Georgia*, and that it ſhould deſcend by inheritance to his Succeſſors to perpetuity. Which has been faithfully all along obſerv'd to this time, and the Son of the Prince of *Georgia* always holds that Employment.

A third Vacancy was alſo ſupply'd, that is to ſay, the Government of *Shamaky*, which encompaſſes one part of the Southern *Media*, and another of *Hyrcania*. And this was giv'n to *Sepher-Kouli-Kaan*, or the Princely Slave of the Armies. It became vacant by the Death of *Negef-Kouli-Kaan*, one of the braveſt Lords of *Perſia*, generous and ſtout, who by his Reſolution and Courage had rais'd himſelf to that high Dignity. The *European* Merchants trading in Jewels have often taſted of his generous Liberality; for he did not only ſatisfie 'em for their Jewels, but carreſs'd 'em with Habits, Preſents, and good Chear.

During

During theſe Tranſactions in the Capital City of *Perſia*, the Frontiers were greatly apprehenſive of a War, that threaten'd 'em from all parts. Courriers came thick and threefold to *Iſpahan*, ſome from the Confines of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, and *Media*, who brought intelligence of ſeveral deſigns which the *Koſſacks*, the *Yusbeks*, and other *Tartars* were ſuſpected to be forming againſt the Empire. Others from the Confines toward *Turkie* and *India*, who brought no leſs unpleaſing Tydings. However at Court they fear'd no War but only from thoſe two ſides, eſpecially the latter: for the Turks had their hands full at *Candy*.

As for the *Indian* King, all concurring Probabilities made 'em conjecture that he would engage in a War againſt *Perſia*. For beſides that he was naturally of a haughty and Ambitious Diſpoſition; that he was quiet at home, and had nothing to fear from abroad, he had a fair pretence to revenge the Affronts which his Embaſſadour *Terviet-Kaan* had receiv'd in *Perſia*. For in the Life of *Habas* II. we ſhall give a full account of that Embaſſadour, who came to *Iſpahan* in the year 1664. according to our account, with a Train of eight thouſand men: as alſo of the Preſents which he brought, ſo rich as is hardly to be believ'd, as well in reſpect of thoſe which the King accepted, as thoſe which he refus'd. We ſhall alſo there declare the Occaſion of his Embaſſie, and of his ſtay in the Court of *Perſia*, the publick Affronts which *Habas* put upon him, on purpoſe in his Own to affront the Perſon of his Maſter *Aureng-Zeeb*, and to revenge himſelf for his delay in not ſending his Embaſſadour before; and laſtly, we ſhall deſcribe the Preſents which the King of *Perſia* gave the Embaſſadour to carry to his Maſter.

Habas II. di'd about fifteen days before the *Indian* Embaſſadour arriv'd at his own Maſter's Court; who therefore not knowing as yet of his Death, and having had an account from his own Embaſſadour of the bad uſage he had receiv'd in the Court of *Perſia*, teſtifi'd his reſentment with a more then ordinary fury. He preſently degraded *Terviet-Kaan*, upbraiding him for a Coward, and telling him he ſhould rather have di'd then have ſuffer'd ſuch affronts. He caus'd all the goodly Horſes which the *Perſian* had ſent him, to the number of Sixcore, to be brought out into the great *Piazza* of *Delly*, his Royal Reſidence, and there cut off their Legs. Afterwards, he caus'd all the coſtly Stuffs of Gold and Silk, the *Turquoiſes*, and all other Preſents ſent him by the *Perſian* Monarch to be publickly burnt, and,

and, as if he reſolv'd to declare open War, he forbad his Subjects all manner of Commerce with the *Perſians* either by Land or Sea, and ſent expreſs Orders to all the Ports of *India* that no *Indian* Veſſels ſhould ſtir out of the Kingdom. The news of theſe proceedings coming to *Iſpahan* made moſt people believe that nothing but a War was intended, and every one prepar'd for it. But they that had a deeper reach, were not ſo poſitive in their judgments, tho they durſt not diſcover their thoughts. But he who moſt upheld this news of an *Indian* War, and gave moſt credit to it, was *Gemſhid-Kaan-Koular, Agacie*, General of the Slaves, a great Favourite at Court, and as a Friend eſteem'd by the General of the Army. This ſame *Grandee*, being one of the falſeſt perſons that ever were, during the firſt nine Months of the New King's Reign, had contriv'd ſo many dangerous deſigns, as well againſt the Meaner ſort as againſt the Grandees, that at length ſome of his practices being diſcover'd, he became odious to all, and had drawn upon himſelf the Univerſal hatred of the Courtiers; ſo that he was ſufficiently apprehenſive that he could not reſiſt ſo many Enemies. True it is, that he had the favour of the King and the General of the Army; yet was it not ſo aſſur'd that he could promiſe himſelf the continuance of it for any long time. Therefore he thought the ſafeſt Courſe he could take at ſuch a tickliſh conjuncture was to retire as far from the Court as he could under a ſpecious and very honourable pretence. And in regard the Government of *Candahar* preſented him an opportunity ſo favourable to his deſign he endeavour'd to have the Grant of it.

To that purpoſe he labour'd the confirmation of the falſe reports that were ſpread of the War which the King of the *Indies* threaten'd againſt *Perſia*. He gave his Majeſty Intelligence, which he ſaid was moſt certain, that the *Indian* Prince was coming to beſiege *Candahar* with a mighty Army; that the better to accompliſh his deſigns, and draw the *Yusbecs* to his Party, he had ſent 'em fifty *Lacres* of *Roupies*, amounting to about ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, upon condition that they would declare open Hoſtility againſt *Perſia*: that *Aurengh Zeeb* himſelf had already tak'n the Field. In a word, he knew ſo well how to lay his Stories ſo cunningly together, and to render the Terrors and Affrights which he forg'd ſo probable, that all the buſineſs was now to apply remedies to thoſe Miſchiefs that were thought to be ſo near approaching, and ſo dangerous. Thereupon he counterfeits himſelf to be the moſt

faithful

faithful Subject, and moſt paſſionate for his Countries welfare in the World. He vow'd that he himſelf ſhould be the *Korban*, as they call it, or the Sacrifice that would be offer'd for the ſafety of the People, and that he would go himſelf to *Kandaar*, and there expoſe his own Perſon to the firſt Aſſaults of his Enemies. He alſo engages the General of the Army in this Intrigue; who beſides was willing enough of himſelf to return him like for like, and to repay him for the kindneſs he had done him, as we have already related. The King therefore perſuaded by theſe two Lords that were his Confidents, the one the General of his Armies, and the other General of his Slaves, granted to the latter what he contended for with ſo much heat, and gave him a Commiſſion to raiſe men for *Kandaar*, with hopes of the Government it ſelf in a ſhort time. Which was no ſmall joy to this ſame contriver of Wiles and Intrigues, who thereby thought himſelf ſafe ſhelter'd from all thoſe miſchiefs which his turbulent ſpirit had brought upon him.

We have already told ye that this Lord was always look'd upon as a notorious Cheat, and that in the Reign of *Habas* II. being ſupported by the favour of his Prince he had put a hundred tricks upon the Court: that he took money at that time of all that offer'd it him: promiſing to help 'em to the Offices and Employments for which they ſu'd: but that when he had their money, he preſently forgot all his Promiſes: that it was his paſtime to ſow diſcord, and kindle the Coals of Diſſention: that he forg'd dangerous Calumnies and Accuſations againſt his Competitors, and with a brazen forehead utter'd 'em to the King for real Truths. As to other things he was a comely well proportion'd Perſon, a man of great Courage and Wit, dextrouſly handl'd his Arms, and liberal to Magnificence: ſo that he might have paſs'd for one of the braveſt men in the World, had it not been for that ſame black Malignity that infected all the reſt of his Actions. In a word, there never was in one man a greater Medley of good and bad Qualities.

His good Qualities gain'd him the affection of his Maſters; his bad ones render'd him odious and formidable to his Equals: and having gain'd the Affection of his Young Sovereign, as he had won the favour of his Father, he practis'd the ſame fooleries under the new Prince as before.

One of the firſt miſchievous Pranks he [illegible] *Mirza Ibrahim*, or *Abraham*, *Vazier*, or *Royal* Farmer of *Arbeyan* or *Media*; which is one of the richeſt in all *Perſia*. From this perſon he

he ſqueez'd four thouſand pounds, and withal brought him into ſo much trouble that he caus'd him to loſe the greateſt part of his Eſtate, and to fall under that diſpleaſure of his Prince, that he could never ſince recover himſelf, nor is it thought he ever will. And thus it hapned: The General of the Slaves having a deſign to get that Sum of four thouſand pounds, addreſſes himſelf to the Nephew of that rich Farmer; for the Uncle was then at *Tauris* where his Employment lay. This was a young Gentleman, the Son of *Mirza Sadek* or *juſt Lord*, Farmer alſo of the Province of *Fars*, not inferiour to the other for profit. And this Young Lord had alſo at Court the Employment of *Erbaeb Tahuel*, or Chief Surveyour of the Kings Buildings and Houſes in *Iſpahan*. To whom the General of the Slaves one day, taking him aſide thus delivers himſelf. *What makes thy Uncle* Mirza-Ibrahim *now at* Tauris? *Why does he not come to Court? Is there any more fit than he to ſupply the place of Prime Miniſter?* Mahomet Mekdy *who enjoys it at preſent is a Buffle-head, and a Changeling, unfit to manage publick buſineſs. I partly know the King intends to confer his Employment upon ſome body more worthy; Nor can I tell where there is a perſon more fit for ſuch an important Truſt then* Mirza Ibrahim. *And I believe I could with little trouble procure it for him by the help of ſome Preſents, which ſhould not be very expenſive neither. If thou wilt give me a thouſand Tomans* (or four thouſand pounds) *I dare undertake, inſtead of a* Vazier *of a Province to make him Grand Vizier of all* Perſia.

To this the young Lord repli'd, that he would conſider of it: and no ſooner had he left the General, but he diſpatches in all haſt a Courrier to his Uncle, to let him know what the General of the Slaves had propos'd to him. Upon which the *Kazier* by the ſame Courrier ſends an Order to his Nephew to pay the Money demanded; which was done accordingly. Soon after another Courrier arrives at *Iſpahan* from *Myrza Ibrahim*. For he aſſur'd himſelf of his advancement to the Chief Miniſtry, and ſo much the rather, becauſe he conceiv'd himſelf fit for ſuch a Dignity, as indeed he was; and therefore to facilitate his Preferment, by the ſame Courrier he beſought leave of his Majeſty that he might come and kiſs his Feet; ſince it could be no prejudice to his Majeſty, in regard his Son was able to ſupply his Place. The other Miniſters, who knew nothing of the Intrigue, never imagin'd that ſuch a permiſſion could be any way prejudicial to their Intereſts, or that it was only a pretence for the foundation of a more Important Deſign. So that his Requeſt was granted, and an Order ſign'd for him to come and kiſs the Kings Feet, leaving his Son to ſupply his Place.

While theſe two Courriers were coming and going, a report, that was only whiſper'd about, came to the Ears of *Mirza Ibrahams* Nephew, that the General of the Slaves was ready to depart for *Candaar*. Thereupon he labours more exactly to inform himſelf, and underſtanding it was too true, he bethought himſelf of the Thouſand *Tomans* which he had paid him in his Uncles behalf, which were like to be loſt if he did not ſpeedily look about him. Thereupon he went and gave the General of the Slaves a Viſit, and civilly hinted to him to be mindful of the promiſe which he made to bring his Uncle into his Majeſties favour, and of the Money which he had paid him upon that conſideration: that he underſtood the General of the Slaves was going to leave the Court, to the ruine of his Uncle's Intereſt: or at leaſt if the buſineſs ſhould ſucceed it would not by his procurement; and therefore beſought him to return the four thouſand pounds which he had paid him. At which requeſt the General of the Slaves did not ſeem to be in the leaſt offended; but made anſwer, that 'twas all the reaſon in the world, and ſo appointed a certain time to repay the Sum. Which time being come, he ſent him away again with the ſame anſwer from one day to another. Still *Mirza Ibrahim's* Nephew follow'd him cloſe without letting any opportunity ſlip: but ſtill the young Lord was as careful to ſpeak ſoftly, or when he was alone, for fear of divulging a ſecret that would have been the ruine of his own and his Uncle's Family. At length the General of the Slaves, aſham'd of having put off the young Lord ſo many times, and now being run to the end of his Rope, as one that had no more Excuſes to make, he reſolv'd to break off at once with the *Vazier*, that he might deliver himſelf from his importunate Sollicitor. To this purpoſe, one Evening, at the time that he was ready to go to his Prayers, and from thence to Court (for 'tis the Cuſtom of the *Mahumetans* to ſay their Prayers in Publick) perceiving the young Lord at a diſtance advancing toward him, he took that opportunity when there was a great number of People and ſeveral perſons of Quality to hear him; at what time, as ſoon as the young Lord came near him, fetching a deep ſigh, and lifting up his Eyes and Arms to Heaven, *Good God*, ſaid he, *what ſhall I do with this man, he purſues me every where like a Criminal, he will not give me time to ſay my Prayers; he haunts me, going into my Haram among my Women; I find him a[illegible]els whereever I go; prithee Friend what would'ſt have me do [illegible]ſie thee? Am I King of* Perſia, *to create thy Uncle Pr[illegible]hiſter of State?*

Prithee

Prethee go to his Majeſty; the buſineſs does not lie in my Power.

You may eaſily judge what a Thunder Clap this was to the young Lord: he would not for ten times the Sum that he had provok'd thoſe Expreſſions from a man ſo ill princip'd; he repented with all his heart that he had preſs'd him ſo cloſe, but 'twas too late: for *Mirza Ibrahim*'s Plot was thereby diſcover'd; and all the Court that knew him rightly, believ'd 'twould coſt his Ambition ſauce; as indeed it fell out.

By a Quirk of the ſame nature, the General of the Slaves had already formerly hook'd out of the *Nazir* or Lord Treaſurer's Pocket three hundred *Tomans*, which make a thouſand pound, at the time that the Court return'd to *Iſpahan*. To which purpoſe the cunning Fox went to him at his houſe, all in a heat, and after he had drawn him aſide, *Sir*, ſaid he, *I come to aſſure you, that your Head, which the practice of your Enemies had endanger'd, is now ſecure. The King at firſt began to liſten to their Calumnies, ſo that had not I interpos'd for your ſafety, the King was reſolv'd neither to have ſent you the Habit, nor the Patent Royal. The General of the Muſquetteers was he that did you the moſt prejudice, which caus'd a Quarrel between us; I ſuppoſe you will acknowledge the kindneſs we have done you.*

The ſame Prank he plai'd *Mirza Moumen*, that is, *Lord without Blot*, the *Nazir*, or Superintendant of the Stables, who was drawn in by him for about nine thouſand pounds by making him believe that he had protected him againſt Potent Accuſers, who ſought to bring him under his Majeſties diſpleaſure. But that was not all, for that he was reſolv'd to imploy his Credit with his Maſter, as to raiſe him from being Treaſurer of the *Stables* to be Treaſurer of the Kings Demeans, in the room of *Mac-Soud-Bec*, who undeſervedly enjoy'd the Employment, and whoſe head already totter'd upon his ſhoulders; for that the King was reſolv'd that none of thoſe ſhould live who had oppos'd his Advancement to the Throne.

Upon his Departure alſo, that he might leave ſome marks behind him of his malicious Cunning, he reſolv'd to ſet the King's two Chief Eunuchs (who are petty Kings in the Palace) together by the ears to the mutual perdition of each other; that is the *Mehthee* or Lord *Chamberlain*; and the *Aga Moubarek*, or Overſeer of the Queen Mothers Houſhold.

To that purpoſe he went to the High Chamberlain, to tell him as a ſecret of great Importance, and which the Friendſhip

he had for him, oblig'd him to reveal, that *Aga Moubarek* took all opportunities to ſlander and accuſe him to the King, but that his wickedneſs fell upon his own head: for that he had often heard his Majeſty ſay, that he could no longer endure the Backbiting Tongue and Malignity of that perſon; that he was reſolv'd to have put him to death, and had done it already, had it not been for ſome remainder of kindneſs he has for him; for the ſervice he did him at his Fathers death ſtopt his diſpleaſure. At the ſame time he went to *Aga Moubarek*, and told him alſo the very ſame Story of the Chamberlains Inveteracy againſt him. So that the two Eunuchs foſter'd for ſome time a ſecret and implacable hatred one againſt the other: both expecting when the effects of the Princes Anger would break out to the ruine of his Enemy, according as the General of the Slaves had fed their hopes. But the time being elaps'd, and nothing hapning of what they were made believe; they began to doubt the truth of what he had inform'd 'em. And therefore knowing the Author of the Story to be a great forger of Lies, they reſolv'd to find out the truth.

The *Mehther* or High Chamberlain was the firſt that diſcover'd it. For being ſaluted one day with the uſual Complements, the Great Chamberlain coldly repli'd, *There's a Tongue that coldly ſalutes my Ears, but ſtabs me to the heart*, and then drawing him aſide, *What unkindneſs*, ſaid he, *have I done you, that you ſhould go about to procure my death, by rendring me odious to the Prince as you do every day: all my comfort is, you will not be ſo ſucceſsful in your enterprize as you think for.*

Aga Moubarek finding thereby a Gate opened for diſcovery, *'Tis not for you*, ſaid he, *but for me to complain. For is it not you that have been continually pealing in the Kings Ears ſuch and ſuch ſtories concerning me; which had been enough to have taken away my life, had his Majeſty given credit to your Tales, but thanks be to God they were not believ'd.*

The two Eunuchs were ſo ſtrangely ſurpriz'd to find themſelves upbraided with the ſame unkindneſſes, that they began to compare their accuſations of each other, with which they were charg'd, and that Examination at laſt diſcover'd that it was but a *Romance*, tho a pernicious Romance, which the General of the Slaves had compos'd to ſet thoſe two Lords together by the Ears, and to make his advantage of their quarrelling. Nevertheleſs ſeeing the dark contrivance had not ſucceeded altogether, they diſſembl'd their reſentments for the preſent, and ſaid nothing: reſolving to wait for an opportunity of Revenge,

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which they vow'd ſhould never eſcape 'em, whenever it offer'd it ſelf.

Theſe Eunuchs are very ready at theſe kind of dark Contrivances: there being no people in the World that know how to carry on a private Revenge by cloſe and covert means, and then give fire to the Mine of a ſudden, ſo well as they do: nor did they fail to pay this crafty Deceiver in his own Coin; For it is thought that they were the perſons who mainly contributed to his diſgrace and death.

But now ſo ſoon as the General of the Slaves had receiv'd his Commiſſion for the Government of *Cand-daar*, and to withſtand the Invaſion of the *Indians*, he began to raiſe Soldiers at *Iſpahan*, which he caus'd to be exercis'd every day, with ſo much exactneſs, as if the Enemy had been at the Gates: and after he had muſter'd together four thouſand, all ſtout proper fellows, he declar'd he would raiſe no more, that Recruit being ſufficient: and he order'd his buſineſs ſo well by the aſſiſtance of the General of the Army, that the King, whom they aſſur'd that the Enemy was at hand, caus'd his diſpatches to be made for *Serdaar* or Chief General of *Kandar*, and the Territories belonging to it, and made him Governour of the Province and City it ſelf, being a famous Garriſon, and the Key of the Kingdom toward *India*. It is ſeated upon three riſing Grounds, which defend each other; the *Perſians* eſteeming it impregnable, and it is a Proverb amongſt 'em, *Who ſhall take the Habitation of ſecurity?* Alluding to the word *Candaar*, which ſignifies the ſame thing.

Before this Lord departed he obtain'd of the King, that his Brother *Phereidon-Bek*, ſhould ſupply his Place of General of the Slaves, as his Lieutenant, till his Son, to whom the Prince had granted the Reverſion, ſhould be of years to manage it himſelf: and not content with that, he alſo procur'd an Order from the King, by which his Majeſty gave him leave to come to Court when he pleas'd, without asking leave. And thus *Gemſhid-Kaan* departed well ſatisfi'd, conceiving with himſelf, that he had craftily diſintangl'd himſelf from all thoſe troubles which his ill management had brought upon him at Court.

Some few days after this Lord was thus departed there was no more talk of the War; on the other ſide it was evident there would be none. For the report ran about, that *Aureng-Zeeb* underſtanding that *Habas* II. was dead, and that his Succeſſor was but young and unexperienc'd, ſcorn'd the Encounter of ſo trivial an Enemy. Which *Rodomontado* of the

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Indian Prince to ſave his Honour might have held good in the time of the *Ruſtans*, who were the *Amadiſ's* of *Perſia*, at what time they never enter'd into Combat but for Honour. But now Monarchs never fight hand to hand, nor in ſingle Duels to try each others ſtrength. But they fight Army againſt Army, and their only aim is the Conqueſt of Cities and Provinces, aſſailing whatever they think they can maſter.

All the World knew that for three months after the death of *Habas* II. was known in the *Indies*, the Prince of that Country ſtill continu'd his preparations of War, in order to the beſieging of *Candaar*; of which this was an evident proof, for that all that while, all Commerce was forbidden with *Perſia* as before. Which would not have been, had the *Indian* Prince abandon'd his deſigns of the War, in deriſion of his feeble Enemy, whom he thought too young to be the ſubject of his Triumphs.

The truth was, as I have heard from very Intelligent perſons. that *Aureng-Zeeb* was diverted from his Enterprize by the Princeſs his Siſter, who us'd theſe Arguments to him, That it was not proper for him to hazard the Honour he had won; that till that time he had Reign'd in high Reputation, which he could never loſe ſo long as he kept himſelf quiet. That Fortune could not make him greater then he was, but that ſhe might prove froward to his prejudice. That the taking of *Candaar* was no ſuch eaſie thing, which his Father had twice with two potent Armies attempted in vain. That the chiefeſt part of his Courtiers being *Perſians*, they would ſerve him very unwillingly, and aſſiſt him but coldly; and in a word, That if he did not ſucceed in the War, it would be a ſtain to his Reputation, which he would never be able to wipe out. Eſpecially ſince his Reputation had no need of this Conqueſt to aggrandize it ſelf, as being ſufficient to ſupport it ſelf without it. To which reaſons of his Siſter the Prince ſubmitted: and without doubt he did wiſely: there being nothing ſo true as what the Princeſs told him, that there was little to be got by the Enterprize, and much to be loſt.

The General of the Slaves before now General of the Armies, had not been gone above a Month from Court, when *Mirza-Ibrahim* arriv'd at *Iſpahan* in a trembling and quivering condition, after he had been put in ſuch great fears. For he had been inform'd at *Tauris*, what a Trick the General of the Slaves had put upon him, and how he had diſcover'd the whole ſecret of his Project. However having receiv'd a permiſſion to come

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to Court, there was a neceſſity for him to go: ſo that being reduc'd to this extremity he was not ſo eager upon his journey: he made but ſlow preparations, and delay'd his departure as long as poſſibly he could: excuſing himſelf ſometimes by reaſon of the bad weather, the bad *Poſition* of the Planets, or his own Indiſpoſition of body. But at length go he muſt, but he travell'd ſuch eaſie days journeys, that he ſpent double the time that he needed to have done; and perhaps he did it to ſhun his meeting with the General of the Slaves upon the Road, being upon his march to his New Government.

How he was receiv'd at Court you may eaſily judge: for there was not one living ſoul that vouchſaf'd him a kind look. So that to mollifie the hearts of the Grand Miniſters and Potent Lords, he was forc'd to expend a good part of the Treaſure that he had hoarded up, and to ſuffer himſelf to be deſpoyl'd of that which he had pillag'd from the People.

And as for the Grand Miniſters the better to accompliſh their deſign of ſqueezing Rich Preſents out of his Coffers, they back'd all Complaints that were made againſt him at Court. For you muſt underſtand that in *Perſia*, every private Perſon, let his Condition be never ſo mean, is allow'd to bring his Complaints againſt the Governours, Royal Farmers, and other Perſons, who have any Authority over 'em. So that when the Grandees at Court have a mind to ruine any great Perſonage in the Provinces abroad, there uſual Policy is to ſupport the Complaints of the Oppreſs'd; and to make 'em the more Ponderous, they invite all that will come; and then cauſe 'em to appear at the Palace in ſhoals to demand Juſtice. Which courſe was taken with this ſame Lord. But in regard the Principal Courtiers had no mind utterly to ruine him, which had been only a particular benefit to the King, but rather to ſhew him, that it lay in their power, to the end they might make their beſt advantage of him themſelves, they would not ſuffer the Clamours of his Impeachers to run too high; but ſatisfi'd the greateſt part, by cauſing him to reſtore to his moſt dangerous Accuſers a part of what he had extorted from them.

But among all the reſt his greateſt Enemy at Court was that Brutiſh Old Signior, the *Generaliſſimo*, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan*, who mortally and ſo openly hated him, that he would neither accept of his Viſits, nor his Preſents. The reaſon of which animoſity was, becauſe that in the Reign of *Habas* II. about twelve years before his death, when the General of the Army, being

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then in his Government of *Tauris*, fell a ſecond time under the diſpleaſure of his Prince, for the reaſons already related, and after a Confiſcation of all his Goods, was ſent a Priſoner to *Casbin*, *Mirza-Sadek*, Brother of this *Mirza-Ibrahim*, being at that time *Farmer Royal* of the ſame City and Province, was appointed Commiſſioner by his Majeſty for the ſale of thoſe Confiſcated Goods: At what time he carri'd himſelf ſo rigorouſly that he took away the very *Tombans* or Linnen Drawers belonging to his Wives, and ſold 'em in open Market: for in regard the diſgrac'd Lord had ſeveral Wives, and for that the *Perſian* Ladies are all ſumptuouſly habited; there are ſome of theſe under-Drawers that are worth thirty or forty Crowns; ſo that a good number might come to a great deal of Money.

This Affront touch'd the General to the Quick, and enrag'd him to that exceſs againſt the whole Family, that he gave it its full ſwinge, firſt againſt the *Vazier* himſelf, who had given him the Affront. For after he was reſtor'd, and found he had power to do what he pleas'd, he ſent for him, and not ſo much as vouchſafing to ſee him when he arrived, he caus'd him to be ſhut up in his Stables; where to do him the greateſt Injury that could be done him in *Perſia*, he expos'd him to the beaſtly Paſſion of ſix luſty Grooms.

Mirza Ibrahim was not ignorant of all this, and knew how far the Tranſports of his Pride and Cruelty was able to carry him: he ſaw him newly reſtor'd, and advanc'd to the third dignity in the Kingdom; and that which was of more importance, that he was the Chief in favour, and that the King liſten'd to him as his Governour. For thoſe reaſons he conjecturd rightly that among thoſe that ſought his ruine, there was not any one who had more Power, or a greater good Will. Therefore he reſolv'd to purchaſe his favour, whatever it coſt him; or if he could not oblige him to do him a kindneſs, at leaſt that he would be pleas'd to hold his tongue. To which purpoſe he went to give him a Viſit, deſiring he might be admitted to pay him Reverence. At firſt when the *Vazier* enter'd the General of the Army pretended not to ſee him, but feigning as if his head ak'd, call'd for a Couch to lie down, where after he had lain about two hours, he retir'd into his Palace, leaving a great throng of People that waited without to come another time, and among the reſt *Mirz*

However *Mirza Ibrahim* would n[illegible]s for a denial, but return'd the next day; To whom [illegible]al, taking no notice

notice that he had demanded leave to be admitted to make his salutation in the great Hall where he dispatch'd all Comers and Goers, gave him no Answer, so that the poor Lord was forc'd to stand three hours together among the Officers and Common Persons; and after that he pass'd by him without so much as looking upon him, and so took horse before his Palace Gate. *Mirza Ibrahim* follow'd him; and keeping close to him, ever now and then gave him the usual Salute of *My Lord, peace be with yee*, and that so loud that he might easily be heard. At first the General of the Army said nothing to him; but finding the other still pursue him, tir'd with his importunate Complements, turning about, *Gidi segh, Cursed Dog*, said he, *what have I to do with thee, or thou with me? Go to the Devil, and let me never see thee more.* And having so said, he caus'd his Servants to thrust him away.

Poor *Mirza Ibrahim* seeing himself so courtsely us'd, made trial of Presents, the great Spring that moves the whole Court of *Persia*. To that purpose he sent the General two thousand *Tomans*, which the General refus'd: the other believing 'twas too little sent again two thousand five hundred; which were sent back as before; then he sent three thousand, which had no better acceptance; after that four thousand, which still could make no impression in the haughty Spirit of the Exasperated Lord: So that at length he sent five thousand *Tomans*, which comes to twenty thousand pounds. And then, somewhat suppl'd, he invited *Mirza Ibrahim* two days after to his *Megeles*, or Publick Feast: nevertheless he shew'd him no particular Civility, nor said any thing to him, more then what is usually spoken to all the Guests, *Kochs-Geldi, Y'are welcome*. I question'd the truth of this Present of twenty thousand pounds when I heard it related the first time, not believing that any person would purchase any mans favour at so dear a Rate, but afterwards upon farther examination I found it to be really true. And I the rather give this Advertisement to the Reader, that he may not mistrust the fidelity of my Relations, or think that I speak by *Hearsay*, and not upon any exact information.

All this while the Kings distemper increas'd upon him, that he could ride no longer, so that he never went abroad with his Wives but in a *Kagia*, which are little wooden sheds carri'd by great Camels, wherein they usually put their Women, when they go to take the Air.

In this Condition he continued a month: tho all the while he would not forbear his usual recreations with his Wives. The

Kourrourks continu'd in all the parts round about *Iſpahan*, where the Prince caus'd all the handſom women to be taken up, and brought to his *Haram*.

One day the Queen Mother had a deſire to ſee the Fortreſs of the City, where are kept all the Curioſities and rarities belonging to the preſent Monarch, and his Anceſtors, whether Preſents, or Purchas'd, or Trophies of their Conqueſts. To which purpoſe ſhe perſuaded her Son to carry her thither; ſo that there was a *Kourrouk* proclaim'd all over one part of the City, which was never known, or at leaſt never remembred by any body then alive.

Now it haepn'd that one time, as the King was thus ſporting himſelf abroad with his Wives, an Accident fell out, that render'd 'em ſtill more unſupportable to the People. His Majeſty at that time lay in the Fields without *Iſpahan*, under Tents, in Harveſt time, when the ſheaves lay heap'd up one upon another in the Grounds, and as he was one that greatly delighted in Fireworks, ſome flying Rockets were preſented him one Evening of an extraordinary weight (for there are ſome that weigh forty pounds) of which he order'd a trial to be made. But their extraordinary weight hindering the Maſſie Squib from mounting directly upwards, as it ſhould have done, and ſo not flying very high, they made a kind of a Semicircle at a diſtance, which carri'd 'em a great way into the Fields, where they ſet the Sheaves on fire, and burnt the Corn together with ſome houſes that ſtood not far off. So that the loſs was valu'd at ſixteen thouſand pounds; and the miſery was, that this accident happen'd when there was great ſcarcity of Corn.

Here I cannot omit a ſmall Circumſtance, which has ſome affinity with what I have already ſpoken concerning that ſpacious place full of Trees, and Alleys that compoſe the Avenues to the Palace; through one of which, call'd the Royal Alley, the King and his Train went always in and out, to avoid paſſing through the City. The other great Alleys were adorn'd with Beds and Borders planted with Flowers and ſweet ſmelling herbs, which together with the Fountains and Rows of Trees caus'd a very pleaſant proſpect.

In the mean time came certain intelligence that the *Yusbecks* were enter'd into the Province of *Coraſon*, or *Bactriana*. The Governour of the Province ſent Courrier after Courrier to the King for Orders; for that the Enemy was already enter'd the Kingdom, burning and ſpoiling all before them, and that unleſs ſpeedily oppos'd, the Province would [illegible]ger to be loſt.

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The *Yusbecks* are a People that inhabit to the North of *Perſia*, Poſſeſſing all that Country between the *Caſpian* Sea and the *Indies*; under ſeveral petty Sultans or Princes, abſolute within themſelves. They are called *Yusbecks*, at leaſt if the *Perſian* Etymology be true, by reaſon of the great number of Sovereign Princes by which the Tartars are Govern'd; for *Yus*, as well in the Language of the Tartars as Turks, which is but a Dialect of it, ſignifies a *hundred*, and *Bek*, Lords; to ſhew the great number of Maſters by which they are Rul'd. But thoſe People reject that Etymology, which they ſay is both falſe and injurious to 'em; That the true Etymolgy is *Yuſi*, which ſignifies *He* in both Languages (tho pronounc'd *Yus* by cutting off the laſt Vowel) and *Bek*, Lord. So that when they ſay *Yusbek*, 'tis as much as to ſay, *He the Lord*, or *He is the Lord*; as if theſe People were the only People upon the Earth that are truly Lords. Such is the pride of this Nation, and the high conceit they have of their own merits. One of the principal Lords of the Perſian Court, when he told me this he gave me an account of a certain petty King that Reign'd in the *Molucca's* in the time of *Habas* the Great, who nevertheleſs aſſum'd to himſelf a Grandeur almoſt equal to his: For he look'd upon himſelf to be the only lawful Lord of the Eaſt, and aſſum'd to himſelf the Title of ſole Monarch of it: Saying withal, that he knew not whether there were any other in the Weſt; but that he was well aſſur'd, that He himſelf was Maſter of that part of the World where he inhabited. For which reaſon he caus'd his Dominions to be call'd by way of Excellency *Moulouk*; that is to ſay, the true Kingdoms; for tho we pronounce the word *Molucca's* after our Manner, over all *Aſia* they write and pronounce it *Moulouk*.

But among all thoſe petty Princes that Govern *Tartary* the leſs, there are three who are accounted the Principal. That is to ſay, the Prince of *Bokora*, the Prince of *Balke*, and the Prince of *Carechme*, or *Orquenge*, upon which the reſt in ſome manner or other have have their dependence. In the Reign of *Sephi* the Second, which the *Perſians* for diſtinction take call *Mazi*, the *paſs'd Reign*, he being Grandfather to the preſent King; theſe *Yuzbecks* overrunning the Territories of *Coraſſon*, or *Bactriana* and *Margiana*, were purſu'd by the *Perſians*, who made a diſmal ſlaughter among 'em, after they had gain'd a moſt ſignal Victory over the Enemy, killing twelve of eighteen Thouſand, of which their Army conſiſted, and taking the reſt Priſoners. Among theſe Captives there was a young Prince, one of the Cheiftaines of the *Tartars*, deſcended from the Royal Line of

Karechme or *Orquenge*, who was call'd *Abouel-Kazi*, or the *Father-Arbiter*. This Priſoner, being known to be what he was, among the reſt of the Priſoners was carry'd to *Iſpahan*, but his uſage was quite different. For *Sephi* did not look upon him as a Robber, but as a Prince who was only a Priſoner of War, and paid him all thoſe Honours and Civilities due to a Perſonage of Royal Birth; aſſign'd him a Revenue of fifteen hundred Tomans, which amounts to ſix thouſand pounds; gave him a ſtately Palace furniſh'd accordingly, a number of Officers, and a ſuitable Train to attend him. And it was his Pleaſure, that the Vazier, or Treaſurer to the Governor of *Iſpahan* ſhould take care of his Perſon, and perform the Office of a *Mehmandaar*, who is the Perſon, as we may ſay, that takes care of the Gueſts, and is the Maſter of the Entertainment. This *Mehmandaar*, for ten years together paid this *Tartar* Prince by his Majeſties Order all the Reſpect and Service which the rights of a moſt tender Hoſpitality could reaſonably claim; and ſuch as there could not be any thing ſhew'd him more obliging in our beſt civiliz'd Provinces. On the other ſide, the Prince underſtood ſo well how to diſguiſe the natural Savageneſs and Barbarity of the *Tartars*, that you would have taken him for a *Perſian*, he behav'd himſelf with ſuch a Grace, and ſo much affability in all things: So that his Majeſty obſerving him endow'd with ſo many rare Qualities, ſtrain'd his affection for him ſo high, that he admitted him into his *Megeles* or Royal Aſſemblies, where he rank'd him equal with the Grandees of his Kingdom, and for his maintainance aſſign'd him Penſions that were no way inconſiderable.

During his abode at *Iſpahan*, where he had liberty to go and come as he pleas'd, only attended by his *Mehmendaar* and the Guards that were aſſign'd him, more in honour to his Perſon, then for a Watch on his Freedom; he had ſtill in his mind a natural hankering after his own Country, his Kindred, and that Sovereignty to which he was lawful Heir. The Magnificence, the Mildneſs, the Beauty and delights of *Perſia* could not eradicate out of his Breaſt this violent affection for the place of his Nativity. For tho it were true, that nothing but Barrenneſs and a hideous proſpect overſpread the Country which he had ſuch a lingring deſire, however, it was the place where he was born, and where he was to change the condition of a Priſoner for that of a Maſter. Importun'd therefore by his own deſires he wrote privately to the King of *Orquenge* his Father beſought him to endeavour his Liberty. Who having conſidered what courſe to take, pretends an occaſion to ſend an Ambaſſador into *Perſia*,

ſia, who brought to the Prince the King his Fathers anſwer. And at length the Prince and the Embaſſador agreed upon the manner of his eſcape; And then the Embaſſador after a ſtay of ſix Months took his leave of the Court. But then it was that the Prince, when he thought the Embaſſador was got beyond the Bounds of *Perſia*, and that it was ſeaſonable for him to make his eſcape, laid his Plot in this manner.

He feign'd himſelf one day to be very ill, and gave notice of his Indiſpoſition to the King: He added, that he had try'd ſeveral medicines to no purpoſe, and therefore by the advice of his Phyſicians, he believ'd there was no other cure for him but by the hot Baths about a days journey from *Iſpahan*, whither he eaſily obtain'd leave to retire: at what time the Treaſurer to the Governor of *Iſpahan*, whoſe Employment would not permit him to ſtir out of the City, gave him for an attendant in his Room one of his Maſters Domeſtick Servants, with a Convoy of fifteen or ſixteen Perſons.

At the time prefix'd there appear'd under the Trees without the Village, near the Baths, whither the Prince pretended to go for his Health, about twenty *Yuzbecs* all young choſen fellows, nimble, well Mounted, and well Arm'd with certain Led-Horſes. Preſently the Prince knew 'em, and without any further Conſultation, leaving the ſmall number of *Perſians*, which were then with him, up he gets a Horſeback and putting Spurs to his Horſe, away he gallops directly forward before his own Troop. There was not any one unleſs his Perſian Guide that follow'd him, as dreaming of nothing leſs then the accident that had fallen out, neither had they men enough, nor time to call for more aid. And therefore the Deputy *Mehmandaar*, ſeeing he had loſt the great Truſt that was committed to his charge, all that he could do, in ſuch a ſurprize, was ſtill to follow him, and try if his prayers and intreaties could move him to return. *Sir*, ſaid He, *what is my Crime, what is my Ill-fortune, or what Offence have I committed againſt you, that you thus go about to endanger my Head if I return to* Iſpahan *without your Perſon? What can I expect leſs then to looſe my Head? Nay, I fear the King will not be ſatisfied with that ſlight puniſhment, but without doubt in the exceſs of his Anger, will order my Bowels to be ripp'd out of my Belly.* To whom the *Yusbeck* Prince thus briskly anſwer'd; *I am highly oblig'd to the King of* Perſia, *but I owe more my own Country and Relations that call me back. 'Tis my Father that ſends me theſe Men, to facilitate my return to my Native ſoil, in expectation of that Crown which he deſigns me after his death: if thou wilt go along with me, I will repay thee for all thoſe kindneſſes I*

have

have received in Perſia, *and I will make thee one of the Lords of my Kingdom; If not, return in time, and tell thy King that I return him thanks for all his Favours, and that I ſhall always be his Good and Slave, and ſhall believe my ſelf oblig'd to him as long as I live: and that in time I will make him ſenſible of the truth of my Promiſes.* Having ſo ſaid, he put ſpurs to his Horſe, and flew away with that ſwiftneſs, that the Perſian *Mehmandaar* ſoon loſt ſight of him. For there is not any Nation under Heaven that ride more ſwiftly then theſe *Yusbecks.*

When this eſcape was known at *Iſpahan*, a great number of Horſe-men were ſent after the Prince, but all to no purpoſe, he having got the ſtart ſo far before 'em: the Court was in an amaze, eſpecially the King, who never dreamt that *Abouel-Kazi* ever dream'd of *Tartary*; being verily perſwaded that after ten years, that he had liv'd in his Court, he could never have any more remembrance of his own Country.

But as the Tartar Prince could not forget his own Country, ſo neither did he forget his obligations to Perſia and the Perſian Monarch. For all his life-time he had a particular affection for that Kingdom, more eſpecially when he came to ſucceed his Father; which was preſently after his Return. And ſo long as he Reign'd, he was not only careful to keep a good correſpondence with *Sephi* the firſt, and *Habas* the ſecond, but he alſo kept in ſuch awe *Sub-haan-Kooli-Kaan*, *The Prince*, *the Slave of the Praiſe-worthy*, by which they mean *God*; and *Abdul-hazize-Kaan* or *the Servant of the Majeſty*, underſtood *Divine*, King of *Bokora*; the only two Princes which ſometimes infeſted the Confines of Perſia, that they were not able to undertake any conſiderable Enterpriſe. For when either the one or the other enter'd Perſia, preſently he was in the Bowels of their Territories, thereby conſtraining 'em to return with more haſt then they went. And thus all the Frontier Provinces, as *Bactriana*, *Margiana*, *Drangiana*, and the Caſpian Coaſts enjoy'd a profound Peace. So that *Habas* won by his grateful and conſtant affection, with the ſame gratitude repaid the Prince's perſeverance, allowing him all along, as a mark of his eſteem, the large Penſion which he enjoy'd in Perſia.

But after that, upon the death of *Abouel Kazi* the Crown deſcended to his Son *Enouch Kaan*, or the *Lord of Profit*, *Habas* the Second, who had not that eſteem for [illegible] he had for his Father, thought himſelf no longer obl[illegible]inue the Penſion, which he had given his Father m[illegible]neis. Whereupon *Enouch-Kaan*, who look'd upon [illegible]on as a ſort of Tribute

Tribute which the Perſian Monarch paid the King of *Careckme* or *Orquenge* to keep him from Plundring his Territories, finding himſelf fruſtrated of his expectation, thought the ſureſt way to recover it, or at leaſt to recompence himſelf for his loſſes, would be to carry the War into the Empire, and to Ravage the Frontier Provinces. To which purpoſe he enters into a League with the two other *Kaans* againſt Perſia, and the better to cement it, he eſpouſes the Siſter of the Sovereign Prince of *Balke*, and gives his own Siſter in Marriage to the King of *Bokora*; which done, the three brothers-in-law reſolve to fall altogether into the Perſian Dominions.

There was only one ſcruple that troubl'd the Prince of *Balk* and *Bokora*, which was, that the deceas'd King of *Orquenge*, the Father of the preſent King, was a *Shia* Mahumetan, according to the Perſian Worſhip, and not a *Sunni* Mahumetan according to the Worſhip both of the Turks and Tartars. *Enouch Caan* therefore makes open Profeſſion of the Religion of his Country, and of having quitted his Fathers belief. But the two Princes miſtruſting his ſincerity, and fearing he would play 'em ſome ſcurvy trick or other, the better to aſſure themſelves that he was a true *Sunnie*, that he was real in his proceedings, and that he was from the bottom of his heart a declar'd Enemy of Perſia, they were deſirous that he ſhould firſt begin the War, and fall in with all his Forces into the Kingdom, and the next year they agreed they would all three joyn together to advance their Conqueſts. According to this Reſolution the Prince of *Orquenge* enters the Kingdom, but met with too powerful a reſiſtance. For *Habas* II. being inform'd of the Conſpiracies of theſe pettie Kings, had Vow'd their Ruine, and not only to repel their Incurſions, but to make an abſolute Conqueſt of their Territories, to deprive them of Life and Scepters both together, and unite the Province of *Balk* to the Empire. For this reaſon it was that in the year 1665. according to our account he undertook his Progreſs into *Mazenderan*, and march'd againſt 'em. The *Yusbecks* perceiving the King of *Perſia* at hand, and apprehenſive of his Power, fail'd in the great Courage which they pretended at the beginning, and thought it their better courſe to ſubmit. So that the next year, 1666. they ſent every one their Embaſſadors to beg a Peace, and by that means in ſome meaſure aſſwag'd the Indignation of that Prince, and ſuſpended thoſe deſigns which he had contriv'd in his thoughts, and which by his death not long after happening, prov'd altogether abortive.

After

After his unfortunate death, the *Tartars* took heart again. Beſides, the weak Government of a young Prince whoſe age and want of experience render'd him uncapable to oppoſe their deſigns, was ſuch a favourable Opportunity that they could not forbear to take the advantage of it. And therefore the Prince of *Orquenge*, like a hungry Lion, in the year 1667. enter'd *Merve Sava*, and the Country round about; where finding no reſiſtance; he made ſtrange Havock, and carry'd away whatever he found to be of value, not one *Perſian* Governour daring to oppoſe him. Nor indeed could the Governours prevent it, for theſe *Tartars* are like Birds of Prey, flying from the Place they have plunder'd with that ſwiftneſs, before a man can ſuſpect 'em to have been there; beſides that they had not a ſufficient force to oppoſe a furious Multitude, whom Revenge and hope of Booty had fleſh'd and animated beyond the ſenſe of fear or danger.

The Court having intelligence of theſe diſorders took a reſolution to apply Remedies; but it was ſo remiſsly and ſlowly executed, that they who had an inſight into things foreſaw it would come to nothing, as indeed it came to paſs.

The Council of *Perſia*, under the Kings name, made choice of two Lords, eſteem'd to be Perſonages of the greateſt Experience in the Kingdom, the one called *Chichs-Kaan*, and the other *Sheik-Hali-Kaan*, both the one and the other already provided of two of the beſt Governments in the Empire; the firſt of the Province of *Kirmaan*, or *Caramania*, the other of *Kirmoon Sha*, which is *Caldea*. Theſe Lords were ſent for from their Government, which were diſpos'd of, the one to the Brother, the other to the Son of thoſe Lords; and they themſelves were ſent againſt the *Yusbeck*, with the Title of Generals of the Army. They march'd with four thouſand men from *Iſpahan*, to joyn the Army that lay ready in the Province of *Coraſſon*; and in regard there was no more talk of the *Indian* War, the Governour of *Candaar*, had order to ſupply the Generals with what Recruits they ſhould think neceſſary. Six weeks after the departure of theſe Lords, with their ſmall Body of four thouſand men; ſeveral Sums of Money were ſent to *Coraſſon* to pay both the Armies, as well that belonging to the Province as the *Indian* Recruits. This Treaſure was convoy'd only by two hundred Men, in regard there was no appearance of any danger upon the Road; and yet, howe[illegible]e to paſs, the *Yusbecks* had intelligence of it. Th[illegible]ey ſent out a Party to obſerve the motion of the [illegible] and took their opportu-

opportunity ſo well, that with three thouſand of their own People they carri'd off the Booty, notwithſtanding all the ſpeed that was made to overtake 'em.

During theſe Troubles *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* departed this Life of a ſtoppage in his Breaſt, for which no remedy could be found, after he had kept his Bed four days. In the Story of *Perſia*, which we intend one day for the Preſs, we have given an account of his Birth, and his Misfortunes; for it was a wonderful thing, that whatever faults he were guilty of, and he committed a great many, *Habas* II. ſtill pardon'd him: he never would reduce him to utmoſt miſery, much leſs put him to death; becauſe of the good tydings of which he had been the Meſſenger to him. For this ſame Lord it was, whom *Sephi* I. the Father of *Habas*, perceiving his Diſtemper grow upon him, ſent to fetch the young Prince out of the Womens Palace, to the end he might have him ready near his perſon, out of a deſign which he had to preſent him to the Lords for his Succeſſour. Never had any man run through ſo many ſtrange adventures in fifty years that he belong'd to the Court, and ſeventy of his Life; nor did ever any man experience the ficklenes of Fantaſtick Fortune in her ſports of Proſperity and Adverſity ſo much as he did.

At the time of his Deceaſe he was advanc'd to the higheſt Pinacle that ever his good fortune could raiſe him. He was in the entire poſſeſſion of the affection and favours of his Maſter, who refus'd him nothing. His Majeſty was never weary of his Bounty toward him; and ſix weeks before his death had preſented him with a Sword, a Dagger, and three Heron Tufts, valu'd in all at fifty thouſand Crowns. But theſe outward Marks of Favour were of little value to the high-priz'd Power which he had over the thoughts and actions of the Prince, who diſpatch'd no buſineſs of Importance before he had taken his Advice. So that it might be ſaid, that the General was the true Monarch of the *Perſians*, while he that carri'd the Title was but the ſhadow of the Sovereign. And therefore it was that he liv'd like a Monarch; there being nothing that appear'd about him, that betray'd the leaſt diſcovery of a private Fortune; for he entertain'd fifteen hundred men about his Perſon, beſides Officers and Eunuchs, of which three hundred at a time mounted his Guards. He got by his Government of *Tauris*, and his Fees, as *Generaliſſimo*, thirty thouſand *Tomans*, or one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds; of which he laid aſide the one half for the payment of his fifteen hundred men,

whom he always took care to have in good Equipage; the rest went to defray the charges of his Houſe-keeping. He had also ſet up for his own uſe in his Palace ſeveral *Kaar-Kaanè* or Work-houſes for all ſorts of Manufactures, where he had muſter'd together Workmen and Artificers in all manner of Trades; Goldſmiths, Tailors, Sadlers, Armourers, Burniſhers, *&c.* beſides Riders for his Horſes, and Maſters to teach his men how to handle their Arms. In a word, his Palace was altogether Royal. And in this manner was he at continual Expences; inſomuch, that notwithſtanding his large Revenue he always was poor and in debt. For beſides that he was of a prodigal humour, having neither Wives nor Children to provide for, he never ſpar'd for Luſtre and Pomp upon all occaſions that requir'd it. Nor will it be amiſs, conſidering the high degree that he held in *Perſia*, and the Fantaſtick Traverſes as well in his Fortune, as in the Conſequences of his Conduct, to give the Reader a Portraiture of his Perſon.

He was of a middle ſtature, rather enclining to be tall then low: his Aſpect grim and terrible, yet without any deformity. He wore his *Mouſtachios* very thick, and about three quarters of a foot long: and tho threeſcore and ten years of Age he never us'd Spectacles, and all his other Senſes equally as vigorous as his ſight. He perform'd his Exerciſes as duly as the young men: nor was he inferiour to any other perſon whatſoever in handling his Bow, his Sword, and other Weapons; which made him always to be look'd upon as a brave Souldier: but the more Intelligent ſort never believ'd him a good Captain; looking upon him to be fitter for Counſel then Execution. He was endu'd with a mixture of Qualities that rarely meet together: on the one ſide haughty and Cholerick; on the other, ſubtle and a deep diſſembler; he knew the proper ſeaſon to ſhew the violence of his Revenge, and how to take his Meaſures to the ruine of his Competitors. He could not endure to be contradicted: and it was the misfortune and the greateſt trouble in the World to his Servants, that when he ask'd for any thing, it was a crime to tell him it was not to be had: for without reply they muſt either put a force upon the very Seaſons of the Year and Fortune her ſelf to ſatisfie him, or elſe expect to have their bones broken with Baſtinadoes. Setting that humour aſide, he was affable enough, eſpecially to ſtrangers: to them he was eaſie of [illegible] readily granted 'em the favours which they requeſted [illegible] neither write nor read in any other Language then [illegible] Natural *Georgian*. He was a lover of Sciences, tho he [illegible]d 'em not. He

was

was very much addicted to Predictions and Fortune-telling. And out of an extraordinary want of judgment gave more credit to a Prognoſtication then to ſound Reaſon.

The ſame day he di'd he was laid in a Moſque cloſe by his Palace; from whence ſome few days after, he was carri'd to *Metſhed*, there to be interr'd under the protection of that great *Mahometan* Saint, who formerly had liv'd there, and made choice of that place for his Sepulchre. It is a thing which we may well wonder at, were it not a thing frequent among us, in regard theſe ſudden alterations are to be ſeen as well in our own as in the Eaſtern Courts. For as ſoon as his dead body was carri'd out of his Palace, about ſix hours after he had giv'n up the Ghoſt; that very Houſe which the day before could hardly contain the Croud that reſorted to it, was ſo wholly deſerted that there was hardly one of all that numerous Family that environ'd him while alive, left to tell a man what was become of their Maſter.

His death caus'd a great alteration at Court, tho no body was troubl'd at it but the King, who had a particular kindneſs for him. But there were an infinite number that rejoyc'd at it; eſpecially they who having ſome ſhare in the favour of which he depriv'd 'em the full Poſſeſſion, now hop'd to make more room for themſelves. So that the Grandees at Court began to take new Meaſures, and in the midſt of thoſe deluſions with which their Ambition flatter'd 'em, every one fanci'd to himſelf more daring hopes.

The Death of this Perſon, which did not a little afflict the King, was accompanied with other Tidings no leſs unwelcome; That the *Kalmachs*, a fierce and untameable People, had declar'd open War againſt *Perſia*. Whereupon the Governours of *Eſter-abaat*, which is the Eaſtern *Hircania*, beſought his Majeſty to ſend 'em requiſite Aſſiſtance. And here it is neceſſary that we ſhould ſay ſomething concerning the People, and the occaſion of the War.

The *Kalmac's* derive their Name from *Kalmack*, the principal City of the Country which they inhabit, upon the Confines of the greater *Tartary* toward the *Caſpian* Sea upon the Eaſt ſide. Sometimes they are called *Yusbeck-Kalmaki*, but for the moſt part no otherwiſe then barely *Kalmac*.

Now ſome years ago it hapn'd that a great number of *Turkmans*, or *Shepherds* that wander together by thouſands up and down the fields, and live in Tents, like Swallows, changing their Habitations according to the Seaſons, got together upon

their Frontiers, between *Orquenge* and *Eſther-abaat*: and [illegible] People our Modern Autohrs call *Tureomans*, which are pro[illegible] *Turks*. For theſe People, and thoſe that hold the Empire of *Conſtantinople* came at firſt from *Turq-Eſtaan*, that is to ſay, from thoſe Provinces of *Tartary*, which are very vaſt, altho we have but little knowledge of 'em. And this is alſo that Country which ought properly to be call'd *Turkie*, and not the Provinces of *Aſia* and *Europe*, poſſeſs'd by the *Ottomans*. For the Eaſtern People never call by that name the Inhabitants of thoſe Provinces, nor the Monarch that Commands 'em, *Great Turk*. And therefore it is an error of our Europeans; in regard the People of *Turkie* acknowledge no ſuch appellation, deeming it Barbarous. For that among them *Turk* ſignifies one that comes from thoſe High-lands of *Tartary*, let it be from what part it will. The *Perſians* therefore to define thoſe *Turkmans* more diſtinctly, call 'em *Sara-Netſhin*. *Sara* ſignifying a Plain or Down, and *Netſhin* thoſe that abide there, from the Verb *Netſhinen*, *to reſt* or *Repoſe*. So that *Sara-Netſhin* ſignifies *thoſe that abide and repoſe in the Country*. Now ancient Hiſtorians, and writers of Travels, who underſtood not the Eaſtern Languages or at leaſt had but a ſmattering underſtanding of 'em, call theſe People *Sarazens*, which word was never pronounc'd at firſt by a French-man, who would ſurely have pronounc'd it *Saraſhins*. In regard French-men pronounce with leſs trouble the *Shin* of the Aſiatics then ſome of their Neighbours, eſpecially the Engliſh; who every where write it *Zin*.

But to make a true relation of a Country, it is neceſſary that they who deſcribe it ſhould know the Language; elſe they muſt commit a thouſand errors not paſſable among perſons of Judgment, of which there needs no other proof, then ſuch Relations of Travels which we have ſeen printed in this Age: Not to mention any other then thoſe of *Perſia*, of which there are two which are indifferently tolerable; *Valle*'s and the Travels of *Olearius*: though the firſt be full of faults, which may be ſaid to be Monſtrous; and the latter be not altogether exempt. And yet they are better then the reſt, in regard thoſe Authors underſtood the *Perſian* Language; and therefore it is my Opinion, that whoever publiſhes his Travels, and Obſervations of a Country, of which he has not learnt the Speech, ſhall never make any perfect and accompliſh'd. And this digre[illegible] not think would be diſpleaſing to the Curious.

But to return to our ſtory, this *Col[illegible]rcmans* was formerly Tributary to the *Calmachs*; b[illegible] thirty years ago they took Sanctuary in *Perſia*, ſubmitt[illegible] the Government of

of thoſe Princes who commanded the *Perſian* Empire, to avoid the oppreſſion of the *Calmachs* and to find out a leſs Barren Region, and more proper to feed their Flocks. During all which Interval of time the *Calmachs* had taken no notice of the *Turcmans*, but in the year 1667. judging *Perſia* to be in a weak condition, under a young Prince, to the end they might have a pretence for a War, they ſent to demand Reſtitution of the Tribute which the *Perſian* Monarch had receiv'd for thirty years together of the *Turkman*, whom they alledg'd to be their Subjects. So ſoon as their Commiſſioners were arriv'd at *Eſther-abaat*, which is the firſt conſiderable City of *Perſia* on that ſide, the Governor detain'd 'em, and aſſur'd 'em he would both ſend to inform the Court of *Perſia* concerning the occaſion of their coming, and give 'em an account of the anſwer back. Immediately the Kings Council were all of opinion to reject with ſcorn a demand ſo affrontive to the Grandeur of the Empire. Which Reſolution was without doubt the moſt honourable and made moſt noiſe, but not the wiſeſt. For the *Calmachs* no leſs highly offended when they underſtood the anſwer return'd, came towards the end of the Campagne to the Frontiers that ſeparate the two Dominions, and there in a moſt ſolemn manner ſhot an Arrow into the Territories of the *Perſians*, which is the Signal they uſe in declaring open War againſt any of their Neighbours. To which War, what iſſue Heaven ordain'd we ſhall below make known.

All thoſe Wars that threaten'd *Perſia*, in this ſame languiſhing and feeble condition wherein it was, were the reaſon that the Court would not liſten to the Propoſitions of the Baſha of *Basra*, vulgarly tho erroneouſly call'd *Balzura*, a City ſeated at the mouth of the *Perſian* Gulph; wherein for ſeveral years together the ſaid *Baſha* had aſſum'd to himſelf a kind of Sovereign Dignity: while he, acknowledging no Supreme, ſo well manag'd his affairs in the midſt of thoſe two Monarchs, between whom he lay, the Turk and Perſian; that the deſire which both had to ruin him, made for his preſervation. For when the Turk had a deſign to fall upon him he offer'd himſelf to the Perſian; at what time the Turk being unwilling that the Perſian his Enemy ſhould become Maſter of ſuch a Territory, and rather chooſing that they ſhould remain under Subjection to a Neuter Prince, forbore to moleſt him; and when the Perſian ſummon'd him to give an account for breach of his promiſes, with the ſame policy he threaten'd to ſurrender to the Turk. And then the Perſian fearing leſt the Turk, already two potent, ſhould enlarge his Empire by the addition of theſe Territories, were unwilling to give

him

him a diſturbance ſo highly provoking: and ſeveral other tricks did the *Baſha* play during the Reign of *Habas* II.

After his deceaſe, the Turks deſirous to take the opportunity of *Sephie* II. being come young and newly to the Crown, to make an attempt upon *Baſ-ra* in the ſame manner as thirty years before. Sultan *Mourad* whom we call *Murat*, took hold of the occaſion, *Sephy* I. being newly advanc'd to the Throne, to Beſiege *Babylon*; ſo that altho he were then buſied in the War of *Candia*, he undertook that Conqueſt alſo, and to that effect gave orders to the Baſha s of *Diarbekre*, *Mouſſol*, *Alep*, *Merdin*, and other Governors on that ſide, to march againſt *Baſ-ra*, every one with an embody'd Army, of which he appointed the Baſha of *Bagdat* or *Babylon* to be General.

Hoſſein-Baſha (for ſo was the petty Sovereign of *Baſ-ra* call'd) ſends away into Perſia to make the ſame Offer which he had already made ſo many times before to *Habas* II. But he was not in being; and his Succeſſor minded only his pleaſures, and had no inclination for War. However, the chief Miniſters, unwilling to diſcover the weakneſs of their preſent condition, anſwer'd the Ambaſſadors that they had no encouragement to hearken to their Propoſitions, after the *Baſha* their Maſter had ſo frequently and ſo inſolently baffled the *Perſian* Monarchy. That he had drawn his own misfortunes himſelf upon his own head, and that his ſufferings were no more then what he well deſerv'd. However, the Baſha nothing diſcourag'd for having miſs'd the Succours which he expected on that ſide, betook himſelf to another Stratagem, and being a perſon that had heap'd a vaſt Treaſure together by his Merchandize, he now employs it to corrupt the Baſha of *Bagdat* General of the Turkiſh Army and the reſt of the Grand Officers. Thereupon he treats with 'em, upon condition of being Tributary, for the future, to the Grand Seignior, to pay him every year a hundred thouſand Crowns, and to give him in ready Money two hundred thouſand upon the naile: ſome other conditions were likewiſe added of ſmall importance; and ſo the Siege being rais'd, and the *Baſha* ſent his Son-in-law to *Conſtantinople* to have the Treaty ratifi'd, which was all that happen'd in reference to this War in the year 1667.

Toward the end of the ſame year arriv'd ſad tidings at *Iſpahan* from the Provinces adjoyning to the *Caſpian* Sea, that at *Shirvan*, the Capital City of a Provi[illegible] ſame Name, and which makes a part of *Armenia* the gr[illegible] were *Teffis*, the Capital City of *Georgia*, an Earthquake [illegible] turn'd the greateſt part of that City, and ruin'd four V[illegible] adjoyning: and

that

and that above thirty thouſand *Perſians* had periſh'd in the Ruines. That in another City call'd *Shama-Ki*, in the Province of the ſame name, which is the Southern *Media*, another Earthquake altogether as dreadful as the former, had occaſion'd the loſs of twenty thouſand Perſons, and ſwallow'd up three fourth parts of the City; which two accidents had reduc'd thoſe two Provinces to utter Deſolation.

I do not believe there was any more then one perſon in the World that could rejoyce at theſe diſmal tidings, and that was *Mirza-Ibraim*, already mention'd; although as being Royal Farmer of the latter Province he ought to have been afflicted rather at his loſs. However, he look'd upon the ſad event with a joyful heart, as being that which offer'd him more an opportunity to get rid of his troubles and perſecutions which he ſuſtain'd in the Court of *Perſia*, and to get out of *Iſpahan*, which he lookt upon as a kind of confinement, or to ſpeak more truly as his place of Torment; nor did he neglect the opportunity, but preſented forthwith a Petition to the King and the Chief Miniſters, wherein he declar'd, that *Shamaky* was dependent upon his imployment, and therefore beſought his Majeſty that he might return thither to ſee what might be done to recover it out of its Ruins.

He back'd his Petition with ſeveral conſiderable Preſents which he made to the chief Miniſters, and by that means obtain'd a Grant of his deſires. And thus did that unfortunate Lord delay for a time the bad effects of his unfortunate Ambition. Certain it is that for ſix months that he ſtaid at Court, the King and Prime Miniſters under various pretences got from him above ſixty thouſand *Tomans*, which amount to two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, and all the while they contemn'd him as a Cully and a Perſon of no value. Infamy attended him every where; and not only the Grandees but perſons of ordinary condition took delight to make ſport with him, as if he had been one of the dregs of the People. For being a man that was very Covetous, and yet one that his misfortunes had rendred extremely fearful, they who had any thing to receive of him, and to whom he had made over Aſſignations upon his Farm, could find no better way to make him bleed then to abuſe and affront him. And I was inform'd by ſome perſons who were able to tell me, that upon ſome diſorder at Court how to raiſe money, the *Divan Beki*, or *Chief Juſtice* gave the King to underſtand in a Memorial which he preſented him, that if his Majeſty would but deliver up into his power *Mirza Ibrahim*, and *Mirza Sadek* his Brother, he would loſe his head if he did not raiſe him a Sum of ſix hundred

thouſand

thousand *Tomans*; which are two Millions and a half Sterling. It happen'd that at the same time when this Memorial was deliver'd this unfortunate Lord was in the Hall, where his Majesty sate, who thereupon caus'd the Memorial to be read aloud. It may be easily judg'd in what a taking he was; but without answering a word, he patiently endur'd the punishment of his rash Ambition, and want of Conduct. In a word, he was a lost man, and his misery had encreas'd to its full height, had not the conjuncture of the Earthquake furnish'd him with an opportunity to beg leave to retire. So that in some measure his good fortune proceeded from an event which at another time might have prov'd most prejudicial to him. Yet as I have already said most prudent persons believe, that he has only delay'd his evil Destiny for some years, that his ruin is infallible, and that upon the least want of money, he will still be the Prey in the eyes of the Huugry Courtiers.

The year 1668. according to our account, and 1079. according to the Mahumetan Computation, began with great Rejoycing, the Prince imagining that the rest of the year would be no less happy then the beginning. But it fell not out answerable to his expectations: nor that of the Grandees of the Kingdom, as well as those of meaner Condition, who had any insight into Affairs: tho to outward appearance they attended at the Festivals with a chearful countenance, yet their hearts were not so light: for they found the condition of the Empire grew every day worse and worse; that the Enemy was in the Bowels of several Provinces, while others were laid desolate by Earthquakes: little Money in the Kingdom, a scarcity still continu'd at *Ispahan*, where tho there was no want; of any thing, yet every thing was sold at an excessive rate. The Exchequer moreover was exhausted, while the new Prince in eighteen Months had drain'd all the Treasures of the Empire. Which happen'd through his Profusion on the one side, either by reason of the prodigious Expences that he delighted in, or through the excessive Presents which frequently, and many times without any Reason at all, he heap'd upon his Favourites. And on the other side, through the little care that was taken of the management of his Revenues: For indeed he had not made the third part of what his Father was wont to make of 'em; as having without considering the consequences, fill'd up all the vacant Employments both in the Court and in the Countrys. Whereas his Father never supply'd those Vacancies unless he was thereto compell'd by necessity, to the end he might have the Money himself wch was due to his Officers [illegible] young Monarch little experienc'd

experienc'd in Government, imagin'd that the Coffers which he found full would never be empty. Nor durſt any body be ſo bold as to tell him 'twas much more eaſie to empty then to fill 'em. But at length when they found him wondring that Money was not plentiful with him as it had been, they were conſtrain'd to let him underſtand the reaſon.

The Dutcheſs his Mother, for whom he had an extraordinary reſpect, and who might be ſaid to be more then his Governeſs, ſpoke with more freedom to him then any other perſon, and made him condeſcend to let her act in the publick management of Affairs. Thereupon ſhe took upon her the Government of the Empire, and to ſhew her firſt Maſter-piece of Policy, ſhe reduc'd the Monarch her Son from one extremity to another. Inſomuch that whereas he was ſo extremely liberal before, that he was always and upon all occaſions giving, afterwards he became covetous even to pitiful ſordidneſs: and was ſo far from being bountiful that he hardly rewarded thoſe that did him extraordinary ſervices. So that it might be ſaid of him, that he was like ſome Torrents that overflow the Meadows to day, and the next leave 'em quite dry.

All theſe diſorders oblig'd the *Perſians* to look backward, and to wiſh for the days of the deceaſed Kings Reign. And they were taken with the Anſwer which the late General of the Armies, when he liv'd in ſuch ſplendour and high favour at Court, made the King; For one day the Prince and he being private together, *Hali-Kouli-Kaan* ſaid the King to him, *Doſt thou not know who they were that rejoyc'd at the death of the King my Father? If I knew who the Dogs were, I would cauſe their guts to be ripp'd up.* To whom the Lord with his uſual boldneſs ſaid: *Your Majeſty will do well to take care what you do, leſt you begin with your ſelf and me: For I know none but our ſelves to whom his Death could be acceptable; by which, of Priſoners that we were, we became Kings of* Perſia.

Nor had the King his Health this year any better then the year before. His Diſtemper ſtill perplex'd him, tho his fits were always alike, ſome quickly off, others more tedious. Sometimes he lay whole Weeks together languiſhing in his *Haram*, whence he never ſtirr'd out at his uſual times, but a little now and then in the Evening to ſhew himſelf: Sometimes he took the Air a Horſeback with a Handkerchief ty'd three or four times about his neck, which in *Perſia* is the certain ſign of a ſick Perſon. However all this while he forbore nothing of his debaucheries,

and always carri'd his Women along with him; his most usual Walks being upon *Giulfa* ſide, a Town belonging to the *Armenians*, out of which he pick'd all the handſom Virgins to his Palace. It is ſaid, the firſt time that he caus'd the young Virgins under twelve and above ten years of Age to be thus cull'd out, of twenty that were carri'd to the Palace there was but one that ſhew'd the leaſt joy in her Countenance for her good fortune, and ſhe was detain'd; the reſt who fell a weeping, either becauſe they were thought too Innocent, or elſe believ'd to be too cunning, were reſtor'd to their Parents. But to the Father of her that was detain'd the Sum of Eight *Tomans*, or thirty Guinees Penſion was preſently order'd. For it is the Cuſtom of that Court, when the King makes choice of any Virgin out of a Family that is not very well in the World, he aſſigns the Father a Penſion to that value, or near it, during his Life. I ſay, when a Family is low in the World: For as for the Grandees, they count it a great happineſs to have a Kinſwoman in the Kings houſe, where ſhe may be uſeful to him in his advancement, and do him a thouſand good Offices near his Majeſties Perſon.

Nevertheleſs the Young Prince had forborn Wine all the laſt year, by reaſon of an Inflammation in his Throat occaſion'd by his hard drinking; with which his Father alſo had formerly been troubl'd for the ſame cauſe. Which was the Reaſon that the *Kourauk* or Prohibition of Wine was renew'd, to the end there might be no more ſold. For it is the Cuſtom of the Grandees in *Aſia*, when they have an Intention to abandon Wine, they ſend Orders to throw away all that they have, and to knock out the heads of the Veſſels, to the end that if they ſhould have a deſire to drink it again, they might not have an opportunity to ſatisfie themſelves; not looking upon themſelves to be Maſters of their Paſſions.

But notwithſtanding all this Abſtinence of the Young Prince, his Diſtempers nothing abated. His pale and wan Colour, and his Stomach loathing all manner of Food, were certain Symptomes of his diſorder'd Body.

His Chief Phyſician knew not what to think: he had eſſay'd in vain all the ſecrets of his Art: which was no ſmall affliction to him, in regard his life depended upon the Kings: Or if his life were ſpar'd, yet he was ſure to loſe his Eſtate and his Liberty: as happen'd to the two Chief Phyſicians of *Habas* II. and as it happens to all thoſe that attend the [illegible] Sovereigns, when they die under their care.

The

The Aſtrologers alſo began to whiſper one another in the Ear, and tell their Confidents, as a great ſecret; that the King would never recover; that they could not find in his Horoſcope that he had above ſix years to live after his Coronation, of which he had already ſurviv'd a third part; and that he ſhould languiſh out the two others in perpetual miſery.

The Queen Mother, preſs'd by her natural affection, and blinded by the tranſports of her Paſſion, forbore to lay the fault upon her Sons diſtemper; but quarrell'd with the Phyſician, asking him how it came to paſs her Son was ſick, accus'd him of Treaſon or Ignorance, believing that ſince he was her Son's Phyſician, he was oblig'd to cure him. This made the Phyſician at his Wits end, ſo that all his Receipts failing him, he bethought himſelf of one that was peculiarly his own Invention, and which few Phyſicians would ever have found out, as not being to be met with neither in *Galen* nor *Hippocrates*. What does he then do, but out of an extraordinary fetch of his Wit, he begins to lay the fault upon the Stars, and the *Munſhi-Zumes*, or Kings Aſtrologers, crying out that they were altogether in the wrong. That if the King lay in a languiſhing condition, and could not recover his health, it was becauſe they had fail'd to obſerve the happy hour, or the Aſpect of a Fortunate Conſtellation at the Time of his Coronation. Which Fable was back'd by all the friends which the Phyſician had at Court; and beſides that, by one of the Kings Aſtrologers himſelf, call'd *Mirza Mougim*. For this perſon either out of Emulation, or for what other reaſon I know not, bearing a private grudge to the Prince of the Aſtrologers, whoſe buſineſs it was to obſerve the favourable Conjunction for the Coronation of the young Prince, and perceiving ſo fit an opportunity to diſcredit the Chief of the Aſtrologers, and advance his own Reputation, fail'd not to lay hold of it.

He therefore made it out, or at leaſt ſeem'd to make it plain by long diſputes full of Aſtrological Reaſons, in all the chief Aſſemblies of the chief Courtiers, that the Moment deſign'd for the Coronation of the King ſignifi'd nothing; and afterwards by Arguments as ſtrong as the firſt, he labour'd to prove that the defect of the Kings health proceeded from his Coronation which had been ſolemniz'd under an Inauſpicious Aſpect.

The firſt that gave credit to his idle ſtories were the Mother and the Son; and the Women that were ſuffer'd to be near his Majeſty were of the ſame opinion likewiſe, that it was the fault

of the Star-Gazer, who had not taken notice that the Aſpect was not favourable at that time. The Eunuchs alſo were drawn into the ſame belief, and the Courtiers who are ſtill ready to comply with the moſt extravagant Propoſals, to pleaſe their Maſter, declar'd no leſs. In ſhort the Phyſician got the day, and by this Chimera ſav'd his Credit and his Eſtate.

'Twas in vain for the Aſtrologer, by the moſt convincing Arguments he could alledge, to maintain the contrary. No body gave ear to him; ſo that he was conſtrain'd, for fear of running himſelf into farther danger, not only to hold his peace, but at length to applaud the Sentence pronounc'd againſt him.

Therefore there was nothing now to be done but to repair a pretended defect, and to ſeek out proper remedies for the miſtake: nor could they find any other Expedient but to proceed to a ſecond Coronation of the King, as if he had never been Crown'd before. It was reſolv'd alſo at the ſame time, that his Majeſty ſhould quit the name of *Sophie*, as carrying in it ſomewhat I know not what of unfortunate; and that he ſhould make choice of another. They gave his Majeſty therefore to underſtand, that the beginning of his Grandfathers Reign had been accompani'd with the ſame accidents as his own. That there was a great ſcarcity of Proviſion in *Iſpahan*; that the Turks had declar'd War againſt him, and that he had never enjoy'd a perfect health.

Theſe two things being thus reſolv'd, the next thing was to pitch upon the day. Upon this Point there was a long deliberation, and many Conteſts about it. The Aſtrologers were conſulted: and at length after many Conſultations and ſerious Enquiries, they agreed that the happy Hour which was to be attended by ſo many fortunate Events, would be toward the time of the year that the Sun enter'd the *Ram*: which according to our account was *Tueſday* the twentieth of *March*, about nine in the Morning.

At for this ſecond Coronation, in regard it vari'd little or nothing from the former, it will be needleſs to make a ſecond deſcription of it: All the difference was, that this ſecond Coronation was ſolemniz'd in the great Hall, call'd *Tſhehel Setoon*, or *the Hall with forty Pillars*. Which is that Magnificent Apartment, the moſt ſtately in all the Royal Palace, by us deſcrib'd with all poſſible exactneſs in our deſcription of *Iſpahan*. There the whole Court met at the time prefix'd, the Aſtrologers with all the Pomp that ſuch a glorious C[illegible] requir'd. All the

the Grandees of the Court who had the priviledge of ſitting before the King, plac'd themſelves upon the Right hand. The two Pontiffs, the moſt eminent Interpreters of the *Alcoran*, and all the Tribe of *Molla's* ſtood upon the Left. When all the Court was ſate, and that there was no body elſe to come, every one obſerving a profound ſilence, the King enter'd from the farther part of the Hall, and ſate down: In a ſhort time after, upon a a ſignal given, they all roſe; and then the Ceremony it ſelf was perform'd as before related. *Mahamed-Baquer-Coraſſui* made the Sermon of four parts, and the *Kothè* the Prayer, at the end of which, exalting his Voice, he gave the Prince a new Name, which was that of *Soleimaan*. Which name being once pronounc'd, every one, as at the firſt Ceremony, gave their *Intſh-Alla*, *ſo God grant it*; and may this Prince ſurpaſs in glory and happineſs the wiſe Prince who was the firſt that bore the Name. For *Soleimaan* ſignifies the ſame thing as *Salomon*; in the Hebrew; from whence it was queſtionleſs deriv'd. *Solem* in that Language ſignifies peace, from whence the *Arabs* derive their *Selim*, which ſignifies *Affable*, *Courteous*, *Peaceable*; and perhaps the name of that famous Legiſlator among the *Athenians*, *Solon*, might have the ſame Etymology. And then the Hebrew *Salomon*, the Perſian *Soleimaan*, the Turkiſh and Arabian *Selim*, and the Grecian *Solon* will come to be one and the ſame Name.

The Doctor compos'd that Prayer with all the Eloquence he was Maſter of: which done, every one went to kiſs his Majeſties feet, and then return'd to their places. Where all the Court ſtaid till it was Noon, and where they were ſerv'd with a Collation of Sweet-meats, but no meat, by reaſon of the Kings ſickneſs. And by and by the Loud Muſick from the Royal Palace proclaim'd to the whole City the News of the Ceremony. All the reſt of the day was ſpent in Paſtimes and publick Shews: and at night Lights were kept burning till Morning, and the Shops order'd to be kept open, for the People to walk the Streets as at Noon day.

At the ſame time all the Seals and all the Money Stamps were broken, and others made with the new name of *Soleimaan*: and in the ſpace of twenty four Hours ſome thouſands of new Crowns were diſpers'd abroad. Moreover, to inform all the Provinces of this new Coronation, a Commiſſion was given to *Mahamed-Salek* the Kings Aſtrologer, Brother to the Chief Aſtrologer, and Head of the Society, to write to all the Officers of *Perſia*, and all that had any Employment or Command in the

the Empire, and give 'em an account of the reaſon why his Majeſty had chang'd his Name: That for the future they were to acknowledge King *Soleimaan* for Sovereign Monarch of *Perſia*; and that they were not any more to write to his Majeſty but only by that Name; that in all their Provinces they were to eraſe the Name of *Sephie* whereever they met with it, as an Ominous Name, that portended nothing but misfortune to the King, and Kingdom. Nor was *Mahamed-Saleh* diſſatisfi'd in the leaſt with this Commiſſion: For the Grandees and Officers, and in a word, all thoſe to whom he directed his Letters, were oblig'd to ſend him ſome conſiderable Preſent, every one according to his Quality, for the *Mouſhtelog*, or good News which they had receiv'd.

Royal Habits alſo were ſent preſently after the Coronation to the Governours, Lieutenants, and Collectors of the Publick Receipts, and all other Perſons of Quality in all the ſeveral Provinces. With Patents and Commands in the Name of *Soleimaan*, as if a New King had aſcended the Throne: ſo ſtrangely had a fooliſh and ſuperſtitious Fancy poſſeſs'd the mind of this Monarch and his Counſellours. Not but that 'tis very probable they acted meerly out of Complaiſance. For they were too wiſe in my opinion, ſeriouſly to appear in an Action ſo fantaſtick and extravagant, and which a man ſhall hardly meet with the like in any other Hiſtory.

However his Majeſty, ſo ſoon as the Ceremony was over, fancy'd the recovery of his Health; and whether it were that Opinion contributed to his Imagination, certain it was that the Phyſick which his Majeſty took had ſome good Effect, and the King grew better; but the Kingdom had no advantage by it. On the contrary, the news of Wars arriv'd at *Iſpahan* from all Parts, augmenting the Terrour, with which that dreadful Comet, that year appearing, had poſſeſs'd their Minds.

That great and remarkable Comet, which was ſeen almoſt over all the earth, appear'd alſo at that time in *Perſia*. The Aſtrologers call'd it *Niazouk*, or the *Little Lance*, as reſembling that Figure. For the *Perſians* do not give to Comets, as we do, the name which is common to thoſe Meteors, but according to the Figure which they repreſent, as we have obſerv'd in its proper place. They affirm'd they never ſaw, nor ever had heard ſpeak of any one that ever was like it. The Head of it was hid in the Weſt, in ſuch a manner, that nothing of it could be perceiv'd in that Horizon. In our Treatiſe of the *Perſian* Aſtrology,

Aſtrology, we have given the deſcription of a Figure according to the obſervation made in the Capital City of the Province of *Perſia* the ſeventh of *March*, which was the ſecond day of its appearance. But we have not any where mention'd the Obſervation that was made of it at *Iſpahan*, for which reaſon I thought it would be ſomething to the purpoſe to ſpeak of it in this place.

The Obſervation then that was made of it in the Capital City of the Kingdom by the *Munſhiziims* or Kings Aſtrologers, the tenth of *May*, at ſeven of the Clock in the Evening was this. It appear'd in the Southern part, and follow'd the motion of the *Primum Mobile*, it extended in length 30 *deg.* 32. *min.* and almoſt of an equal breadth of 6 *deg.* The colour of it was inclining ſomewhat to yellow. The upper part of it advanc'd toward the Girdle of *Orion*, and the River *Eridanus*; in length from the *Ram* 72 *deg.* And its lower Extremity under the Whale, or the *winding* of *Eridanus*, where it extended in length 41 *deg.* 30 *min.* and in breadth 6 *deg.*

All the *Perſian* Aſtrologers declar'd in their *Takuims* or Almanacks, which are properly the *Ephemerides* of the preſent Year, ſpeaking of this Meteor, that it ſignifi'd nothing but Wars, Murders, Seditions, Conflagrations, dangerous Diſeaſes, overturning of Kingdoms and States, and, in a word, all manner of Calamities. But they fix'd all theſe dreadful Effects far off from *Perſia*, upon the *Sunnis* or *Turks*, and *Kafers*, which is a name that they give to Idolaters, among whom, according to their belief, they eſteem us Chriſtians to be the chief. But Time, who is the Maſter Aſtrologer, has made it appear to the *Perſians* that theſe ſcourges were as well prepar'd for themſelves: For what has happen'd this year in that Kingdom has given 'em to underſtand that they are the Perſons that muſt be ſmitten with this *Cudgel*: and that the *Little Lance* (for both theſe names they gave that Comet) will as ſeverely gore their ſides, and that a good ſhare of ſo many ſad Influences will fall upon the Dominions of the *Perſian* Empire, as well as in other places. The Governour of *Kandaar* was one of the firſt who felt the fatal Influences of this Comet by his fall and death, which happen'd at the ſame time upon this occaſion. For the better underſtanding of which we muſt go back to the Story of his Life, where we left off, to bring him in a few words to his End.

We left him going to *Kandaar* with his Recruits; where ſo ſoon as he arriv'd, he found no likelihood of any War. Nor indeed

indeed did he expect any ſuch thing: only he himſelf had caus'd the Rumour to be ſpread abroad to obtain the Government; and to diſincumber himſelf from thoſe Troubles which his turbulent and wicked Conduct had drawn upon himſelf. But no ſooner was he arriv'd in that City but he began to appear in his own Colours, not ſo much by ſecret contrivance, but openly and with a lofty pride acting a Petty Sovereign, and aſſuming abſolute Dominion, taking away by force Virgins from their Parents, Married women from their Husbands to repleniſh his Palace; obſerving no meaſure, but uſing as his Slaves and Footmen the *Sultoons*, or inferiour Governours, the *Royal Farmers*, and meaner Officers, pillaging and plundering where ever there was any thing to be got. In a word, his Tyranny grew to that extremity, that in all that ſpacious Province there was not any body that was not in an extraordinary Conſternation: for without any form of Proceeding, he put to death whomever he thought good, according as his fury or his intereſt inſpir'd him. Of theſe things Complaints were ſent to the Court, and the Cries of that infinite number which he had render'd miſerable were ſo loud, that they reach'd the Kings Ears. Which the Governours Enemies had ſo much the fairer opportunity to improve, conſidering how the Clamours againſt his exorbitances dayly increas'd. Thereupon his Kindred and thoſe few friends he had left at Court ſent him word, that his Affairs were but in a bad condition, his proceedings being highly reſented by his Majeſty, and that unleſs he look'd carefully to himſelf, ſome miſchievous Backſtroke of Fortune threaten'd him. But he took little notice of this good advice; believing himſelf ſo well aſſur'd of his Princes favour; and therefore thinking himſelf proof againſt all the moſt Potent Accuſations, he never alter'd his Conduct, but rather grew more haughty and diſorderly.

The *Kaan* Governor who had been diſplac'd to make way for him, was then at Court; however by the means of his friends he fail'd not to have a ſtrict eye upon all his Actions; nor were they leſs diligent to conveigh the complaints of the afflicted to the Kings Ear. So that at length all his Crimes were heap'd together; but while the King was wavering, whether to diſgrace him and caſt him from his favour or not, he committed a new Act of Violence, which added a moſt terrible weight to the foregoing Accuſations.

Between the Kingdom of *Kackmir*, and the Province of *Kandaar*, lie a certain People call'd *Bolluki*, who extend themſelves into

into *India* on that ſide; which Country is Govern'd by their own Native Princes; only thoſe that are next neighbours to *Perſia*, acknowledge the King and are his Tributaries. One of thoſe Princes had a very lovely Daughter of whom the Governor of *Kandaar* had heard a great Report, and therefore paſſionately deſired her for one of his Wives. To which purpoſe he ſends to demand her of the Prince her Father; who refus'd his Motion: The inamour'd Governor, not ſo diſcourag'd, ſent again, and receives a ſecond denial, he ſends nevertheleſs a third time, but to as little purpoſe, for that the *Bolluki* never intermix alliances but one with another. Upon this the Governor diſſembling his Indignation, always profeſs'd a great friendſhip for him, and invited him one day to a ſumptuous Feaſt at *Kandaar*. The Prince miſtruſting nothing came to the Entertainment; but when the Governor had him in his Clutches, he caus'd his head to be cut off. Upon which, the Prince's Attendants when they underſtood of his Death, diſdaining ſo foul a piece of Villany, all enrag'd fell upon the Governors Guard, between whom and the Strangers there happen'd a bloody Combat, wherein three hundred *Perſians* were ſlain upon the place, and between ſeven and eight hundred of the others.

This made ſuch a noiſe that the King began to ſhew himſelf highly offended. Nor would the Governors Enemies omit ſo fair an opportunity; believing now his Majeſty would ſuffer 'em to ſay any thing againſt a man that gave him ſo much occaſion of inward diſturbance, ſo that they eaſily perſwaded him to revoke the permiſſion he had given him to come to Court when he pleaſed himſelf. The pretence of which Revocation was grounded upon this, that it was a thing which had never been accuſtomed to be done, and which might in the end produce dangerous Conſequences: and they thought they had gone a great way in gaining that point. For they were afraid, leſt if the Governor had free acceſs to Court he ſhould regain by his Preſence, the Kings Favour; which ſeem'd no difficult thing for him to do, who had the art ſo well to counterfeit his paſſionate affection for the Kings Intereſt: and for that the King when the Governor was ready to depart for *Kandaar*, had teſtify'd his Sorrow to part with him, at what time he thus expreſs'd himſelf: *Tho thou go'ſt to* Kandaar, *thou ſhalt be never a jot the leſs my Favourite, and thou ſhalt return to my Court whenever thou think'ſt it convenient.* Which was the reaſon of his giving him Letters of Licence to come when he pleas'd to Court without expecting any new Orders.

The Governor receiv'd the revocation of that Favour, and at the ſame time other Letters from his Brother, and the reſt of his Friends, adviſing him to be careful in his Conduct; that his Fortune totter'd, and was within a little of falling altogether; and that his Enemies had made great advantage of the opportunities he had given 'em.

Upon this News he took a courſe which he thought ſo much the more worthy of himſelf, by how much it appear'd to him to be equally prudent and daring; tho by the event it prov'd no leſs fatal than raſh. He aſſur'd himſelf that ſo ſoon as he ſhould but ſee the King, he ſhould ſet all things right again: that he ſhould regain his firſt Favour, and ſcatter the Faction of his Enemies. And therefore without ever Petitioning for any new Order or expecting any Command, nay, againſt the very Command which he had receiv'd expreſly forbidding his coming to Court, he takes Horſe, and in nine days arrives at *Iſpahan*.

The ſpeed that was made in this Journey was diſcourſed of at *Iſpahan*, as of a thing altogether extraordinary and which was never done before. For of theſe nine days one muſt be deducted that he ſtaid to reſt himſelf in a Garden about a hundred and fifty Leagues from *Iſpahan*. So that in ſome eight days he rode as much ground as uſually takes up three Months ordinary Travelling from *Kandaar* to *Iſpahan*, that is to ſay, three hundred and fifty *Perſian* Leagues, which are more then four hundred and fifty French Leagues.

However he did not enter the City, but went to a Garden near the *Tokſhi* which is one of the Gates of the City, from whence according to Cuſtom he ſent to give notice to the King, *that the Governor of* Kandaar *his Slave, attended till his Majeſty ſhould grant him the favour to come and kiſs his feet.* By which action he thought to have carry'd the day from his Enemies, and to have regain'd the Kings Affection.

The King was then in the Womens Palace, where the Eunuchs were charged to carry him the news. Which Charge the High Chamberlain and the Princeſſes High Steward (thoſe potent Eunuchs whom he had endeavor'd to ſet together by the ears by his cunning contrivances of falſe reports) undertook upon themſelves, and taking their time to enjoy that revenge which they had prepar'd in their hearts, with an aſtoniſhment in their faces, ſo much the greater becauſe affected, they tell the King of the Governors arrival, adding withal, *That they could not tell how that Action of the Governor might be interpreted, but to come not only without permiſſion, but contrary to a poſitive inhibition to quit his new Government,*

could

could not but be a heinous contempt of his Majeſty, and a manifeſt Rebellion; that ſince the firſt foundation of the Perſian *Empire, never any Governor durſt be ſo bold as to quit his Government and come of his own head, and out of his own humour to the King.* In a word they repreſented this Order ſo foul to the King, that he ſent to the Governor of *Kandaar*, to go and ſurrender himſelf into the Cuſtody of *Ogourlon Kan* Grand Porter; and to him he ſent orders to put him into the *Krondouſhake*, which is a little Woodden Engine that Pillories the neck, and faſtens the right Arm of the Priſoner to his Girdle, ſo that he has no way to help himſelf with that hand, which is the way to ſecure the perſons of Grandees that are look'd upon as Criminals.

Thus he remain'd three days in the Captain of the Royal Gate's Houſe. All which time the poor Governor conjur'd Heaven and Earth; beſought of God and Man that he might only be permitted to ſee the King; aſſuring himſelf that with one ſingle word he ſhould be able to ruine thoſe that had determin'd his deſtruction. But they who fear'd no leſs, and dreaded that permiſſion, labour'd their utmoſt to prevent it, and ſought by all ways to exaſperate the Kings anger already kindl'd againſt him. For as the Governor thought it a knack of State to be permitted to ſee the King; ſo on the other ſide, his Enemies deem'd it no leſs a piece of State-policy to prevent that honour from being granted him.

In the mean time the *Chief Porter* being gain'd by the Governors moans and entreaties, the third day of his impriſonment carry'd him with the woodden Pillory to the great Portal of the Palace that looks towards the Royal Piazza, and there leaving him in the hands of his Servants, went to his Majeſty and told him, *That the Governor of* Kandaar, *had as it were forc'd him by his moans and intreaties to bring him to the Kings Gate: and that the poor Lord was there, waiting for the favour to be admitted to kiſs his Majeſties feet.* But then the Enemies of that unfortunate Lord, who were in no ſmall number about the King, renew'd their Accuſations, and took the more boldneſs, in regard the King was no way unwilling to hear their complaints. Every one aggravated what he knew the Offender to have moſt criminally committed: But above all his Predeceſſor in the Government of *Kandaar*, who the day before and that very day had caus'd above three hundred Petitions to be Preſented againſt him by ſeveral Perſons of the ſame Province, that demanded Juſtice.

Thus his Enemies became too powerful for him, ſo that after an hours deliberation, the King commanded the *Chief*

Porter to go and rip up his Guts. Preſently the *Lord* haſten'd to obey the King's Orders, and as far off as he could ſee the Gate he cries *Vour*, that is to ſay, *ſtrike*; which is the Signal of death. Immediately the next Officer that heard the word, gives him a kick with his Foot upon the Stomach, and threw him out of the Portal into the *Royal Piazza*. There with his Sword he gives him two great Gaſhes upon one ſide of his Neck: but in regard his head did not tumble as yet, another drew his Dagger, and ſtabb'd him under the Ribs into the ſmall Guts, and thus he expir'd weltring in his Blood, which ſtream'd from him in a prodigious quantity, as being a very Sanguine Perſon.

Now in the midſt of the Royal Piazza, over againſt the great Portal of the Palace is ſet up a large May-pole of an extraordinary height, on the top of which upon ſolemn Feſtivals and days of publick rejoycing is fix'd a Cup of Gold, which is a Prize to be won by the firſt among the Horſemen that can ſhoot it down with his Bow and Arrows upon a full Gallop: and upon the top of this Maypole it was, that the head of this great Perſonage was ſet up by the Kings order, the reaſon of which was, as the *Perſians* ſaid that paſs'd along, to the end his malicious Tongue might not be able at ſo great a diſtance to ſow Diſcord and Diſſenſion.

This was the end of *Gemſhid-Kaan*, who indeed did no way merit a better Fate: for there was not any body that piti'd his fall; or rather, there was not any body that did not load him with Curſes: ſo that his Body lay two days in the publick *Piazza*, before his Majeſty gave permiſſion for its Interment.

He was of a goodly ſtature and proportion; had a noble aſpect, and the Port of a Perſon of Quality; his Countenance very pleaſing and winning at firſt ſight; beſides that a vaſt Courage, and profuſe munificence accompany'd theſe outward Graces of the Body. But ſetting aſide theſe two Qualities of his Soul that were laudable, the reſt were all as venomous and tainted as theſe were Eminent.

Four days after this Execution, the Commiſſion for Governor of *Kandaar* was ſent to *Mahammed-Kouli-Kaan*, that is to ſay, the *Lord Slave of Mahamed*. This Lord had been thirteen years a Priſoner, Baniſh'd to *Casbin* by *Habas* II. Of which this was the true Cauſe.

Habas II. being one day abroad with his Women, this Lord, before he was aware was got within the limits that are prohibited to men; where the Guard of the *Couronk* perceiving him fell upon him, and Baſtinado'd him moſt ſeverely. * Some days after,

ter, ſo ſoon as he was able to go, he went to the Palace where the King was ſitting in the publick Aſſembly, where taking the King aſide, with a reſolv'd Countenance, *Did I not ſee thee*, ſaid he, *with this Heron Tuft upon thy Head, and obſerve the great Honour which the Grandees pay thee, there is nothing that I ſhould take thee for leſs than the King of* Perſia. *By the name of God does it become thee to run a rambling over theſe Mountains with a Covey of Women, and at the ſame time cauſe the Lords of thy Kingdom to have their bones broken with ignominious Baſtinadoes?*

The King heard this Reprimand without ſeeming to be any way diſturb'd; only in a careleſs manner order'd an addition of Baſtinadoes to be given him beſides thoſe of which he already complain'd. Upon which, Generous and Couragious as he was, loſing all manner of Patience, he draws his Sword, and throwing himſelf at the Kings feet, *Let 'em*, ſaid he, "Baſtinado me again, here "is my Sword to puniſh my ſelf; your Majeſty may do with "me what you pleaſe, and put me to what Torments you think "fit; but if a Perſon of my Quality muſt be ſubject to Baſtina-"does, what muſt a poor *Keſt-Baſh* expect (for ſo they call the Souldiers that compoſe the *Perſian* Militia.) The Monarch pleaſed with this generous Repartee, would neither Sentence him to Death as he deſerv'd by the Laws of the Kingdom, nor to the Cudgel; but only Baniſh'd him to *Casbin*.

But he was joyfully ſurpris'd when he receiv'd the Patent for a Government, which not only reſtor'd him to his Liberty, but at the ſame time conferr'd upon him one of the moſt important employments in the Kingdom. I confeſs I know not what may be thought of ſuch Politicks as theſe, as hunt in Jails for men of Merit, to advance the diſoblig'd by long Impriſonment to the moſt conſiderable places of Truſt in the Kingdom, and to commit to his care a Province and ſtrong Hold which on that ſide the Country may be ſaid to be the Key of the Kingdom. Of neceſſity the King muſt be ſtrangely aſſur'd of the fidelity of his Subjects. For there is no queſtion to be made, but that if a Governor of *Kandaar* will call in the *Indian*, and ſell him that Place, but that he may have ſeveral Millions of Money for his Service, and have what advancement he pleaſes himſelf in that Empire, as is apparent by one Example in the time of *Sephi* I.

During theſe Revolutions in the Court of *Perſia*, four Commiſſioners arriv'd from the *Muſcovite Coſaques*, who but two Months before had made a moſt furious Inrode into *Perſia* on that ſide where *Hyrcania* lies, upon the Shore of the *Caſpian* Sea. But before

fore we ſpeak of the Invaſion it will be neceſſary to tell the Reaſon.

In the year 1664. according to our account there arriv'd at *Iſpahan* a famous Embaſſie from *Muſcovie*, wherein two Embaſſadors were concern'd, with a Train of about eight hundred Men; and the Preſents which they made the King were valu'd by appraiſment at five thouſand *Tomans* or ſeventeen thouſand five hundred pounds Sterling.

They conſiſted of two Coaches enrich'd with moſt ſumptuous Embroideries, *Flanders* Horſes, and Beaſts of their own Country, as black Foxes, white Bears and Doynes. But the chiefeſt wealth of the Preſent lay in the prodigious quantity of Sables which the *Perſians* call *Samur*. Theſe Embaſſadors as it was believ'd came only to Traffick, and to have permiſſion by vertue of their Title of Embaſſadors to import and export what Goods they pleas'd without paying Cuſtom. And indeed 'twas thought that they ſold in Sables only at *Iſpahan* as many as came to 280000 *l. Ster.* by which you may judge of the reſt. Nevertheleſs the King of *Perſia* entertain'd 'em very civilly at firſt, and allow'd 'em their expences which was tax'd at ten *Tomans* or 35 *l.* Sterling *per* day, which they rather choſe to take in Money than in Victuals, to the end they might lay up the beſt part. To which purpoſe they liv'd moſt wretchedly; and in the Magnificent Palace which the King had aſſign'd 'em they laid their tails among the Coſtly Moveables, wherewith it was furniſh'd, like ſo many Dogs. For which reaſon the *Perſians* look'd upon the *Moſcovites* as the moſt paltry narrow-ſoul'd, and infamous among all the Chriſtians; and in deriſion call 'em the *Yusbeks* of *Europe*, thereby expreſſing the ſmall eſteem they have of 'em; for the *Yusbeks* are the moſt abject People of all the *Eaſt*.

The King therefore diſdaining the Infamy of theſe Ambaſſadors, and ſeeing that indeed they were ſent by their Maſter for no other reaſon then to Traffick, to ſell their Furs and other Commodities, and to carry away Stuffs, Leather, and other ſuch like Merchandizes out of *Perſia*, but eſpecially Mony, abus'd 'em at length and made little account of 'em. One of 'em dy'd, and the other return'd home with his tatter'd Train without any honour ſhewn him, or hardly any anſwer given him.

The Grand *Duke* highly reſented this Affront, but diſſembl'd his Choler for the preſent, in regard he durſt not meddle with *Habas*: but underſtanding at the beginning of the Year 1665. that he was dead, and that the Scepter of *Perſia* was fall'n into the Hands of a Young Prince, he reſolv'd to take his revenge; tho he were unwil-

unwilling to enter into open and declar'd Hoſtility; and therefore that he might ſtrike and not be ſeen, he incites and encourages the *Coſſacks* next adjoyning to the black Sea; orders 'em to march along the Lake *Mœotis*, and ſo to fall into *Perſia* upon *Hircania* ſide, with this Caution that they ſhould take care how they mention'd him, or acknowledg'd that they had any Correſpondence with him, but only that they had undertaken the Enterprize upon their own Heads: which is no more than what was reported and believ'd at the Court of *Perſia*.

The *Coſſacks* were eaſily perſuaded, and therefore embarking to the number of ſix thouſand in forty large Barques, ſuch as uſe the *Caſpian* Sea (which are long and broad Veſſels, but ſhallow built to avoid the Rocks that lie two or three foot under water) and in each Barque carrying two Pieces of *Cannon*, they caſt Anchor firſt near *Ereck*, a ſmall City upon the Borders of *Guilan* or *Hircania*, where they landed to the number of four thouſand, and finding the Place without Soldiers, and the Inhabitants no way prepar'd for defence, they pillage and plunder it, and after a great ſlaughter of both Sexes retreat in great haſt with all their Booty to their Veſſels, that lay out at Sea as far as they could for fear of being diſcover'd.

Moreover, for the more crafty management of their Game they ſent four of their chief Heads, in the Nature of Embaſſadours with Letters of Credence to the Court, and the Governour of *Shamaky* order'd his People to convey 'em to *Iſpahan*, where they arriv'd ſoon after the news of their Irruption. They were civilly entertain'd, a Lodging was aſſign'd 'em, and their Expences defray'd as is uſual for other Embaſſadours. Soon after they demanded Audience of the King, but that was deni'd 'em, becauſe they were not of ſufficient Quality to claim that Honour. However it was concluded that the Prime Miniſter ſhould grant 'em Audience, which they accepted. There they ſet forth, "That they were "Commiſſioners ſent by ſix thouſand of the *Coſſacks*, that lay at "Anchor in the *Caſpian* Sea; that in truth they were formerly "ſubject to the Empire of the *Muſcovites*, but that being wea-"ried by the oppreſſion which they endur'd there, they had "reſolv'd to fly their Country with their Wives and Children: "and whatever elſe of their Goods they could carry along with "'em. That after they had debated whither to fly for ſafety "and protection, *Perſia* was the Place that they had pitch'd "upon, as being a Monarchy that lov'd Juſtice, and was kind "to her Slaves. For which reaſon they had concluded to offer "their ſervice to his Majeſty, and therefore they were departed

"from

" from *Sha-Seven*, for love of the King, and now they hop'd " from the Generoſity of ſo great a Monarch, that he would " liſten to their Petitions, afford 'em a Sanctuary, and aſſign 'em " Lands for their Habitation.

This ſaid, they preſented their Letters of Credence; which the *Perſians* could never uncypher, tho they made uſe of all the moſt cunning and learned Interpreters as well of their own Nation, as of *Europeans*, that were found at *Iſpahan*.

The Chief Miniſter thus diſappointed, made his laſt trial upon a Capuchin, who for twenty years together had been ſtill employ'd by the Miniſters of State of that Kingdom. It happen'd alſo when the Paper was brought him, that the Sieur *Herbert d' Jager* was with him; a Chief of the Dutch Factory at *Iſpahan*. He was a perſon that for the underſtanding of Languages had few that might compare with him: for beſides that he perfectly underſtood all that are at preſent ſpoken in the *Eaſt*; he is alſo well skill'd in the Ancient and Vulgar Greek, the Syriac, and the Hebrew.

They could hardly have met with perſons more able to have diſſipated theſe Clouds; nevertheleſs they could do nothing; They were Greek Letters, they ſaid, for the moſt part intermix'd with other unknown Characters, of which ſome were ſomewhat like the *Syriac*: They read ſome words here and there, but in regard they could find no Connexion of ſenſe, they durſt not be certain whether they read right or no. So that they were conſtrain'd to ſend the Writing back to the firſt Miniſter; the Superiour of the Capuchins giving him this farther account by the Meſſenger, that it was a half *Ruſſian*, half *Caſaque* writing, that he could not uncypher.

They were therefore forc'd to give credit to what the Commiſſioners had told 'em by word of mouth; which was always the ſame thing that they had ſaid at firſt. To which the Prime Miniſter anſwered: " If what you aſſure us be true, that you " are come to be our Gueſts, and to ſurrender your ſelves Slaves " to his Majeſty, wherefore do you enter *Perſia* with your " Swords in your hands? Why have you maſſacr'd our Subjects, " laid waſt our Cities, and pillag'd our Territories?

The *Coſaques* repli'd in juſtification of themſelves that they had been forc'd to do it; for that when they came civilly to deſire proviſion for their money, the People of the City forgetful of the Laws of Hoſpitality, and that Commiſeration which is due to ſtrangers, fell upon 'em, and miſus'd 'em; and therefore the neceſſity of ſelf-defence ought to juſtifie the *Coſacques* for endeavouring

endeavouring to obtain that by force, which they could not get by fair means.

At the ſame time that they were thus treating with theſe Commiſſioners, arriv'd an Envoy from *Orous*, that is to ſay, the great Duke of *Muſcovy* (which name I think the *Perſians* give him, becauſe that *Ruſſia* makes a part of his Dominions) which Envoy preſented Letters from the grand Duke to the King of *Perſia* to this Effect, "That whereas he underſtood "that a certain number of *Coſaques* being his Subjects, had "quitted their Habitations, on purpoſe to withdraw them-"ſelves from his Obedience, and ſought for Protection in *Per-*"*ſia*, he deſir'd his Majeſty not to receive 'em, nor to give any "credit to their Propoſitions; That they were Rebels and Fu-"gitives who would never be true to any other, ſince they had "been falſe to their Prince; and that he was ordering Forces to "reduce 'em to their former Obedience.

But if the *Muſcovite* Prince advis'd the *Perſians* not to believe the *Coſaques*, they were ſufficiently aſſur'd, that they were not to give credit to him; for that the Court were all along of Opinion that he held a correſpondence with thoſe Boot-halers the *Coſaques*. And the reaſon upon which they grounded their belief was probable enough. For how is it poſſible elſe ſaid the Politicians, that five or ſix thouſand Fugitives ſhould come into a Country, with forty Barks, and four and twenty Pieces of Artillery, provided with all ſorts of Ammunition and Proviſion? Is it not eaſie to ſee that it is the Grand Duke that ſends 'em, to revenge the Affronts, which he is made believe his Embaſſadours receiv'd?

And as the Grand Duke of *Muſcovie's* Agent could not infuſe a good opinion of his Maſter into the Court of *Perſia*, ſo neither could the *Baſha* of *Bazra's* Envoy prevail in behalf of his. It has been ſaid, how that *Baſha* had made an Accommodation with the General of the *Ottoman* Army the laſt year, and that he had ſent his Son-in-law to *Conſtantinople* for a Ratification of the Agreement. But when he came there, the Miniſters of the Port made him Anſwer, that the General of the Army had treated with the *Baſha* without their Order, and that they would by no means hear of that Agreement, for that the Place muſt abſolutely be ſurrender'd into the Grand Signior's hands. Whereupon they offer'd the *Baſha's* Son-in-law, that if he would contribute to the reducing that place, he ſhould be made Goverour or *Baſha* of the Territory; and manag'd him ſo well, that at laſt he conſented, and promis'd to make 'em Maſters of

it. After this, the Miniſters diſpatch to the ſame Generals new Orders to return with their Forces to the Siege of *Baſra*; ſharply rebuke the *Baſha* of *Babylon* for having been ſo remiſs in that Affair; That the pretended agreement was to the prejudice and diſhonour of the Empire; that he ſhould repair the fault he had commited; and that they would make him General a ſecond time, provided he would take the City by force, or conſtrain it to a ſurrender, and that when he had reduc'd it, he ſhould conſtitute for Governour *Hiatria Baſha*, the Son-in-law of the *Baſha* of *Baſra* himſelf.

The *Baſha* of *Baſra*, when he heard theſe Tidings was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the Treachery of his Son-in-law, and ſet himſelf to conſider which way to divert his terrible ſtorm that threaten'd him. And therefore perceiving in the Spring, that the Turkiſh Armies were preparing to thunder in upon him the next *September* or *October* (for the heat of thoſe Climates will not permit 'em to take the Field ſooner) he ſent beforehand to offer his Territory to the King of *Perſia*, upon ſuch condition as he pleas'd himſelf, provided he might have the Command of it during his own Life. The Council of *Perſia* knew the Importance of that place; they ſaw how prejudicial it would be to *Perſia*, if it ſhould fall into the hands of the Turks, and how advantageous it would be to themſelves to be Maſters of it. So that at another time, and under another Prince, they would willingly have embrac'd ſuch a Propoſal; but they were afraid to provoke that Bugbear of the Univerſe, that Pannic Terrour of the Earth, conſidering the weak Eſtate of the Empire under a Prince effeminated by Pleaſures, and whoſe Age as well as his Humour render'd him uncapable to undertake great Actions. Therefore they gave no Poſitive Anſwer to the Envoy from *Baſra*, but put him off from day to day, and aſſur'd him they would take him into their Conſideration, and all to gain time, for they were unwilling to ſay we dare not, nor we cannot do it.

While theſe things were tranſacted in Council, they were conſulting at Court the recalling of *Boudak Sultaan* General of the Muſquetteers. For this ſame Lord as well as the reſt whom we have diſcours'd of, in the time of his being a Favourite had abus'd his Power, by which means he had rais'd himſelf many enemies, whoſe number daily increas'd. At firſt they began to frame Complaints againſt him, ſo that his Authority began to leſſen by degrees, and his Prince's affection began to wax cold. Which made him fear the ſame ill fortune as had befaln *Gemſhid Kaan*,

Governor

Governor of *Kandaar*, and therefore he would not carry things with a high hand, as that Grandee had done, but before the Miſchief was paſt cure, he began to think which way he might retire ſilently and without any notice taken, to diſcharge himſelf of that Envy, which the luſtre of his good Fortune had brought upon him.

The principal occaſion of his loſing his Maſters Favour was this. To the Eaſt of *Iſpahan*, and near adjoyning to his Territory lyes the Province of *Lour-Eſtom*, which is held to be a part of ancient *Parthia*, extending on *Arabia*'s ſide toward *Baſra*. The People that Inhabit it, never mind the building of Cities, nor have any ſettl'd Abodes, but live in Tents, for the moſt part feeding their Flocks and their Heards, of which they have an infinite number. They are Govern'd by a *Kaan* who is ſet over 'em by the King of *Perſia* but choſen from among themſelves: and for the moſt part all of the ſame Race, the Father Succeeding the Son. So that there ſtill remains among them ſome ſhadow of Liberty; however they pay both Tribute and Tenths. This Province furniſhes *Iſpahan* and the Neighbouring parts with Cattel; which is the reaſon that the Governor of theſe People is greatly reſpected in thoſe parts. *Soleiman* the third therefore at his coming to the Crown, commanded the General of the Muſquetteers to ſend Royal Habits and Commiſſions unto all the Grandees. But the General of the Muſquetteers having had ſome quarrel with this Governor who is call'd *Lour-Manouſhar Kaan*, neglected to do him that Honour, putting off his ſending the Kings Preſent to him till ſix Months after. The *Grandee* impatiently brook'd the contempt; and being ſufficiently convinc'd who was the occaſion of it, for madneſs he tore in pieces the Habit which was preſented him, ſaying withal, I value not the Habits, nor the Commiſſions which the King of *Perſia*'s General of the Muſquetteers ſends me.

His Majeſty knew nothing of this for a good while; the thing was conceal'd from him, for fear at the ſame time he ſhould have inform'd himſelf of the Cauſe. But the Prince himſelf inform'd the King; for ſome time after he deſir'd leave to come to Court and kiſs the Kings feet; which was granted him: He paid his Homage to his Majeſty, deliver'd him his Preſent which was very Magnificent, and afterwards made his Complement that the General of the Muſquetteers having by his order ſent Royal Habits to all the Grandees of *Perſia*, even to the meaneſt Officer, had omitted the ſending to him for ſeven or eight Months, and after all had ſent only by one of his Servants.

The King took it very ill, and declar'd to the General of the Muſquetteers, that his manner of proceeding did not pleaſe him. However his Majeſty would not ruine him altogether, having an eſteem for him as being the Perſon that had plac'd him upon the Throne. And therefore he ſpar'd him, as his Predeceſſors had always done, in being gentle to thoſe who brought 'em the firſt tydings of their advancement; for they never put 'em to death, as being ſatisfi'd with their diſgrace and misfortune.

The General of the muſquetteers was then at Court in this Condition of his Affairs; but he could not continue long in that poſture; when the death of one of his Relations, or at leaſt of one whom he ſo call'd gave him a fair opportunity to retire with Credit. This pretended kindſman of his was call'd *Abdal Bek* Chief Porter of the *Haram* or Palace of Women. The General therefore as ſoon as he heard of his death, preſented a Petition to the King, wherein he ſet forth, that *Abdal-Beck* was his kinſman, that the Imployment which he had executed had continu'd in their Family from time to time, as it were hereditary. Wherefore in conſideration that the deceas'd Officer had left no Sons to ſerve his Majeſty in ſuch a particular and ordinary Employment, he was willing to lay down his Commiſſion of General of the Muſquetteers, and his Right of ſitting before his Majeſty in publick Aſſemblies, and that he ſhould think himſelf more happy to be employ'd in keeping the Gate of his Majeſties Palace for the Women. The King, who for the reaſons already alledg'd ſtill preſerv'd ſome kind of Affection for him, granted his Requeſt. And it was then that he had conferr'd upon him the favour of keeping the Womens Palace-Gate, to ſhelter him from the Tempeſt that threatned him; and thus he deliver'd himſelf from the Intrigues of the Court.

This was he whom *Habas* II. had ſent Embaſſador to *Aureng Zeb*, King of the *Indies*, after he came to be in quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire. We ſhall in its proper place relate how he then carry'd himſelf, tho the famous *M. Bernier*, who was then at the Court, when this Embaſſador, appear'd there ſpeaks ſufficiently of it in his Works made publick to the World, to ſatisfie the Readers Curioſity.

Upon this *Sheik-Hali-Kaan* was recall'd from the War againſt the *Yusbeks*, where he Commanded as General, to be advanc'd to the Charge of General of the Muſquetteers, which was a Noble Employment, as well as to all the reſt to which he was afterwards rais'd. He is a Perſon of Courage, and an excellent Captain, one of thoſe old Heroes that rendred the Reign of *Habas*

the

the Great ſo Glorious and Triumphant. His Government of *Chaldea* was at the ſame time conferr'd upon one of his Sons *Soleimaan Kan*, who is a Noble-man of Merit and Courage, and worthy ſuch an Illuſtrious Father.

The Lightning of Royal diſfavour fell afterwards upon *Mirza-Sadec*, which name of *Sadek* in the Oriental Languages ſignifies *Juſt*, and is the ſame with *Sadoc* among the *Hebrews*. He was Brother to *Mirza-Ibraim* already mention'd, and worſe then he; *Vazier* or Farmer-Royal of *Fars* or the ancient *Perſia*. The Complaints of *Shiras* at length threw him out of this Employment. The People had for ſeveral years with hearty prayers to Heaven implor'd his Ruin, but could never obtain it: they clamour'd againſt his Robberies and Violences; whole crouds of Petitioners throng'd to Court with complaints againſt him; but his Preſents and his ſpecious Letters fruſtrated all their Attempts. Nay, one of the principal Occaſions of the *Dutch* Embaſſie in the year 1666. was to complain of his Vexations, and the ſtop which he gave to their Trade. All the World thought that ſuch a blow as that would have fetch'd his Head from his Shoulders; but he fended it off by the help of a Siſter which he had in the Womens Palace. So that he was diſcharg'd with only a ſevere Reprimand which was ſent him in a Patent of which the Dutch themſelves were the Meſſengers. At length this very year ſo many freſh complaints came againſt him, that he could find no more Evaſions, neither would his pretences avail any longer, though he ply'd the Court ſtill to the value of about thirty thouſand pound; which they took, but ſpar'd him never a whit the more. He was expell'd from his Employment and all his Goods Confiſcated. It was believ'd at Court that his Eſtate would have amounted to ſeveral hundred thouſand pounds, but they were amaz'd when they found that the Account roſe to no more then 80200 *l.* Sterling in Gold and Silver, which he had at home in his Coffers, ſix thouſand four hundred pound in Goods, Moveables, Horſes, Stuffs, Merchandize, and ſuch other like Furniture which was not for ordinary uſe. In his Treaſurers Coffers was found ſeven thouſand pound in Silver Money, and eight hundred ſeventy five pound in Duckats of Gold.

This crafty Lord long foreſaw what then befel him; and therefore he had convey'd away his Jewels, and what he had of moſt coſtly value, and the greateſt part of his ready Money; and had only left thoſe Sums at home to dazle the Eye, and make the Court believe it was his whole Eſtate. But no body could imagine it, and his Majeſty ſent into all Places belonging

ing to his Juriſdiction an expreſs Order to make diligent ſearch for all Goods and Money, or whatever elſe might be thought to belong to the Offender, and put forth a Proclamation for all to diſcover what they knew. The ſame was done at *Iſpahan*: but notwithſtanding all that extraordinary diligence there was no more diſcover'd then about ſixty thouſand Crowns; beſides Goods that were not moveable. The King left him all the Furniture of his Palace: nor did he meddle with his Wardrobe, nor with any thing that belong'd to his Women, nor with any thing that was for common uſe in his Offices and Stables. Beſide, he gave him liberty to enjoy a yearly Revenue of four thouſand pound Sterling to maintain him ſhut up in a Palace a little way diſtant from *Shiras*; whence he was not to ſtir himſelf; but might receive the Viſits of his Friends. His Children alſo were at the ſame time put out of Favour, and loſt their Employments.

After his Fall the King would not confer his Place upon any Lord, as being one of the moſt gainful Employments in *Perſia*, but ſent to a certain *Perſian* Lord of an ancient Family, who reſided at *Shiras*, whoſe name was *Sefie-Kouli-Sultaan* a ſhort Commiſſion, under the Title of *Governor pro tempore of the Province*, till he ſhould think fit to ſupply the Place other ways.

We have told ye how the greateſt part of thoſe that fell into diſgrace in the Reign of *Habas* II. return'd from their Exile, and were reſtor'd to favor, at the beginning of the new Reign. In the number of theſe was *Mirza Hadi* one of the moſt Learned Lords of *Perſia*, able to inſtruct whoever would be deſirous to know whatever is of choiceſt Secrecy in that Empire, whether as to the Situation of Places, as to Hiſtory or Politicks: and therefore it was that I endeavour'd to benefit by his friendſhip and diſcourſe. The Chief Miniſter to the deceas'd King made out the Proceſs againſt him, and had confin'd him to his Palace in *Iſpahan*; whence he never ſtirr'd, till after the death of that Monarch. And in regard he often frequented the Court, and was in great Reputation there, he was advanc'd to the Employment of Farmer-Royal of *Kirmaan* or *Caramania*.

There was alſo living in *Iſpahan*, ſome three years ſince, an ancient *Indian* Princeſs, who was there detain'd a Priſoner. She was Siſter to the laſt King of *Decan*, and was call'd by the name of *Saheb-Koud-ſhek*, that is to ſay in the *Perſian* of the *Indies*, the *Little Lady*; to denote a ſecond Princeſs, that has another above her. This Lady was retir'd to *Vijapour*, and toward the end of her days was deſirous to make a Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, carrying

carrying along with her an immenſe Treaſure. In purſuance of this Pilgrimage ſhe paſſed through *Perſia*. But *Habas* II. for reaſons that never were yet well underſtood, having her in his Power, would not permit her to go any farther, nor to return out of his Dominions, tho ſhe offer'd ſeveral times conſiderable Preſents to obtain that favour. The new Prince, and that year the New *Soleimaan*, did not ſhew himſelf ſo inſenſible of the Ladies Preſents, as his Father had done, but condeſcended to what ſhie deſir'd, and receiv'd from her a Treaſure of Jewels of an ineſtimable value.

For ſhe took her time one day that the King paſs'd by the Houſe where ſhe had been lodg'd, and went forth her ſelf with her Preſents and her Petition. She had alſo prepar'd a ſumptuous Banquet to be made ready in the Court that belong'd to the Houſe, and caus'd the Street to be ſpread with Cloth of Gold for the King to ride over; and as he rode along, her Officers came and threw under his Horſes feet whole handfuls of money both Gold and Silver, to the value of two thouſand Crowns. Which is a piece of Pomp and Grandeur practis'd in *Perſia*, when any one would honour the Prince after a more ſplendid and obliging manner.

Toward the end of the year 1668. arriv'd in *Perſia* a new *Miſſion* of *Italian Capuchins*, ſent by the *Congregation* for the *Propagation of the Faith*, for *Georgia*. They were ſix, attended by two Lay Brothers; their Superiour being call'd *Father Steven d' Ameria*. They alſo brought a Letter from the Pope to the King of *Perſia*, of which I took a Copy in theſe words.

To the moſt Illuſtrious and moſt Potent King of the *Perſians*.

CLEMENT IX. *Pope*.

ILluſtrious and moſt Potent King; we wiſh you Health and the Light of Divine Grace. Such is the Charity of the Roman Pontiff whom God, the Sovereign Creator of all men, has beſtow'd upon 'em, that he does not believe there is any Society upon Earth eſtrang'd from himſelf or his moſt tender cares. On the other ſide he admires and embraces with a particular affection Probity, Juſtice, and whatever other eminent Vertues, where ever they ſhine forth. Therefore our Predeceſſors have always had a moſt particular eſteem and affectionate good will for the glorious Kings of Perſia, *but more eſpecially for your Highneſs*

Highneſs ſo famous over all the Earth for being adorn'd with all the ſplendour of vertuous Encomiums. And as we have no leſs high thought, and no leſs an eſteem of your Merit, we promiſe to our ſelves the ſame good will and kindneſs for Us, as you had for Them. In confidence whereof we deſire your Majeſty to grant your Protection to Father Stephen *of* Amerin, *and the reſt of his Companions who are going into the Province of* Georgia, *not in purſuit of their own Honour, but only for the Glory of God, and the Salvation of Souls. And we beſeech you to defend and ſhelter 'em by your Authority from the Injuries of the Schiſmaticks who follow the Ceremonies and Opinions of the* Greeks, *to the end they may with freedom and unmoleſted employ themſelves in the duty of their Function. We deſire and expect alſo from your ſignal Clemency the ſame favour and protection for all thoſe other Catholicks that are diſpers'd through the vaſt extent of the Kingdoms and Provinces under your Dominion. Whom we recommend as far as in us lies, to your Royal Generoſity and Goodneſs. In recompence whereof we pray continually to God with all our hearts, that his Omnipotent Right Hand may ſend your Highneſs a particular knowledge of his Divine Truth; that he will pour upon you all manner both of Spiritual and Temporal Bleſſings, and to grant you perpetual proſperity.*

Given at *Rome* in the greater St. *Maries*, under the Seal of the Fiſher, *March* 8. 1668. and the firſt of our Pontificate.

We have already given an account in part of what the *Coſaques* did this year upon the *Caſpian* Sea, of the Commiſſioners which they ſent to Court, with whom the Council was not ſatisfi'd; what means were us'd to diſcover their Intentions; and whether there were not ſome deceit conceal'd under thatDeputation. We ſhall here add the ſecond Inroad which they made, and what ſpoyl they committed more in *Perſia*, the ſame year 1668.

While they were therefore diſputing at *Iſpahan* whether they ſhould take 'em for Friends or Enemies; The *Coſaques*, whoſe Commiſſioners were now returning back, as all that they had done was only to amuſe the *Perſians* (though they had been treated with good words, and had receiv'd promiſes very advantageous for their Colony) continu'd their deſign of plundering and pillaging all the Maritime Regions of *Perſia* to the Eaſt. To which purpoſe they quit *Save*, and directing their March toward the more Eaſtern Provinces of the *Caſpian* Sea, they ſail'd ſeventy Leagues without

without being deſcry'd from the Land, and land at *Ferhabaad* the Capital City of *Mazenderaan*. They landed in the diſguiſe of Merchants, went up and down the Market places, and into the Shops like People that had no great skill in Traffick, and yet had ſomething both to buy and to ſell. They let go their Ducats of Gold for five *Shayet*, which make not ſo much as two Shillings, ſold Engliſh Cloth for four *Abaſſes*, or five ſhillings ſix pence the Ell. On the other ſide the *Perſians* while this Trade laſted careſs'd the *Coſaques* at a high rate, finding 'em ſuch admirable Cuſtomers, and Chapmen both together, and look'd upon 'em as *Cullies* and Novices which their kind Stars had brought among 'em: But the ſixth day, continuing their Game, at the hour prefix'd among themſelves, at what time they had ſcatter'd themſelves in ſeveral parts of the City to avoid ſuſpicion, they drew their Swords, ſlew all they met, plunder'd the Houſes, and laden with Booty, after they had kill'd above five hundred perſons, they return'd to their Veſſels, lying ſtill out of ken at Sea.

The moſt conſiderable, and a loſs not to be repair'd, was the ruine of the King's Palace, a moſt ſtately Pile, ſeated in the midſt of the City, wherein was kept a vaſt Treaſure of Diſhes and Baſins of Porcellane, or China, Cornaline, Agate, Coral, Amber, Cups of Cryſtal of the Rock, and other Rarities without number, which thoſe Barbarians either broke or carry'd away. They alſo brake the great *Haouſe*, or *Tangi*, being a Jaſper Fountain cover'd with Plates of Gold and erected within the Palace. Every time I think of the Magnificence and Delightfulneſs of that place, where I was in the year 1666. I cannot but lament its hard Fate; and had the Reader ſeen the Deſcription which I have made of it, he would acknowledge that ſuch a wonder of Art deſerv'd a kind of perpetuity.

In *Ferhabaad* and the parts adjoyning there are ſome few Chriſtians ſtill remaining of that vaſt number which *Habas* the Great formerly brought in to people that Country ſome ſixty years ago, which has ſo much leſſen'd their Number, that there is not the ſixtieth part of what there was before: and the moſt part of theſe for worldly Intereſts have embrac'd the Mahumetan Superſtition. Thoſe few Chriſtians that remain'd knowing that the *Coſaques* were likewiſe Chriſtians, to ſave themſelves from their fury, and their Houſes from being plunder'd, when they ſaw 'em coming, cri'd out *Chriſtous*, *Chriſtous*, and the better to let 'em underſtand they were Chriſtians ſign'd themſelves with the ſign of the Croſs from head to foot, ſo that the *Coſaques*

hearing 'em invoke that adorable Name, and ſeeing how they croſs'd themſelves, not only ſpar'd their lives, but protected their Houſes.

The Inhabitants of *Ferhabaad*, who had ſav'd their lives by flight, return'd the next day betimes in the Morning, to pick up what was left of their Goods: but while they were thus buſily employ'd, the *Coſaques* landed a ſecond time, and now more greedy of humane Bloud, than of Plunder, kill'd about ſeven hundred, and took as many Priſoners, and then retir'd for good and all.

By this time Winter was come, which they reſolv'd to ſpend in *Perſia*, and to that purpoſe they ſought out for a Place where they might quarter together in ſecurity. Now juſt againſt the City of *Ferhabaad* there lies a *Peninſula*, or Tongue of Land that runs forward into the *Caſpian* Sea about ten or eleven Leagues. This place did abound in Harts, wild Boars, wild Goats, and other ſorts of wild Veniſon: It is alſo full of Foreſts and freſh Water, nor does it want any thing that is convenient for the ſupport of Humane Life, and is therefore a moſt convenient place for Habitation. The *Perſians* call it *Mionnè-Kellè* or the *Middle-ſiz'd Horn*, thereby denoting a Tongue of Land that runs out into the Sea; there it was that the *Coſaques* entrench'd themſelves. To which purpoſe they made their Priſoners work day and night to dig a large Trench about their Camp; and then with ſeveral great Trees peſter'd one within another, and fill'd up with Turf, they rais'd a kind of a Bulwark, upon which they planted their *Badeliegè* or great Guns, for their better defence.

This was that which the *Perſians* deſir'd; for as ſoon as they underſtood they were fortifi'd in that place, the ſame year, notwithſtanding the Winter ſeaſon, they attack'd 'em, and being ſtronger by Land than the *Coſaques*, they beat 'em, retook all their Priſoners, and conſtrain'd the Enemy to betake themſelves to their Veſſels, with which, after they had roam'd about the whole *Peninſula* on every ſide, they found at the fartheſt end a more advantageous Poſt, as being defended by a Marſh, where they ſtopp'd with their Booty, and their little Barks, at which time I came away for *Europe*.

FINIS.

THE TABLE.

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